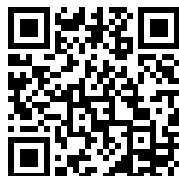


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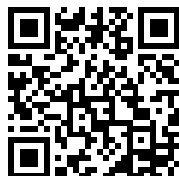


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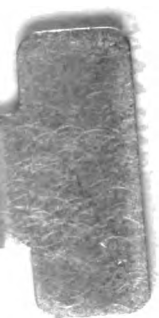
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# THE JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY

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FOUNDED BY  
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## BRIEFE RUDOLF HILDEBRANDS

(Zum 100. Geburtstage des Forschers)

*Herausgegeben und erläutert von Helmut Wocke*

Die vorliegende Veröffentlichung geht auf eine freundliche Anregung von Prof. Julius Goebel zurück. Rudolf Hildebrands Erben, die unter Verzicht auf persönlichen Vorteil die Einwilligung zum Abdruck der Briefe geben, sage ich auch an dieser Stelle für das mir entgegengebrachte Vertrauen verbindlichsten Dank.

Zwölf Schreiben Rudolf Hildebrands an einen jüngeren Freund bringt die 'Paedagogische Reform' Nr. 41 vom 11. X. 1899. Ein weiterer Brief vom 23. XI. 68 findet sich in den 'Briefen deutscher Philologen an Karl Weinhold, 'Mitteilungen aus dem Literaturarchive in Berlin,' 1902, S. 74-76. Briefe Rudolf Hildebrands an Michel Bréal habe ich in der Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde 1922 (Zeitschrift f. d. deutschen Unterricht 36. Jahrg.) 5. Heft, S. 257-275 herausgegeben.

### *I. Der Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob Grimm und Rudolf Hildebrand.*

Georg Berlit, einem Schüler und späteren Freunde R. Hildebrands, haben die Briefe bereits vorgelegen—er plante, sie mit anderen in einem Bande zu vereinen. Als literarischer Berater der Grimmschen Erben hatte ihm (der nunmehr verstorbene) Reinhold Steig die Erlaubnis zur Veröffentlichung der Schreiben Jacob Grimms erteilt.

#### 1. Jacob Grimm an Rudolf Hildebrand.

Hochgeehrter herr, ich weisz nicht, warum ich Ihnen erst heute schreibe, denn ich hätte es lange schon gekonnt und gesollt. Wie dankbar ich Ihnen ergeben bin, hat herr Hirzel schon oft den auftrag erhalten Ihnen zu hinterbringen, und er ist ein so pünktlicher mann, dasz er sicher nicht versäumt haben wird es auch auszurichten. Sie unterziehen sich der durchsicht der druckbogen des wörterbuchs mit solcher genauigkeit, theilnahme und sachkenntnis, dasz wir beide, Hirzel und ich, in verlegenheit gerathen würden, wenn eine so erwünschte und kaum vorausgesehne mitwirkung jemals aufhören und unterbleiben sollte. Unter Ihren augen und händen wird das

buch nicht nur correcter, sondern auch wesentlich bereichert, denn Ihre belesenheit in unserer älteren und neueren literatur gibt Ihnen gelegenheit übersehene beispiele nachzuholen und auf manche ungenauigkeit hinzuweisen. Dasz bei solch einem werke die überschwängliche fülle der texte unerschöpft bleiben musz und die wichtigsten stellen beim ersten anlauf unbeachtet, sieht jedermann ein, der sich mit solchen forschungen befasst hat. Bei meinem vorgerückten lebensalter war mir, wenn die arbeit noch gedeihen und vorrücken soll, geboten rasch und unausgesetzt sie anzugreifen; ich schreibe bedächtig aber in einem flusz nieder, und sende ab, ohne vorher durchzulesen, daher kommt es, dasz einzelne stellen, hoffentlich nicht allzuvielen, anders und bequemer hätten geordnet werden können. Ich brauche nicht erst zu sagen, wie ich mir Ihre randbemerkungen zu nutze mache, ich kann nicht alles davon verwenden, weil entweder nicht raum dafür vorhanden ist, oder meine eigne ansicht abweicht.

Grobs ausreden der schützen<sup>1</sup> habe ich zu meiner beschämung heute zum erstenmal gelesen. So ergeht es einem. Als das heft vor zehn jahren erschien, pflegte ich noch zu überschlagen was nicht ahd. oder mhd. war. Von diesem fehler bin ich jetzt gründlich zurückgekommen, aber das stück war mir aus dem sinn gefallen. Auch die altbachnen kugeln<sup>2</sup> sind mir lieb und das absehen schlagen und brechen, das abschwenzen des schusses und die aufgerüste gäden.<sup>3</sup> Das alles ist schon in meine hefte

<sup>1</sup> Abgedruckt in *Haupts Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 3 (1843) S. 240-266; vgl. auch die Anmerkungen zum 75. Cap. von Brants *Narrenschiff* in Zarnckes bahnbrechender Ausgabe (Leipzig 1854) S. 418 f. Das 75. Cap. hat u. a. Alfred Götze in sein *Frühneuhochdeutsches Lesebuch* (Göttingen, 1920) S. 28 f. aufgenommen. Vgl. ferner *Fischarts Geschickklitterung* von A. Alsleben (Neudrucke) S. 284 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Haupts Zs.* 3, 251, 20 f.: Altbachnen kugeln sind kein nutz, sy geben gern ein kurtzen schutz.

<sup>3</sup> *Haupts Zs.* 3, 245, 22 ff: Einer kam her, thet sich sehr klagen, hör mein gsell, solt ich dir nit sagen: Es hat mir einer sabsehen gschlagen, das thet den schutz auff dseiten tragen.

*Ebendort* 3, 247, 20f: Der viert sabsehen hat geschlagen, thet jm den schutz gar weit abtragen.

*Ebendort* 3, 248, 6 v. u.: Dem zehenden thet sabsähen brächen.

*Ebendort* 3, 244, 1f: Vil schöner geschir, wie auch hieneben, in den vil auffgerüsten gäden.

*Ebendort* 3, 254, 12: Ein andren ward ein schutz abgeschwentz.

eingetragen, die Sie einmal ansehen sollten! Wie er pflitschen<sup>4</sup> sagt, musz es auch abpflitschen geheissen haben. Das poperle im ermel<sup>5</sup> kommt erwünscht, wie hat mans zu verstehn? als ein zittern im arm? auf derselben blattseite sagt Fischart auch: als schiesz er nach dem besten mit einer nörnburgischen geschraubten büchsen.<sup>6</sup>—Und wenn wir noch zehn jahre die quellen, mit geschärftem auge lesen, so werden noch andere belege und beispiele *entgehen*, weil sie immer unter neue gesichtspuncte kommen. Dasz wir vielen jetzt schon ihren platz anweisen können, sehe ich als einen hauptgewinn des wörterbuchs an, wenn es so ausgearbeitet wird, wie ich mich bestrebe es auszuarbeiten. Frühere leser hatten gar nicht gewust was damit anfangen.

An meiner schreibweise wird Ihnen einiges noch nicht recht sein, die vorrede soll sich darüber auslassen. freilich, einen mittelweg zu treffen ist schwer, es hätte weiter gegriffen werden müssen, dann wäre aber den verwöhnten lesern noch mehr vor den kopf gestoszen worden.

Mit freundschaftlicher hochachtung  
Ihr ergebenster

JACOB GRIMM.

Berlin 6. Nov. 1853

## 2. Rudolf Hildebrand an Jacob Grimm

*Hochverehrter Herr Hofrath,*

Ich weisz nicht, ob ich recht thue, Ihnen zu antworten, und Ihre so kostbare Zeit auch meinerseits noch in Anspruch zu nehmen; doch Ihre gar zu freundliche Zuschrift von neulich scheint es mir zur Pflicht zu machen, dasz ich Ihnen wenigstens hinwieder sage, wie unerwartet und freudig überraschend sie

<sup>4</sup> Haupts Zs 3, 249, 7 v. u.: Dem andren dann das bulffer pflitscht, Fischart, Geschichtklitterung S. 286: oder das Pulver *het* gepflitscht, a und b lesen: gepflitscht.

<sup>5</sup> Haupts Zs. 3, 247, Z. 8 u. 7 v. u.: Das poperle im ermel dein, das wil auch jetzund bei mir sein.

Fischart, Geschichtklitterung S. 285, 3 f.: zielt kurtz, baut nit lang, acht nit das Aermelpopperle, truckt schnell ab.

Das Citat aus Fischart bringt auch das DWb 1, 557; das Wort wird hier erklärt als "ein Zierrat, flitter, den man am ermel trug und der am ermel zitterte, flatterte."

<sup>6</sup> Alslebens Ausgabe S. 285, 1 f.

mir kam, und wie ich eigentümlich, doch froh betroffen war über die Anerkennung, die sie mir darin angedeihen lassen, und die mir wirklich dasz Masz überschritten zu haben scheint von dem, was ich verdiente—und vollends über die herzliche Weise, mit der sie mir persönlich begegnen. Letzteres betreffend, so kann ich darauf kaum etwas anderes thun, als mich über die Gelegenheit zu freuen, die mir da erlaubt, ein lange still gehegtes Gefühl der tiefsten und innigsten Verehrung gegen einen Namen wie dem Ihren, jetzt auch einmal persönlich am rechten Orte selbst äussern zu können. Im Betreff des Andern aber, kann ich nur meinen wärmsten frohsten Dank aussprechen für ihre allzugütige Anerkennung meiner geringen Thätigkeit an ihrem Werke, und wie es mich freuen sollte, wenn sie darin nicht ein unbescheidenes Vordrängen eigener Meinungen gefunden hätten, wie ich manchmal gefürchtet habe, sondern bloss die beste Liebe zur Sache. Ich erinnere mich, einst als Quartaner dem Traume nachgehungen zu haben, ich wollte einstmals ein deutsches Wörterbuch schreiben,<sup>7</sup> und Sie können mir wol glauben, dass ich nun wirklich einen Stolz empfinde Ihrem epochemachenden Werke so nahe zu stehen.

Ihre Bemerkungen über die Vollständigkeit des Stoffes und über die Schreibung weisz ich recht wohl zu würdigen; und doch ärgerts mich, wenn ich z. b. zu spät noch finde, dasz auch *Fischart* im glückh. Schiff (bei Wackern., Leseb. 2, 141, 23 das *beste* als ersten Preis beim Schieszen hat,<sup>8</sup> aber dasz zu den Zusammensetzungen allermannsfreund u. dgl. *Haller* ("Die verdorbenen Sitten") auch das Simplex *allermann* hat:

Der nie sich selber zeigt, der kluge allermann,  
Der alle leute haszt und alle küssen kann.

Seit der 4. Aufl. hat er freilich selbst daraus larvemann gemacht, und des alte ist nur in den Varianten angegeben. Das ärmelpoperle will mir ein Modeputz am Rockärmel scheinen, sollte es nicht in dem Kapitel von der Kleidung des Gargantua vorkommen? Auf dem Holzschnitt, der dem Original von Grobs Ausreden vorsteht, im Besitz des Herrn Hirzel, ist nichts

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. dazu: Georg Berlit, Rudolf Hildebrand, *Ilbergs Neue Jahrbücher*, 1894, Heft VII, S. 557; ferner: R. Hildebrand im DWB V, S. 7. und in den *Ges. Aufsätzen u. Vorträgen* S. 26, Ann. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. dazu R. Hildebrand *Ges. Aufsätze u. Vorträge*, S. 45 ff.

dergleichen an den Schützen zu sehen, obwohl er sonst z. B. den Britschenmeister in Narrentracht und zwei Schützen auf der Narrenbank ausgebritscht vorstellt. In E. Meiers schwäbischen Kinderreimen<sup>9</sup> p. 22 singen die Kinder

D'Katz sitzt unterm lade  
spinnt a *poppele* (Knauel) fade.

Wäre das dasselbe? Was aber auch sonst nachzutragen sein mag, die Nation wird ja wohl am Ende dankbar sein für die unendliche Fülle von Stoff zum Forschen oder von schon fertigen Aufschlüssen, die da vorgelegt werden, als Licht das sich reflektiert auf bisher noch halbdunkle Zeiten der eigenen Geistesgeschichte. Was ich mich freue an Artikeln, wie *bethätigen, beute*, u. a. viel, wenn ich sie frisch aus Ihrer Hand für das Publikum corrigiere, das können Sie nicht glauben.

Doch ich fürchte, ich habe Ihre freundliche Nachsicht schon zu lange in Anspruch genommen.

Mit wärmster Verehrung,

Ihr

RUD. HILDEBRAND

Leipzig, 20 Nov. 1853

### 3. Rudolf Hildebrand an Jacob Grimm

*Hochzuverehrender Herr Hofrath,*

Ihr Wörterbuchecorrector, dessen Sie in der Vorrede zum ersten Bande<sup>10</sup> so beschämend gütiggedacht haben, dasz er sich längst gern bei Ihnen darüber bewchwert hätte, hat in den Zwischenstunden die ihm die Schulgeschäfte und das Wörterbuch liessen, seit nun bald zwei Jahren ein Buch gearbeitet,<sup>11</sup> auf einem Gebiete das er damals nur als halber Laie, als Liebhaber betrat. Das Buch ist nun fertig, und wie es auch sein mag, ob dessen werth oder nicht, ich musz es Ihnen vorlegen als eine kleine Gabe meiner Dankbarkeit und Verehrung;

<sup>9</sup> Ernst Meier, *Deutsche Kinder-Reime und Kinder-Spiele aus Schwaben; aus dem Volksmunde gesammelt*, Tübingen 1851. Über Ernst Meier vgl.. C. Siegfried in der *ADB* 21, 189-192.

<sup>10</sup> S. LXVII Vgl. auch das bekannte Urtheil in *Bd.* II, S. VI.

<sup>11</sup> *Fr. L. von Soltau's Deutsche Historische Volkslieder, Zweites Hundert, Aus Soltau's u. Leyser's Nachlass u. anderen Quellen herausgegeben mit Anmerkungen* von H. R. Hildebrand Leipzig 1856. Ein Auszug aus der Vorrede in R. Hildebrands *Ges. Aufsätzen und Vorträgen* 118-122. Vgl. auch R. Hildebrand, *Materialien zur Gesch. des. deutschen Volksliedes*, S. 231.

vielleicht dasz Sie ihm ein bescheidenes Plätzchen gönnen in Ihrer Bibliothek. Dürfte ich dazu noch eins bitten, so wäre es das, dass Sie mich nicht abschliessend messen möchten nach diesem Buche, es ist zum guten Theil die Arbeit ermüdeter Stunden.

In herzlichster Ergebenheit und dankbarster Verehrung

H. R. HILDEBRAND

*Kollaborator zu St. Thomae*

Leipzig, 13 Feb. 1856

4. Jacob Grimm an Rudolf Hildebrand

Hochgeehrter herr collaborator (welchen titel ich Ihnen ausdrücklich gern gebe), Ihr brief vom 13. febr. ist mir, weisz nicht warum so spät, erst am 10. merz. (durch Reimer) zugekommen, Ihr erfreuendes geschenk also bis dahin vorenthalten geblieben. es hat mich ungemein überrascht und ich erstatte dafür herzlichen dank. Soltau ist von Ihnen nicht fortgesetzt, nein weit übertroffen worden, ich glaube diese lieder könnten nicht befriedigender behandelt werden. mein buchbinder soll ihnen nicht Soltau, sondern Hildebrand hinten aufdrucken. Das wollte ich, Sie hätten in Ihr hundert alles vorzügliche, z. b. auch das lied von Friedrich winterkönig<sup>13</sup> und von Balzer<sup>13</sup> eingelassen, lieber dafür ein paar andre unterdrückt. jetzt sind mir auch die in unsrer zeit entsprungenen lieder lieber als sie es 1840 waren und schon um zu lehren, wie sich die volkspoesie wach erhält gehörten sie in die samlung. Ihre anmerkungen sind für grammatik und wörterbuch lehrreich und erwünscht, die möglichkeit von nachträgen versteht sich von selbst, z. b. xxxix fischen vor dem ber<sup>14</sup> hat auch Helbling 4, 77,<sup>15</sup> bei ansehen s. 19<sup>16</sup> lag wb. 1, 453 unmittelbar nahe; s. 35<sup>17</sup> bei snufen gahn gramm. 4, 97 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Altdeutsche Blätter*, 2 (1840) S. 138-141; jetzt J. Grimms *Kleine Schriften* VII, 22-25.

<sup>14</sup> R. v. Liliencron, *Die historischen Volkslieder der Deutschen vom 13-16 Jahrh.*, Bd. 4 S. 44-46.

<sup>15</sup> In den Berichtigungen u. Nachträgen S. XXXIX erklärt R. Hildebrand die Wendung; sie begegnet in Lied 21, Str. 12.

<sup>16</sup> *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 4, 97: der vierde sprach zuo den drin 'ir rätmezzer gar äne sin, sam der vischet vor dem bër, welt ir volgen miner lër?

<sup>17</sup> Vergl. die Anmerkung S. 19 zu 2, 2.

<sup>18</sup> lies s. 34; Nr. 8: De borger weren des alle fro se reipen weisenborgk Hochmudt de bussen horede man snufen gahn.

In einem stück werden unsere grundsätze nicht zusammen-  
treffen, nemlich in bezug auf schreibung.<sup>18</sup> Sie sind mir da zu  
conservativ, in dem sinn, der mir auch politischen conservatis-  
mus als tadelhaft erscheinen lässt. unsere rechtschreibung hat  
noch nie festgestanden und bedarf des fortschritts. worüber  
wir uns bei mhd. texten schämen würden, das halten wir bei  
nhd. für erlaubt und recht. für diese ansicht musz unbegreiflich  
sein, wie in den letzten generationen sei und bei statt sey und  
bey durchdringen konnte; Benecke ging so weit zu behaupten  
sei und bei lasse sich gar nicht aussprechen. Gewis haben wir  
volles recht allen ballast wegzuschaffen, der die augen beleidigt,  
ohne irgend ins gehör zu fallen. welches unrecht würde einem  
denkmal des 16 jh. zugefügt damit, dasz wir sein hertz und  
banck in herz und bank bessern? nicht das geringste, aber wir  
müsten um ihm volle treue zu halten, auch schlechtes papier  
wählen und lettern schneiden lassen, die denen jener zeit voll-  
kommen glichen. mich freut, dasz Ihre eltern Ihnen ein Hilde-  
brandt erspart haben, Zarncke ist schlimmer daran und ich  
besorge, seinem namen zu gefallen, behält er auch in seinen  
ausgaben alle die elendesten schreibungen bei.

Den unterschied angehend zwischen in und jn, so schrieb  
Luther auch jm, jr, jnen, allein das taugt nichts. wenn i vokal,  
j consonant sein soll, ist jm. jn jr unmöglich. die sogenannte  
deutsche schrift vermag beide buchstaben in majuskel nicht  
zu unterscheiden und mengt sie also auch in minuskel. unser  
ist graphisch betrachtet immer j, denn gr. oder lat. schrei-  
bend würden wir doch nicht Ιλιον, Ilium setzen dürfen für  
Ἰλιον Ilium. aus diesem falschen j entsprang wol auch den  
Schweden ihr hjalm, hjelte für hialm, hielte, auszusprechen ist  
solch ein j nur schwer.

Neulich hat in der Augsb. Zeitung Menzel sich unbefugt  
über deutsche rechtschreibung ausgelassen.<sup>19</sup> ich erkenne die  
macht der gewohnheit und falle nicht mit der thür ins haus.  
was durchzusetzen sein wird, steht dahin, alles durchgesetzte  
wird aber unsern jetzigen elenden zustand schnell in verdiente  
vergessenheit fallen lassen. Solange zweierlei schrift fest gilt,  
deutsche und lateinische, ists doch albern in jener sz, in dieser

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. auch J. Grimms Brief an Karl Goedeke, *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*  
1880, S. 1023 f.

ss für denselben laut zu schreiben, das kann nur bei einem pedantischen volk vorkommen.

Mein bruder hat dame zu jung gemacht,<sup>20</sup> denn Fleming (+1640) schrieb schon: ihr adelichen damen;

Opitz, 2,255 (vor 1622) eine stolze abgeführte dame, und in Winkelfelder (1618) s. 363 steht auf begern der dama.

Soltau 510 (1638) mein allerschönste dam,

512 die dame that ein seufzerlein;

513 nicht weit von dieser dame;

jetzt lese ich auch bei Ihnen 375 (1631)

an einer keuschen damen.

doch ins 16. jh. zurück kann ichs nicht bringen, es scheint zugleich eingedrungen mit brav u.a.

Nun lassen Sie mich noch einen hochachtungsvollen, freundschaftlichen grusz hinzuthun und schlieszen.

JACOB GRIMM

25 merz 1856

##### 5. Jacob Grimm an Rudolf Hildebrand

Ich wuste gar nicht, werthester freund, dasz Sie auf den mir zur ansicht übersandten Freidankbogen antwort erwarteten, es ist mir völlig recht wie Sie damit verfahren. Da weder von Ihnen etwas darauf geschrieben steht, noch ich etwas zugesetzt habe, halte ich für unnöthig ihn wieder zurück zu schicken.

Die anmerkungen wieder abdrucken zu lassen wage ich nicht, es stritte gegen meines bruders ausdrückliche und noch in der letzten zeit niedergeschriebene bestimmung. ob er nun etwa vorhatte diese anmerkungen demnächst umzuarbeiten und mit seiner ansicht von dem ursprung des gedichts der ausg. des textes folgen zu lassen, weisz ich nicht; er sprach nicht gern mit mir über den Freidank, weil ihm bekannt war, dasz ich seine vermutungen nicht theilte und wir früher schon die sache unter einander verhandelt hatten.

Ein zettelchen von Roth lege ich bei, aus dem bei 144, 11 ff. vielleicht etwas zu brauchen ist.

<sup>19</sup> "Briefe über Orthographie Erster-Zweiter-Dritter Brief." *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Beilage) vom 14., 17. und 21. Februar 1856. Nur bei dem ersten Brief ist der Name des Verfassers genannt, und zwar in Form einer Fussnote: "Von Wolfgang Menzel."

<sup>20</sup> DWB 2, 702 f.

Mir ist unlängst eine stelle in Mathesius Sarepta 1562, 287<sup>b</sup> (in der 15 predig) aufgefallen, wo es heiszt: 'Denn solche art an vater und muter, kind und kegeln nie gut ward, sang auch Freidank auf sein letzte fart.'<sup>21</sup> man sollte denken Mathesius schöpfe sie aus Brants umdichtung, doch kann ich sie in dem Wormser druck 1538 nicht auffinden, von welchem die übrigen freilich abweichen sollen. Wilhelm hat diese späteren arbeiten vielleicht nicht genügend beachtet. nicht unmöglich wäre, dasz Mathesius eine ältere handschrift eingesehn, in der sich noch andere einschaltungen, wie sie dem Bernhart Freidank zugeschrieben werden, befunden haben könnten. der ausdruck kind und kegel klingt freilich nicht besonders alt, wie sie besser wissen werden, als ich diesen augenblick (hier noch zwei zettel über keszler und Kleuder) Haben Sie Pfeiffer über Walther gelesen?<sup>22</sup> er scheint mir meistentheils recht zu haben, die beiden grabschriften nahm ich schon in meinem archipoeta p. 10 in schutz.<sup>23</sup>

Bleiben Sie gesund und frisch, Hirzel sagte mir, dasz Sie sich neulich unbasz befunden hätten

der Ihrige JAC. GR.

30 Apr. 1860

Wenn die sächsischen posten so sinnlos verfahren wie die preuszischen dürfen Sie aber ohne gefahr nichts zu den correcturbogen schreiben.

#### 6. Rudolf Hildebrand an Jacob Grimm

*Hochverehrter herr hofrath,*

Der Neidhart<sup>24</sup> ist nun im gange, ich freue mich über das mancherlei bedeutsame neue das ich bei vergleichung mit dem ersten texte finde. Auf die anmerkungen habe ich nun vericht geleistet, meine anfrage war aus den gedanken hervorgegangen, es müssten umfängliche vorarbeiten zur erklärung vorhanden sein, und auf diese gedanken war ich unmerklich gekommen

<sup>21</sup> Jetzt abgedruckt in: *Freidank* von Wilhelm Grimm. Göttingen, 1850 S. 117.

<sup>22</sup> Franz Pfeiffer, *Über Walther von der Vogelweide*, *Germania* 5 (1860) S. 1-44, bes. S. 9)

<sup>23</sup> J. Grimm, *Gedichte des mittelalters auf könig Freidrich I. und aus seiner u. der nächstfolgenden zeit*; *Kl. Schriften*, 3, i ff.

<sup>24</sup> Darüber steht, von Jacob Grimms Hand: lies Freidank.

durch die beobachtung im zweiten bande des wörterbuchs, wie eingehend und umfassend Ihr seliger bruder die sprichwörterliteratur 16.17. jh. benutzt hatte, ich dachte eben im anschluss an Freidank, so dass ich bei der unermüdlichen arbeitsart des verstorbenen mir schon eine art Sprichwörterconcordanz einbildete, wie sie so wünschenswerth und lehrreich wäre; es finden sich solche vergleichungen hie und da im mscr. mit bleistift.

Die stelle aus Mathesius ist sehr interessant, z.b. auch dass die citierung selbst mit in den Reim gezogen ist 'sang auch Freidank auf sein letzte fart,' das sieht aus wie aus einem gereimten werk entnommen, und die Zeitangabe 'auf sein l.f.' klingt gar wie von einem der von Freidanks person mehr wuste. konnte übrigens Mathesius nicht aus dem gedächtnis citieren? etwa gar aus der schule her? in den einleitenden versen zu der lat. übersetzung, die als Proverbia eloquentis Freydangk am ende des 15. jh. noch gedruckt wurde, nach dem urtheil der kenner bei Kacheloven in Leipzig, ist das ziemlich bestimmt ausgesprochen, dass sie zum schulgebrauch bestimmt ist, damit die knaben Latein und Deutsch eins am andern lernen, gewiss durch übersetzen hin und zurück, wozu man dann gewiss auch den deutschen Freidank nahm. so gibt es aus dem 15. jh. handschriften und drucke von Cato, die die deutschen sprüche der übers. mit den lat. vermengt geben, sicher auch zum schulgebrauch; die späteren Freidanke und Cato haben sogar mehrfach in einander übergegriffen, das stammt noch aus der schule. mir fiel ein, dass am ende schon Hugo von Trimberg, der den Freidank so oft citiert, diesen so in seiner schule gebraucht habe, wie, wenn er gar selbst die lat. übersetzung besorgt hätte?

Das *Kegel*<sup>28</sup> bei Mathes. war mir sehr willkommen, ich traue dem wort höchstes alter zu, da es zumal gleich zuerst und immer nur in der alliterierenden form *Kind und Kegel* auftritt; die älteste stelle, die ich habe, steht bei Ben. 1,794a, ein auszug Hoffmanns v. Fall., haben Sie vielleicht mehr der art? besonders wäre mir ausserordentlich lieb, das *Kegelsohn* R A 476 belegt zu haben, da ich dahinter eine bedeutung filius mentulae, im gebensatz zu *ekint*, das auch kurz *kint* hiess, vermuten möchte. Kegel findet sich als mannname schon im 14. jh.;

<sup>28</sup> Vgl. jetzt über das Wort *DWB* 5, 389-391.

ich dachte auch der ahd. frauennamen *Kikila* althd. bl. 1,393 könnte schon dahin gehören, bei Förstemann hab ich noch nicht nachgesehen, da ich zur zeit nur seinen zweiten band selbst besitze, wie mir leider noch so manches wichtige werk fehlt.

Ich habe noch eine Kleinigkeit auf dem herzen, lassen Sie mich sie auskramen und lachen Sie mich nicht aus, wenn ich damit post fest komme. die wörtlich verstandene *Windsbraut*<sup>24</sup> steht noch nicht fest im glauben der leute, man deutelt immer noch daran herum mit brauen, brausen und dgl; wie nun wenn sich *Kinder* des Windes finden, dann musste er ja auch eine brüt haben? solche familie hat er aber wirklich nach folgendem: wenn der wind sehr weht, so kan man solchen stillen, wenn man einen mehlsack ausstaubet (das ohnehin nicht gebrauchte mehl wird als opfer für den wind hingegeben) und dazu spricht 'siehe da, Wind, koch ein mus für *dein Kind*? rockenphilos. 4. hundert 3. cap.; 'de grote windkerl is verreist, nur het *de liltje* den sack fliegen laten' sagt man bei einem sturm. Quickborn gloss. s.u. windkerl, das sind doch vater und sohn, und der sohn spielt ungefähr die rolle des Phaeton? trat etwa auch des windes frau so auf bei abwesenheit des herrn?

Herzlichen dank für Ihren wunsch in betreff meiner gesundheit, sie arbeitet sich zetzt hoffnungsvoll heraus nach einem winter fürchterlicher leiden, seit ich in meiner diät änderungen vorgenommen habe und täglich bairisch bier trinke. Die leiden sind oder waren meist die früchte vorausgegangener kummerjahre und aufreibender brotarbeit, die nun überstanden sind.

Ich bitte, mich der Frau Professorin Grimm zu empfehlen. . . .

Leipzig (17/5.60)

(Ende fehlt)

#### 7. Jacob Grimm an Rudolf Hildebrand

Dieser tage erst, werthester freund, sind mir exemplare des Freidank zugegangen. unsicher, ob Sie auch, wie sich von selbst verstünde, damit versehen worden sind, frage ich lieber ausdrücklich an, und wenn es versäumt ist, brauchen Sie nur ein wort zu schreiben. Das buch hat Ihnen so grosse mühe gemacht und Wilhelm würde sehr dankbar gewesen sein, auch in meinem namen drücke ich diesen dank aus.

Herzlich ergeben Ihr

10 Dec. 1860.

JAC. GRIMM.

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. Jacob Grimm in *DWB* 2, 332 und Hildebrand *DWB* 5, 725.

## 8. Rudolf Hildebrand an Jacob Grimm

Leipzig, 13. Juli 1861

*Hochzuverehrender herr Hofrath,*

Da Sie wie ich von hrn. Hirzel höre das schicksal der weis-  
thümer<sup>27</sup> beunruhigt, so erlaube ich mir Ihnen eine kurze nach-  
richt davon zu geben, in der eile der zurüstungen zur nahen  
abreise, da ich morgen früh als am beginn meine schulferien mit  
familie nach Arnstadt abgehe. Der beginn des drucks ward  
ziemlich lange verzögert durch mangel der ũ ũ ö u. s. w. in der  
gewählten schrift. Als diese endlich beschafft waren, hatt ich  
meine noth mit dem corrector, einem studiosus, den *ich* erst  
darauf einzurichten hatte. Als ich dann den ersten bogen in 3.  
correctur erhielt, begann meine noth mit dem kritischen zu-  
stande des textes; es musste eine bessere interpunction hinein-  
gebracht werden und verdorbene stellen mussten eingerenkt  
werden, so gut es im drang der schulgeschäfte möglich war.  
Dadurch erhielt der bogen ein aussehen, dass der setzer zu mir  
kam und (. . . ?) bat diese änderungen im mscr., nicht erst im  
gedruckten vorzunehmen. Darauf war ich fr(eilich) nicht  
gefasst, aber was (halbs?) nun geh ich das mscr. (wieder?)  
durch, um nur das nöthigste daran zu thun, mö(chte) freilich  
auch sicher sein dass mir dafür seiner zeit die entsprechende  
vergütung für zeit- und kraftaufwand zw theil wird, der verleger  
wird sich am ende sträuben dafür noch einen besondern posten  
in seine rechnung aufzunehmen. *Könnten* Sie diese arbeit bei  
dem künftigen mscr. in Berlin von jemand anders machen lassen,  
so wäre mir das sehr lieb, wo nicht so stehe ich freilich auch  
weiter zu diensten. Das verdriessliche dabei ist mir dass ich  
über dieser arbeit die mir der *sinn* und *inhalt* der schriftstücke  
machte, formelle dinge anfangs übersehen oder nicht scharf  
beachtet habe, wie das wegschaffen der grossen anfangsbuch-  
staben, das ich erst vom 2. bogen an durchgesetzt habe; ebenso

<sup>27</sup> Theil I: 1840; Theil II: 1840 (Theil II erschien vor Theil I); Theil III:  
1842; Theil IV: 1863, vgl. Vorbericht S. VI: "bei diesem vierten erst nach langem  
Zwischenraum erscheinenden Band sind mir dr. Richard Schroeder und dr.  
Rudolf Hildebrand an hand gegangen und haben in der auswahl und correctur  
erwünschte hülfe geleistet, der letztgenannte hat auch die meisten textbesserun-  
gen und hin und wieder in noten treffende Worterklärungen eingefügt; Theil  
V: 1866; Theil VI: 1869; Theil VII: 1878 (Namen—und Sachregister). Vgl.  
auch R. Hildebrand, *Ges. Aufsätze und Vorträge* S. 77 f.

das *sz* das Sie verlangt hatten und das der setzer nicht eingeführt hatte und ich über der sinnarbeit übersehen. wollen Sie es noch haben, so kann es vom 3. bogen ab noch eingeführt werden; der setzer hatte es gemacht wie es jetzt die *usance* ist in den druckereien, nämlich *ss*, und so steht es auf bogen 1 und 2 (einige *sz* das. stehen wirklich in der *hs.*). ich kann freilich nicht verhehlen, dass mir dies *sz.*, dem 14. 15. jh. aufgedrängt, durchaus nicht ein will, mir wäre am liebsten das *ß* wie Sie es in der gramm. haben. Ich habe nun den Drucker vorhin angewiesen, mit dem Druck des dritten bogens zu warten, *bis er von Ihnen über diesen punct weisung erhält*; er drängt freilich, weil er vom verleger gedrängt wird, und bat mich, falls etwa diese weisung zu lange ausbliebe, drucken und fortfahren zu dürfen wie bisher, oder wäre das *fs* zu nehmen, wie in den 3 ersten bänden? Der Drucker ist *G. Kreysing*, wenn Sie so freundlich sein wollten, an ihn eine kurze weisung ergehen zu lassen, was ja wohl auch durch *hrn. Hirzel* geschehen könnte. Ich bitte um nachsicht, da ich mitschuld trage an dieser vereitelung Ihrer absicht; ich war in der letzten zeit so überhäuft mit geschäften, gutentheils durch eine doppelte vacanz an unsrer schule und andre gestörte zustände dort, wo ich jetzt überdies seit Ostern als classenlehrer arbeite und da mit lat. and griech. anfänger-exercitien wöchentlich geplagt werde.

Verzeihen Sie die eile der briefabfassung, mit den besten wünschen für Ihr wol

Ihr dankbarer schüler

R. HILDEBRAND.

#### 9. Jacob Grimm an Rudolf Hildebrand,

Werthester freund, erholen und erlustigen sie sich in der angenehmen umgebung von Arnstadt. Doch sie waren schon oft da, haben auch ohne zweifel Schwarzburg und Rudolstadt, auf der andern seite den Inselberg besucht, das ist alles schön und sehenswerth.

Unbillig wäre, dass sie für ihre grosse gefälligkeit über meine weisthümer zu wachen kraft und zeit umsonst verschwenden sollten, scheuen sie sich daher nicht, sobald der druck halb oder ganz beendet ist, mir rechnung zu stellen, ich werde sie alsbald berichtigen. Kreysing hat mir die beiden ersten aushängebogen gesandt, etwas bunt sehen sie, nachdem sie durch die hände und

augen von zwei correctoren gelaufen sind, aus; es wird sich ins Künftige ausgleichen. ich hätte freilich damit es mir recht gemacht würde, das msp. vorher selbst durchsehen sollen, die zeit dazu gebrach mir völlig, über die interpunctionsmängel könnte ich erst bei vergleichung der hs. urtheilen. in bezug auf die ss statt der sz habe ich natürlich nachgegeben, da auch die drei ersten bände meiner regel noch nicht folgen konnten. Sie schreiben mir, dass sie sich in das sz für das 14.15. jh. nicht finden können, lieber s,  $\beta$  oder ss beibehalten sähen. ich meine mich darüber schon genug ausgesprochen zu haben.  $\beta$  ist allerdings sz, schickt sich aber in seinen beiden theilen nicht mehr für unsre schrift. 1. ist auch unter lat. philologen s durchgedrungen, f aufgegeben und in bezug auf die deutsche sprache mit doppeltem recht, da zwischen f und  $\beta$  zahllose druckfehler vorkommen. die analogie des sogenannt deutschen f und s, da dieser eckigen schrift ganz entsagt werden soll, bindet also nicht, ohnehin ahmt die gestalt des grossen anlautenden  $\text{ſ}$  ja gerade das kleine nach, entspricht nicht dem langen. Die lateinisch geschulten leute und setzer geben uns passus und dass nicht mehr passus, noch weniger dass, auch geben sie sto und stand, nicht fto, fstand, kurz das lange f ist ausgemerzt, wie dürfte es in  $\beta$  bleiben? 2, ebensowenig kann das ; in  $\beta$  für z behalten werden weil der heutige typus wiederum durchgehend z verlangt (der mhd. unterschied zwischen z und ; nicht mehr gilt), und  $\beta$  dem Deutschen f; nachgeahmt ist. practisch angesehen, so können alle druckereien auf der stelle sz setzen, viele aber kein  $\beta$ , ja nich einmal fs, sondern es musz erst geschnitten werden. fs für sz verbitte ich mir, denn es ist offenes ss, das wir auszscheiden wollen. dasz man sich eine zeitlang damit für  $\beta$  geglaubt hat behelfen zu können, verschlägt nichts.

Ich ehre die gesinnung, offenbar die ihrige, welche am hergebracht, an der empfangenen und festgesetzten lehre getreu hält und vor neuerungen scheu empfindet. Ich bin anders gewöhnt und ein recht dazu werden sie mir einräumen, ich habe in der grammatik viel neues gewagt und würde, stritten keine guten gründe dafür, untilgbaren anstosz damit gegeben haben; dringe ich nicht durch, wenigstens werde ich geduldet. einige neuerungen sind bereits angenommen, andere dürfen hoffen es zu werden mit demselben grund wie gegen die sz im 14.15 jh. könnten sie sich wider die circumflexe für den langen

vokal im 13. jh. sträuben, der circumflex wird gleichfalls den handschriften, die ihn nicht haben, aufgedrängt und in gewissem sinn müsste man wieder zu der früher herrschenden gewohnheit zurückkehren, die aus unwissenheit alles stehn liesz, unbezeichnet und ungebessert, wie es die hs. liefert. die sanskritischen oder die bloß gothisch treibenden, verwerten auch ê und ô, weil e und o immer lang seien, damit sind aber in der sprachvergleichung analogie und parallelismus gestört und aufgehoben, wie der verhalt des hd. zu nd. dadurch getrübt ist, dasz im hd. s das nd. *t und s oft verschwimmen*. heutzutage ist uns ei für ey endlich allgemein geworden oder mag nur wenigen ein greuel sein, ich erinnere mich, Behecke behauptete steif und fest sei und bei für sey, bey lasse sich gar nicht einmal gehörig aussprechen. wandte ich ihm nun das mhd. st, bl ein, so konnte er dem einwand zwar nichts anhaben, beharrte aber nichtsdestoweniger bei seiner gewohnheit. unserm wb. nimmts kein mensch mehr übel, dass wir in den stellen von Göthe und Schiller, die selbst ey schreiben, nunmehr ei gebrauchen.

Steht der grundsatz nicht sehr auf schwachen füssen, dasz man jedem autor seine schreibung oder vielmehr die von seinem abschreiber oder setzer befolgte lassen müsse? im wb. ist nicht zu vermeiden ausnahmsweise etwas bunt zu sein, aber es würde das allerbunteste und widrigste gewand darin vorherrschen, wenn jene *regel* gelten sollte. in manchen dingen gewinne ich erst allmählich festere ansicht für das nothwendige, und halte mich z.b. berechtigt eigennamen nach der *heutigen* grammatik (nicht nach der alten, oder wie es etymologisch sein müste) zu schreiben, also Winkelmann, Zarnke, unbekümmert darum, wie die träger des namens selbst schrieben oder schreiben; sie mögen thun was sie wollen. Goethe für Göthe beizubehalten scheint mir höchst verkehrt; im 18 jh. hatten einige leute den einfall die lat. diphthonge auf unsere umlaute anzuwenden und Göthe that es bei seinem namen, obschon er sonst götter schrieb und nicht goetter.

mit einer deutschen schriftsprache hängt auch deutsche allgemeine rechtschreibung innig zusammen, die es nicht den einzelnen autoren noch den ausgaben deutscher schriftsteller gestattet immer anders zu schreiben, wie es jedem durch den kopf geht. bisher aber sind wir wie im glauben und in der politik auch in schrift und sprache vielhäufig. alle reform aber muss

langsam, nicht plötzlich geschehn und ich darf mich beim wörterbuch über keinen erfolg besonders freuen. ein künftiger nachfolger, der sich des unseligen dehnnenden h entledigen kann, wird freier athem schöpfen. wir wollen zufrieden sein, dass in entfaltung der bedeutungen und in der etymologie schritte vorwärts geschehn sind, bis zum ziel ist noch unendlicher abstand.

Alle diese betrachtungen würden ihnen zuwider sein oder unnötig erscheinen, ständen Sie nicht dem wb. so nahe, dasz Sie für alle dinge darin sinn und geschmack haben.

Weisth. 5, 8 v. u. ist *asene* das schweiz. *asni* bei Stalder, 1, 114.<sup>28</sup> was aber *ime natte* 6, 112?<sup>29</sup> bei *ime* denke ich an *imme* getreidemasz, *natte* ist französisch = matte, geflochtne matte, wie schickt sich das? 10, 11 v. u. hätte ich gewünscht, dasz gedruckt stände dem egenanten gotzhus, dem Egen. Gotzhus verstehn die leser nicht.<sup>30</sup>

Berlin 20. Juli 1861

JAC. GRIMM.

es war unnötig å ö û zu schreiben, ich dachte mir, dass man von selbst dafür ä ö ü setzen würde, bin aber zu tadeln, dasz ich nicht darüber bestimmte.

#### 10. Rudolf Hildebrand an Jacob Grimm

*Hoch verehrter herr Hofrath,*

Herzlichen dank für Ihre freundlichen wünsche in betreff meiner gesundheit, die witterung ist sehr günstig, ausflüge ins gebirge sind mir freilich unmöglich gemacht durch die masern die meine familie hier heimgesucht haben, und auch mein kopf ist schwächer als ich dachte.

Herzlichen dank auch für die ausführliche belehrende auseinandersetzung die Sie mir widmeten, bei der ich nur bedaure, dass ihre spitze gegen mich gekehrt ist, eigentlich aus missverständnis; denn ich bin mit dem sz an sich herzlich einverstanden, und bin mir nur nicht klar wie weit zurück in der zeit man es rätlich brauchen könne. Dass man es fortan brauche und auch

<sup>28</sup> Schweiz. Id. 1. 504.

<sup>29</sup> Theil IV, S. 6 Z. 9-11 v. o: Die müle hat das recht, dz wer in den hofe gegessen ist, da sol malen, und welcher usswendig müole der sol dem müller off der mülen die jme natten geben.

<sup>30</sup> Vgl. jetzt die 'Druckfehler und Berichtigungen' in Bd. IV S. 810.

in der grammatischen oder lexikalischen fassung der ältern nhd. zeit, das steht ja über aller frage, und es wird auch schon mehrseitig auszer dem wb. gebraucht, z.b. von hrn. Joh. Minckwitz<sup>1</sup> in Leipzig, und was mehr sagen will, von Fleckeisens, weiland Jahns jahrbb. für philol. n. pädag.; aber wo sichs nicht um *grammatische* fassung eines ältern schriftstücks, sondern nur historisch getreue vorlegung handelt, wie ja wol bei den weisth., da hab ichs nun einmal gern so vor mir, wie es seiner zeit und für seine zeitgenossen wirklich war. ich ärgere mich z.b. immer an der gewohnheit des 16 jh. sz und s zu vermengen, dass man da gros schreibt und grösser oder vielmehr gröfser—aber doch möchte ich (—?) wiederabdrücken vom geschichtlichen standpunct nicht (—?) denn es war ja doch einmal wirklich so. Trotzdem bedaure ich natürlich ernstlich, dass Ihr gewolltes s(z) in den weisth. durch meine schuld vereitelt worden ist. freilich kann ich die bemerkung nicht unterdrücken, dass nun die *wirklich* vorkommende sz erst ihren wahren urkundlichen werth erhalten, und ein durchgeführtes “sz” in den vielen unorganischen stellen dem auge doch wol noch anstössiger gewesen wäre als das ss das da meist die schreiber setzen; eine grammatische sichtung aber in diesem und, folgerichtig dann auch in allen andern puncten vorzunehmen, dazu hatte ich wirklich die zeit nicht und auch nicht den auftrag. für das  $\beta$  hab ich eine unwillkürliche vorliebe behalten von Ihrer grammatik her, deren erster band 3. anfl. mir als primaner einmal in die hände fiel und mir das morgenroth meines wissenschaftlichen lebens wurde.

Hoffentlich bin ich damit vor Ihnen von dem verdacht gereinigt, als wär ich ein blinder anhänger des hergebrachten. ich bin eigentlich das gerade gegentheil davon, nämlich ein rücksichtsloser neuerer wo die sache klar ist, und wäre gar gern ein durchgreifender erneuerer in diesen—und in andern dingen, wenn ich irgend wie den persönlichen einfluss hätte verschaffen können, der dazu nöthig ist. ich bin seiner zeit von radicalster gesinnung gewesen in bezug auf kirche und staat und gesellschaftliches leben u. s. w., und habe z. b. in sprachlicher beziehung den alten Adam der deutschen schrift schon als primaner

<sup>1</sup> Johannes Minckwitz, Philologe, Übersetzer und Dichter, 1812-1885. Über ihn Ludwig Fränkel in der *A. D. B.* 52, 411-416.

abgelegt (als lehrer nachher musst ich freilich mit den wölfen wieder heulen), habe vor jahren ernstlich daran gedacht ob man nicht durch vereinigungen das alberne Sie abschaffen und Ihr wieder beleben könne, u. s. w.; nur scheue ich jetzt, vielleicht mit unrecht, solche unternehmungen, wo es wegen der widerstrebenden menge beim bloßen anlauf bleiben muss.

Dass ich das ũ, ä, ö beibehalten habe, geschah wolüberlegt, ja nach fast peinlichem und verwirrendem hin und her überlegen; denn das ũ steht sehr oft in der hs. für ue als geschwächtes uo, z. b. hüber = huober, gŭt = guot und auch das ũ als umlaut von uo durft ich nicht antasten, denn man spricht noch heute am Oberrhein güeter, nicht güter. Das ö ist oft vom ō wolunterschieden gebraucht, und ich war erstaunt zu finden dass selbst ä manchmal anders gemeint war als ä, nämlich als ä (wofür auch ä, was ich leider nicht mit habe schneiden lassen). freilich haben die schreiber ũ ũ ũ ũ oft verwirrt durcheinander gebraucht, wie in allen hss., aber da eine gramm. regelung nicht in absicht sein konnte, blieb mir nichts andres übrig als das handschriftliche zu belassen und nur hie und da stillschweigend nachzubessern, wo das verständnis gefährdet war.

In dankbarster und treuster gesinnung

Ihr

Arnstadt, 31, Juli 1861.

RUD. HILDEBRAND.

Sie wissen doch von dem schlag der unsern guten Hirzel betroffen hat.<sup>22</sup> Gott gebe ihm und besonders der vorher schon leidenden frau Hirzel die kraft, es bald zu überwinden.

Entschuldigen Sie noch ein postscriptum: Regel in Gotha arbeitet an einem gründlichen und umfänglichen thüring. idiotikon und hat durch ganz Thüringen viele mitarbeiter und sammler, besonders unter den gymnasiallehrern<sup>23</sup>. es ist noch viel hier zu heben.

<sup>22</sup> Am 23. Juli 1861 war Hirzels Schwiegersohn, der Buchhändler Ernst Baedeker, im Alter von 27 Jahren gestorben. Baedekers Witwe Ottilie, geb. Hirzel heiratete später den bekannten Romanisten Adolf Tobler.

<sup>23</sup> Im Vorwort seines Buches '*Die Ruhlaer Mundart*' (Weimar 1868) sagt Karl Regel S. VI 'Diese Monographie dürfe als Vorläuferin des schon lange von mir vorbereiteten gesamt-thüringischen Idiotikons gelten, für dessen Vollendung ich, so Gott will, in nicht mehr ferner Zeit die nötige Kraft und Musse finden werde.'

## 11. Jacob Grimm an Rudolf Hildebrand

Lieber herr Doctor, haben Sie die güte bei Kreysing erkundigung einzuziehen, wie lange er noch mit dem manuscript aureichen oder wie viel bogen es füllen wird? mir sind bis jetzt sieben aushängebogen zugekommen; für die bei durchsicht derselben angebrachten besserungen danke ich schönstens, es bleibt freilich an diesen texten genug zu thun übrig, namentlich steht es schlimm um die 3.62 eingerückte franz. fassung, wo zeile 15 von unten das o ganz unverständlich ist, es sollte wohl dafür stehen: item le seigneur a à juger.<sup>34</sup>

Ihre antwort aus Arnstadt hat mich sehr erfreut, nur dürfen sie meinem vorhergegangnem briefe nichts übel nehmen. Ihre gesinnung und einsicht ist die beste.

Ihr ergebenster J. Gr. 19 aug. 1861

## 12. Rudolf Hildebrand an Jacob Grimm

*Hochzuverehrender herr hofrath,*

Ich bin in dem falle Sie in betreff der elsäss. Weisthümer um eine auskunft zu bitten, die ich freilich möglichst bald haben müste. gegen ende der reihe weisth. finden sich drei, die schon im 1. bd. gedruckt sind und zwar aus derselben quelle, Schilter; da mit dem wiederabdruck nichts gewonnen schien, schied ich das erste dergl., das mir in die hände kam, aus. bei den andern bin ich aber durch hdschr. bemerkungen von Ihnen unsicher geworden, ob Sie nicht doch den wiederabdruck in absicht hätten. ich ersuche Sie daher um verhaltungsmassregeln in möglichster kürze.

Auch frisches mscr. wird von uns erwartet, besonders neugierig von mir, wollten Sie mir vielleicht gleich den rest für den ganzen band nachschicken? und bald?

Ihr treu ergebener

R. HILDEBRAND

Leipzig, 20. Sept. 1861.

## 13. Jacob Grimm an Rudolf Hildebrand

Um die drei schon im ersten band aus Schilter gedruckten weisthümer, derentwegen Sie, lieber freund, aufragen, ist es so

<sup>34</sup> Theil IV, S. 62, Z. 15 v. u: Item o a a juger sur les biens et le droit de benuard ou de garde champ. In den 'Druckfehlern und Berichtigungen' S. 810 heisst es: 1. on a à juger.

bewandt: ich verdanke fast alles, was jetzt aus dem Elsass gegeben wird, einem herrn Stoffel in Colmar.<sup>35</sup> er wollte, wozu ich ihn ermunterte, seine in den jahren 1846, 1847 gemachte samlung selbst herausgeben, konnte aber immer keinen verleger finden. er hatte besondere gründe jene drei stücke seiner samlung einzuverleiben und bat mich um erlaubnis dazu, die ich ihm natürlich nicht versagen konnte. als ich mich endlich zur fortsetzung meiner samlung entschloss, schlug ich ihm vor mir die seinige zu überlassen und er willigte ein. ich dachte mir die drei wiederholten weisthümer könnten ihm zu gefallen bleiben. da aber sonst noch viel zu drucken ist, überlege ich jetzt, dass sie zweckmässiger ausgelassen werden und wie Sie bereits das erste ausgeschieden habe, bitte ich auch die beiden andern auszuscheiden.

Beifolgend erhalten Sie p. 1-30, als den schluss des Elsasses und p. 1-90 (roth beziffert) den beginn der Schweiz, das übrige von der Schweiz soll in acht tagen gesandt werden.

Ich lege einen titel bei, der für dir bestellten besonderen abzüge, welche auf meine kosten, nicht auf die des verlegers gemacht worden sind, und die ich herrn Stoffel versprochen habe, gehört. Auch den druck dieses titels bezahle ich und bitte herrn Kreysing diese besonderen exemplare, sobald sie fertig werden, mir hierher zu senden.

Wiederholten dank für Ihre bemühungen. der Ihrige Jac. Gr.  
22. Spt. 1861.

in meinem neulichen aufsatz <sup>36</sup> berichtigen Sie doch liuva in liva, als den vermutheten namen des löwen. Die goth. spr. kennt kein iuv, nur iv. ein anderes versehen steht zuletzt, vigadeins darf nicht von vigadei geleitet werden, sondern nur von vigap, wie liuhadeins von liuhap. liuhadei gab es nicht, also auch nicht vigadei.

#### 14. Jacob Grimm an Rudolf Hildebrand

Lieber freund, hier sende ich wieder 36 + 74 seiten weisthümer manuscript, mir ist unbekannt, ob man dessen schon bedarf. ich weisz gar nicht, wie ich mit Kreysing daran bin und fange an in verlegenheit zu gerathen. aushänggebogen habe ich

<sup>35</sup> Vgl. Vorbericht zum 4. Bande der *Weisthümer*, S. IV.

<sup>36</sup> "Über einige gothische Wörter" jetzt: *Kl. Schriften* 5, 445 ff; über lauja, liva vgl. S. 449, über vigadeins S. 452 ebendort.

bis zu 20 incl., aber 13 fehlt und 17 ist zerschnitten. auf die sonderabdrücke der elsaszwelsth. warte ich seit mehreren wochen ungeduldig, es wäre arg, wenn ein versehen vorgefallen wäre. ich habe mich gegenüber Stoffel anheischig gemacht, dafür dass er mir seine sammlung überliesz ihm 30 besondere abzüge mit besond. titel zu senden. diese abdrücke habe ich gleich beim beginn des druckes bestellt und der druckerei erklärt, dass ich die kosten des papiers nur trage, werde auch gleich beim empfang die zahlung entrichten, so dass Kr. gar kein bedenken haben kann. bei absendung des schlusses der els. w. legte ich den titel bei, alles ist durch Ihre hand gegangen und sicher dem Kr. zugelangt. Warum bleibt alles aus? ich habe dem St. längst gemeldet dass alles in ordnung und bald fertig sei, kann ihm aber immer noch nichts zugehen lassen. Mich beruhigt bloss, wenn sich irgend ein anstand erhoben haben sollte, dass *Sie* mich davon benachrichtigt haben würden.

Die stelle Ebernands über vemen<sup>37</sup> hatte ich übersehen und danke sehr für die nachweisung. nichts ist lästiger als die composita von feld, fels, fenster, fest usw. zu verzeichnen, man möchte oft den ganzen plunder hinwerfen, wenn nicht mitunter einzelheiten vorkämen, die zu erwägen werth sind. Pfeifers Megenberg ist nun heraus und ein gutes glossar angehängt, das mir viel mühe hätte sparen können. von allem, was man lesen sollte, bleibt doch ein grosser theil ungelesen, wie wäre es anders möglich?

27 nov. (1861)

JAC. GR.

#### 15. Jacob Grimm an Rudolf Hildebrand

Hier ist der Kothing.<sup>38</sup> beschalhetti p. 365 bedeutet ganz richtig beschalkte, nach der alten schreibung schalk, schalch, beschalken, increpare. weiteres ms. soll in 14 tagen folgen. nun haben Sie mich wieder beruhigt; es thut mir nur leid dass Sie so geplagt werden, doch Ihre theilnahme an der sache hilft die mühe verringern. schönsten gruss

in eile 4 dec 1861

JAC. GR.

<sup>37</sup> DWB 3, 1517 f. s. u. femē führt für die Bedeutung, in iudicium vocare, in iudicio punire, condemnare, Ebermand 1443 an; dasselbe Citat bei Lexer, *Mhd. Handwb.* 3, 62 f. *Heinrich und Kunigunde v. Eberand von Erfurt*, hg. von

## 16. Jacob Grimm an Rudolf Hildebrand

Lieber freund, ich sende 96 seiten msp.; es könnte mehr folgen, hätte ich nicht eben noch ein buch aus Göttingen verschreiben müssen, worin sich ein stück vorfindet.

ein heft der elsass. weisth. liegt für Sie bei, sollten Sie es schon empfangen haben, so bitte ich um gelegentl. zurückgabe, unter allen diesen stücken anziehend ist das von Bergheim s. 244, das vollsteckt von alterthum und wozu sich viel sagen lässt. sprachlich wichtig auch das trabe tragen.<sup>39</sup>

p. 212, glaube ich, muss die kürzung wasz gleichfalls in wasser, nicht in wachs aufgelöst werden. wasser in den bienenkart gegossen soll den mangelnden meth, wasser auf die habergarbe das mangelnde bier ersetzen.<sup>40</sup>

recht vergnügte frohe weihnachten

Gr.

20. Dec (1861)

## 17. Jacob Grimm an Rudolf Hildebrand

Lieber freund, hierbei Futter für den setzer der weisthümer, Niedersachsen 1-118. diese sind anderer art als die hochdeutschen, und gewissermassen lebendiger, doch meistens erst späterer fassung. Wörner oder Sie mögen bei der durchsicht so viel überflüssige f, t und z tilgen als Sie wollen, ich hatte keine zeit dazu. ich habe noch keinen beschluss gefasst, womit der band 4 schliessen soll, auf allen fall muss ein fünfter folgen. aber ich möchte schon zu 4 eine vorrede schreiben.

Neulich waren Ihnen einige K zettel lieb, ich schicke hier *sechs pakete* mit lauter solchen, die ich von Birlinger<sup>41</sup> einem

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R. Bechstein, Quedlinburg 1860 ist nicht berücksichtigt im Quellen-Verzeichniss zum deutschen Wörterbuch. Ausgegeben von der Centralsammelstelle des Deutschen Wörterbuchs in Göttingen, Göttingen 1910.

<sup>39</sup> *Die Rechtsquellen der Bezirke des Kantons Schwyz als Folge zum Landbuch von Schwyz* herausg. von M. Kothing, Basel 1853, S. 365: "Wer och dz ieman den andren dem ferren in sinen schiffen beschalhetti, der sols dem ferren buoszen und ablegen, als under sinem ruossigen rafen."

<sup>40</sup> *Weisthümer* IV S. 245: "In diesem hoff soll mann auch keinen stuol sezen, noch für machen, noch trabe tragen; treib jemand trabe, kompt desz vogts knecht, sy sollens nemen"

<sup>40</sup> Vgl. jetzt 'Druckfehler und Berichtigungen' S. 810.

<sup>41</sup> Anton Birlinger, der bekannte Germanist, 1834-1891.

Katholiken aus Schwaben, jetzt in München erhalten habe und worin mancherlei gutes und brauchbares steckt. Sie werden vielleicht davor erschrecken. doch denke ich mir überhaupt, sie haben bisher zu K. bloß gründlich gesammelt, auch einzelnes ausgeführt, nirgends abgeschlossen, wozu ja noch jahrelang zeit ist. hier in Berlin liegen noch alle erst gesammelten Zettel aus K.

Pfeifer ist dies jahr sehr fruchtbar. eben ist auch sein erster band Berthold heraus und mir zugeeignet, was mich sehr freut.

2 Aug. 1862

18. Jacob Grimm an Rudolf Hildebrand

Ihr JAC. GR.

Mit den weisthümern hat sich der drucker in der letzten zeit faul bewiesen. ich übersende hier wieder 142 seiten manuscript

zw. Neckar, Main und Rhein 1-94

zw. Main, Rhein, Lahn, Ems

Unterwald zw. Lahn, Rhein, Sieg } 1-48

Opels und Cohns samlung <sup>42</sup> wird in Ihrer hand gewesen sein, sie enthält viel schlechtes, doch bleibt das ganze immer zu brauchen. ein lied des *Nicolaus Upschlacht* aus dem 15 jh. ist neulich in Riedels gesch. des preuszsch. königshauses 2, 183 bekannt gemacht worden, doch mit verkennung der stropheneintheilung.<sup>43</sup>

ich lege ein paar zettel aus K bei, von denen Sie vielleicht einiges benutzen können.

9, Merz 1862.

JAC. GR.

19. Jacob Grimm an Rudolf Hildebrand

Werthester freund, zur letzten manuscriptsendung hatte ich auch einen kleinen brief geschrieben, den ich vor einigen

<sup>42</sup> *Der Dreissigjährige Krieg*. Eine Sammlung von historischen Gedichten und Prosadarstellungen, herausg. von Julius Opel und Adolf Cohn.

<sup>43</sup> *Gedicht des Preussischen Königshauses*. Von Adolph Friedrich Riedel. Erster Theil. Die Grafen von Zollern und Burggrafen von Nürnberg. Berlin 1861. Zweiter Theil: Markgraf Friedrich, erster Kurfürst von Brandenburg aus dem burggräflichen Hause Zollern. Berlin 1861. Das von Jacob Grimm erwähnte Lied ('Der milder Christ von hemelrich Der macke zu troste sicher-

tagen unter meinen papieren auf dem tisch fand, weil er im paket nicht eingelegt worden war. er enthielt nichts als meinen erneuten dank, den ich auch hier wiederhole.

Sie fügen zuweilen hübsche sprachliche anmerkungen hinzu. schade dass beim abdruck mitunter verrückt wird, was in der correctur ordentlich war. so p. 455 z. 28-34 hinten die schliessenden buchstaben.

Die jetzt vorliegenden weisthümer sind weniger anziehend als die aus dem Elsass und der Schweiz.

Das wörterbuch müht mich doch sehr und hält mich von vielem andern zurück. Die abwechselung der wörter belebt zwar, doch fällt die reihe einförmiger composita zur last und mir bangt vor den zahllosen zusammensetzungen mit fort, an die ich jetzt musz..

Erlauben Sie dass ich wieder 20 Thaler beilege, damit Ihre mühewaltung bei den weist. doch einigermassen vergolten wird.

Herzlich grüssend Ihr JAC. GR  
eilends, 9 juli 1862

Werthester freund,

20. Jacob Grimm an Rudolf Hildebrand

Hier folgen noch hundert seiten msp., womit der vierte band der weisth. schliessen soll, abgesehen von einer ziemlich weitläufigen vorrede, die ich noch zu schreiben habe und nachsenden werde.

In den mir zugegangenen aushängen scheint bogen 17 nicht recht in ordnung. es musz p. 269 mit Eschentwiler aufhören und 230 mit Zürich, Binsikon beginnen. lassen Sie das doch den drucker wissen und man möge mir einen andern abzug von bogen 17 schicken, damit ich mich von der berichtigung überzeuge.

Viele grüsse, Ihr ergebenster JAC. GR.  
Berlin 21 oct. 1862.

21. Jacob Grimm an Rudolf Hildebrand

Lieber freund, ich danke schönstens für den sachsenspiegel <sup>44</sup> und wuste gar nicht, dass Sie schon zur zweiten ausgabe, die

lich Hat geben marggraff Friedrich, Den edlen fursten lobesamen. . ') ist 2,183—187 abgedruckt.

<sup>44</sup> *Der Sachsenspiegel nach der ältesten Leipziger Handschrift.* Leipzig

mir nie zu gesicht kam, ein glossar geliefert hatten, jetzt kann ich sie ganz entbehren. ist denn prof. Weiske nicht mehr am leben? Denn sonderbar wäre doch, dass er die dritte auflage seines buchs ohne eigne vorrede entlassen und Ihnen nicht für Ihre mühe öffentlich gedankt hätte.

Mir ists mit meiner vorrede zum 4. bande der weisth. auch wider willen ergangen. ich schrieb ruhig daran und hatte mancherlei zu forschen, als mich der verleger darum anging, das buch noch in diesem jahr abzulassen. da machte ichs mit einer kurzen vorrede ab und entschloss mich meine gedanken und sammlungen für eine eigne kleine schrift zu gebrauchen. es kostet nun doch mühe vieles umzugießen.

Dafür musz das wörterbuch ruhen, ich habe auch manchmal gar keine lust daran zu gehen und möchte lieber lauter andere arbeit vornehmen. hernach, wann ich mich wieder unter das joch beuge, bin ich doch vergnügt dabei. ich denke ich bin dem wörterbuch doch nicht völlig verfallen.

Ich bitte Sie mir zu sagen, ob sie folgende bücher noch nicht besitzen:

Conrads Tr. Kr. von Keller,  
Philipps marienleben von Rückert,  
Die Krone Heinrichs von dem Türlin von Scholl,  
Barlaam von Pfeifer,  
Passional von Köpke<sup>45</sup>

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1840—2 Aufl. 1853—Seit der 3. Auflage (Leipzig 1863) von Rudolf Hildebrand. —5 Aufl. 1877,—6. Aufl. 1882.—Die 17. Aufl. besorgte nach Hildebrands Tode Georg Berlit (Leipzig 1893). Über Julius Weiske (1801-1877) vgl. Teichmanns und v. Holtzendorffs Rechtslexicon (3. Aufl. Leipzig 1880/81) Bd. III S. 1307.

<sup>44</sup> *Der Trojanische Krieg von Konrad von Würzburg*. Nach den Vorarbeiten K. Frommans und F. Roths zum ersten Mal herausgegeben durch Adelbert von Keller. Stuttgart 1858 (=44. Publication des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart). Anmerkungen zu Konrads Trojanerkrieg hat 1877 Karl Bartsch in 133. Bande der Bibl. des Lit. Vereins zu Stuttgart gegeben.

*Bruder Philipps Marienleben*, hg. von Heinrich Rückert, Quedlinburg 1853.

*Die Cröne von Henirch von dem Türlin*, zum ersten Male herausgegeben von Gottlob Heinrich Friedrich Scholl, Stuttgart 1852 (=Bibliothek des Litterarischen Voreins in Stuttgart XXVII).

*Barlaam und Josaphat* von Rudolf von Ems. Htg. von Franz Pfeiffer. Leipzig 1843.

*Das Passional*. Eine Legenden-Sammlung des 13. Jahrhunderts. Zum ersten Male herausgegeben und mit einem Glossar versehen von Fr. Karl

in welchen fall ich sie Ihnen aus meines bruders nachlass übersenden möchte, zu dessen andeken sie sie gern behalten werden und der auch hin und wieder etwas bei geschrieben hat.

Frohe weihnachten. JAC. GRIMM.

23. Decemb. 1862.

## 22. Jacob Grimm an Rudolf Hildebrand

Lieber freund, ich habe statt des Barlaam den vierten band der weisth. beigelegt, da ich nicht sicher bin, ob schon ein exemplar in Ihren händen ist. sollte es der fall sein, so bitte ich dieses in meinem namen an Hirzel zu geben.

ich habe wieder meinen ärger an dem titel<sup>46</sup> weil mir die geschmacklose bairische formel zuwider ist, auch in der that weder der könig von B. mein buch veranlaszt, noch die akad. commission das geringste dabei zu thun gehabt hat, so meldete ich neulich nach München, ich würde dass alles weglassen und vor die worte 'mit Kgl. bair. unterstützung' beifügen, da ich 500 gulden zum ersatz meiner vielen kosten von reisen, abschriften und versendungen empfangen habe. was davon noch übrig ist, soll verwandt werden, um Schröder nach Speier und vielleicht nach Schafhausen und S. Gallen für weitere abschriften zu entsenden. hiernach fasse ich also den titel ab und schicke ihn mit dem msp. der vorrede an Kreysing. zu meinem erstaunen und verdross ist nun doch der ärgerliche stempel eingedruckt, den ihm wahrscheinlich Dieterichs aus Göttingen in unnöthiger vorsorge übermacht haben (wird). er hätte sich aber nach meiner vorschrift richten sollen. was ich in München vorgeschützt habe, war nun alles vergeblich. von der vorrede ist mir keine revision, wie ich wünschte, hierher geschickt, sondern alles has'ig gedruckt worden. s. IV. zeile 6 von unten muss es heissen *schade* statt nachtheil und s. V zeile 2 von oben aus dem *vorrath* zu Darmstadt. wahrscheinlich liegt der fehler in meinem concept, das ich übler gewohnheit nach nicht vorher durchlese, darauf tranend, dass ich eine revision bekäme.

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Köpke. Quedlinburg und Leipzig 1852 (= Bibliothek der gesammten deutschen National-Literatur von der ältesten bis auf die neuere Zeit, Bd. 32).

<sup>46</sup> In der Buchausgabe heisst es: Auf Veranlassung und mit Unterstützung seiner Majestaet des Königs von Bayern Maximilian II. Herausgegeben durch die Historische Commission bei der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Mit dem druck des fünften bandes kann ich nicht sogleich vorgehen, eben weil erst in Speier usw. neue ausbeute geholt werden soll.

Meine schrift über die weisthümer mag den juristen misfallen, es hat sich in diesem fach, wie in anderen, eine magere doctrin festgesetzt, die ungern von dem bogen weicht, den sie einmal behauptet, aber nicht immer behaupten wird.

Ich lobe höchlich Ihren entschluss die niedrige lehrerstelle aufzugeben, führen Sie ihn nur aus, sobald es angeht. hoffentlich ist Ihre frau schon wieder hergestellt. ich fühle mich nicht besonders wol, bringe die nächte fast schlaflos zu und bilde dann wache träume aus.

Dies alles, damit das paket nicht liegen bleibt, in eile.

der Ihrige JAC. GRIMM.

30 Dec 1862

23. Jacob Grimm an Rudolf Hildebrand

L. fr. fügen Sie, ich bitte, sp. 63 im artikel französisch<sup>47</sup> hinter den worten und so verunstaltet erscheint das alte frankisc. noch ein: wer für englisch litte englösisch? das aus Englosen für Anglois (oft im Karlmeinet) gerade so folgen würde.

da Hizzel krank ist, müssen Sie geplagt werden. 13 apr. [1863.]

JAC. GR.

24. Jacob Grimm an Rudolf Hildebrand

sp. 85<sup>48</sup> zeile 36 hinter messerschmidt narrenspital, Strazsb. 10 18, 141; können wol die worte

das ohrenzart frawenzimmer. Garg. 7. noch eingefügt werden, gleich in der zeile fortlaufend, da es prosa ist. zufällig liegt mir gerade daran.

hübschen dank, dass Sie das versehen bei towen in Brants stelle anmerkten. die hitze des niederschreibens führt manchmal auf einen abweg.

einlage bitte an Zarnke zu schicken

JAC. GR.

1. Mai, [1863.]

<sup>47</sup> DWB IV 1, 63.

<sup>48</sup> DWB IV, 1, 85 unter Frauenzimmer.

## THE EARLY LITERARY LIFE OF SIR WALTER SCOTT

A recent examination of the time at which Scott translated Bürger's *Lenore*<sup>1</sup> revealed a number of errors regarding that first of his poetic efforts to appear in print. It also showed not a few other errors regarding his early poetry, and indicated that the chapter of his early literary efforts might be rewritten to advantage. How far that is so it will be the purpose of this paper to prove.

For the advantage of continuity I may summarize the results of the above mentioned paper, so far as it relates to time and bears upon Scott's further literary work. Briefly then, in spite of many statements at variance, Scott's *William and Helen*, as he called his translation of Bürger's *Lenore*, was made "in the beginning of April 1796," as Lockhart tells us,<sup>2</sup> a date which can be proved to be more nearly correct than Scott's own reference to it in an edition of his poems printed nearly thirty years thereafter.<sup>3</sup> *The Chase*, as Scott first called *The Wild Huntsman*, "appears to have been executed during the month that preceded his first publication,"<sup>4</sup> that is before October when both were issued under the title *The Chase and William and Helen*.<sup>5</sup>

Lockhart is sometimes exasperatingly careless about the exact date of Scott's early works, for example as between two years which he often treats in a single chapter. He does say that, after Scott's first publication in October 1796,

<sup>1</sup> "The Earliest English Translations of Bürger's *Lenore*," *Western Reserve University Bulletin*, May 1915.

<sup>2</sup> Lockhart's *Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. by A. W. Pollard, Vol. i, p. 205. The work will usually be referred to as simply *Life* etc., its more common title.

<sup>3</sup> In a prefatory note to the poem, in the edition of 1820, Scott says the translation was made "about 1795," and this statement has often been repeated. See Scudder's Cambridge edition of Scott's *Poetical Works*, (1900), and that by J. L. Robertson (1904).

<sup>4</sup> *Life* i, 215.

<sup>5</sup> *The Chase* is the spelling of the first edition, published by Manners and Miller of Edinburgh, but sold also by Cadell & Davies of London.

He was henceforth engaged in a succession of versions from the dramas of Meier and Iffland, several of which are still extant in his MS., marked 1796 and 1797. These are all in prose like their originals; but he also versified at the same time some lyrical fragments of Goethe, as for example the Morlachian Ballad,

What yonder gleams so white on the mountain,  
and the song from Claudina von Villa Bella.<sup>6</sup>

This reference to Scott's dramatic translations is made somewhat more definite by a later statement, in which Lockhart says of a German drama he had not yet mentioned:

His translation of Steinberg's *Otho von Wittelsbach* is marked '1796-7', from which I conclude it was finished in the latter year.<sup>7</sup>

The allusion in Lockhart's imperfect German is to the *Otto von Wittelsbach* of Karl Franz Guolfinger, Count von Steinsberg (born about 1757), the incorrect forms of the author's name and the drama's title having passed through many editions of the *Life*. From the date by Scott, too, we may safely conclude that the translation was at least begun in the last part of 1796.

In the same period I think we may safely place the first bit of Scott's original verse to be printed by himself, the lines called *The Violet*, or *On a Violet* as Lockhart has it, to which the date 1797 is usually given.<sup>8</sup> Yet the language of Lockhart

<sup>6</sup> *Life* i, 215. Lockhart's "at the same time" might refer to the last part of 1796 or to the following year, but the Goethe translations at least seem to belong to 1797. We shall probably not know all the facts until the materials of the library at Abbotsford are made accessible.

<sup>7</sup> *Life* i, 227.

<sup>8</sup> As by Palgrave (1897), Scudder in the *Cambridge* (1900), Robertson (1904). Lockhart gives (*Life* i, 77-79) some earlier juvenilia, now usually incorporated in complete editions of the *Poetical Works*. These are some lines translating Virgil's *Æneid* iii, 571-77, and two original fragments: *On a Thunder-Storm*, and *On the Setting Sun*.

With regard to earlier original verse by Scott there is an amusing note in the *Diary of Frances, Lady Shelley*, ii, 61, in which Wm. Clerk, Scott's early friend is quoted as saying:

"One day there was some joke against this man [a member of a club of barristers in Edinburgh], and Scott, who was then only twenty-three years of age, determined to write some comic verses upon it. . . . After many fruitless attempts to produce anything worthy of the occasion, Walter Scott exclaimed: 'Well, it is clear, Clerk, that neither you nor I were born poets.' This will show you, my lady, that at three-and-twenty Scott had not written a line of poetry."

and the circumstances to which the poem relates would imply the preceding year. William Erskine, Lord Kinnedder, the friend of Scott's youth, is the early authority for Scott's authorship of the poem and the time at which it was written. To a question by Lockhart as to whether Scott had made his early love affair the subject of verse, Lord Kinnedder said:

Oh yes, he made many little stanzas about the lady, and he sometimes showed them to Cranstoun, Clerk, and myself—but we really thought them in general very poor. Two things of the kind, however, have been preserved—and one of them was done just after the conclusion of the business.<sup>9</sup>

The matter relates to Scott's interest for many years in Miss Williamina Stuart, daughter of John, later Sir John W. B. Stuart of Fettercairn, who in October of 1796, soon after the "parting sorrow" of the poem, became engaged to William, later Sir William Forbes, and in January 1797 became his wife. The acquaintance had begun as Scott, on a rainy Sunday when no carriage could be hired in strict Edinburgh, offered his umbrella and his escort to a young lady coming from church.<sup>10</sup> Apparently this was as early as 1790, so that Scott's interest had continued almost as long as Jacob's for beloved Rachel. The disappointment of Scott's last visit to the lady's home in the early autumn of 1796, or perhaps the almost immediate announcement of her engagement to another, seems to have been the occasion of his short poem.

The poem, *The Violet* as it is usually called, was not printed for many years. It was first included in the *English Minstrelsy* issued in the early part of 1810, as shown by the letter to J. B. S. Morritt accompanying a presentation copy,<sup>11</sup> and in the same year printed in the first volume of the *Edinburgh Annual Register* for 1808, but not issued until late in 1810. Much has been made of the influence of this early love affair upon Scott's life<sup>12</sup> but when, fifteen years after the lines were written, Scott was including them in his collection for the *English Minstrelsy* he could write Morritt of the poem, quoting the first stanza:

<sup>9</sup> *Life* i, 210. Lockhart adds, "He then took down a volume of the English Minstrelsy, and pointed out to me some lines *On a Violet* which had not at that time been included in Scott's collected works."

<sup>10</sup> *Life* i, 137; *Sir Walter Scott's First Love* by Adam Scott (1896) p. 25.

<sup>11</sup> *Life* i, 114-7.

<sup>12</sup> *Life* i, 385; *Sir Walter Scott's First Love*, especially chap. iv.

There is a trifle I intend to send,—a pitiful sonnet wrote in former days to my mistress's eyebrow, or rather eyelid, after it had wept itself dry.<sup>13</sup>

As indicated above this is the earliest original poem of Scott to be printed by himself, though again, according to Lord Kinnedder who thought it the best Scott had done up to that time, it was somewhat revised before being finally printed.<sup>14</sup>

It seems highly probable that one other translation from Bürger was made before the close of 1796. In relating the story of his early translations from the German, *William and Helen* and *The Chase*, Scott adds "and I balladised one or two other poems of Bürger with more or less success."<sup>15</sup> He then goes on at once to tell of the publication of the earlier translations, so that it may be inferred at least one other Bürger translation was made in this year. Little attention has been paid to this statement of Scott, and Lockhart passed it over entirely. Yet it has been possible for many years to verify and particularize this remark. As I pointed out in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*,<sup>16</sup> there is complete evidence that Scott translated Bürger's *Das Lied von Treue* under the title of *The Triumph of Constancy*, and it now seems more likely this was made in 1796 when Scott was especially interested in Bürger. A copy of this third Bürger translation was sent to Miss Anna Seward of Lichfield by Scott's friend Colin Mackenzie in 1798 or early in 1799. Her answering letter of Feb. 3, 1799, begins "I am extremely grateful for the bounteous and valuable present you have sent me," while in a note she explains the gift:

It consisted of various poems by Walter Scott, Esq., a Scottish barrister. Two paraphrases from the German Burger, published in 1796; Leonora, under the title of William and Helen; and the Chase; a third in manuscript, from Burger, not yet published, The Triumph of Constancy, and an original poem which has not yet past the press, entitled Glenfinlas.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 145-6. The letter was of Aug. 17, 1809, when Scott was soliciting Morritt's assistance for the Minstrelsy. He would scarcely have written so flippantly some months later, for Lady Forbes died Dec. 5, 1810.

<sup>14</sup> *Life* i, 211.

<sup>15</sup> See the *Essay* in T. F. Henderson's edition of Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* iv, 40. Henderson quotes Lockhart's note that the *Essay* was written in April 1830.

<sup>16</sup> Vol. xiv, p. 351 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Letters of Anna Seward* v, 197. The correspondence with Mackenzie

In the article mentioned above I have given further proof, from a letter of M. G. Lewis, that Scott translated Bürger's *Lied von Treue*, although his version has apparently never been published. Besides the probability that it closely followed the other Bürger translations, its subject matter was most in keeping with Scott's feelings about the time he wrote *The Violet*. In her letter Miss Seward had said somewhat fulsomely that the poem "has sweet and novel traits, given by your friend with the freedom and the fire of genius." She adds:

But there is something ludicrous in the canine consolation for the perfidy of a charming woman. It piques the pride of the ladies not a little.

Yet what seemed peculiar to Miss Seward was quite in the mind of Scott in the fall of 1796, since he had just suffered what Miss Seward calls, and he had himself felt to be "the perfidy of a charming woman." Nor is it impossible that the man, who could weep in later years over the death of Camp, a much beloved canine friend, now appreciated even "canine consolation."<sup>18</sup>

During the year 1797 Scott continued his German translations, partly we must believe as a consolation for his deep disappointment in his first love affair. At first he was doubtless finishing his translation of Steinsberg's *Otto von Wittelsbach*, begun as we have seen in the last part of the preceding year. To the statement on which that fact is based Lockhart adds:

The volume containing that [the translation] of Meier's 'Wolfred von Dromberg, a drama of Chivalry' is dated 1797.

This unidentified work of Scott's early years, on which there has never been a note so far as I can find, was probably a translation of Jakob Maier's *Fust von Stromberg* (Mannheim 1792), an identification suggested to me by Professor W. G. Howard of Harvard to whom I had mentioned the matter.<sup>19</sup>

doubtless led to that with Scott, which continued for many years. Scott printed her ballad *Rich Auld Willie's Farewell* in his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. iii, and after her death edited her *Poetical Works* with a *Memoir* (1810). She had made him her literary executor. In the quotations above, I have kept Miss Seward's spelling, as usually in quoting them.

<sup>18</sup> *Life* ii, 79-80.

<sup>19</sup> Professor Howard accompanied his suggestion by references to Maier's *Fust* in *Quellen und Forschungen* xi, 127, and Schiller's letters to Goethe of March 13, 1798, and Feb. 20, 1802.

No further reference to Scott's translations of Iffland's dramas occurs in Lockhart, and probably only access to the library at Abbotsford can assure us of the play or plays attempted.<sup>20</sup>

Lockhart conjectures that these translations were continued during the spring and summer, and even in "the very season of the daily drills" of the Edinburgh Light Horse, of which Scott was the originator.<sup>21</sup> At least the quotations from Scott's note-book show that even during the drills he was reading German. Thus on May 28 he "began *Nathan der Weise*." On July 3 it was still "*Nathan der Weise*," but on the fifth he had passed to what has always been printed "Geutenberg's Braut."<sup>22</sup> This incorrect German, an evident misreading of Scott's MS. although not noticed by any editor of Lockhart, must refer to Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg's *Die Braut* (1767), a German translation of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Maid's Tragedy*.

To the summer or autumn of 1797 also belongs the second bit of Scott's original verse to be printed in his *Poetical Works*, the lines *To a Lady, With Flowers from a Roman Wall*. After adjournment of the Court of Session in July, as Lockhart says, Scott, his brother John, and Adam Fergusson went for a tour of the English lake country, and, at the English watering place of Gilsland, Northumberland, Scott met not only the lady who later became his wife, but one to whom he was somewhat earlier attracted, and to whom he wrote the lines above mentioned.<sup>23</sup> They were first printed in the *Edinburgh Annual Register* of 1808, issued in 1810.

As noticed above, Lockhart places two translations from Goethe in this same summer of 1797. The first is the "Moral-lachian Ballad,

What yonder gleams so white on the mountain."

<sup>20</sup> See the quotation from the *Life* i, 227 and pp. 28-29 of this paper.

<sup>21</sup> *Life* i, 227. Unable to serve on foot by reason of his lameness, and thoroughly patriotic in this time of England's danger as always, Scott had urged the formation of a cavalry troop modeled on the London Light Horse. It agreed to serve in any part of the island in case of invasion, and Scott was first made "paymaster, quartermaster and secretary," later being relieved of the first by his friend Colin Mackenzie. Lockhart says of its activities, "Daily drills appear to have been persisted in during the spring and summer of 1797, the corps spending moreover some weeks in quarters at Musselburgh."

<sup>22</sup> *Life* i, 229-30.

<sup>23</sup> *Life* i, 231.

which does not appear among Scott's printed works, and is not known to have been published. It is another poem which should be recovered as an example of Scott's early translations from German.<sup>24</sup>

The second Goethe translation which Lockhart places in the same summer, "the song from Claudina von Villa Bella," is that which is now known among Scott's poems as *Frederick and Alice*. It is based on the song of Rugantino in the second act of Goethe's *Klaudina*, "Es war ein Buhle frisch genug." Scott must have mentioned it in an unpublished letter to M. G. Lewis, in which he offered some of his poems for the projected *Tales of Terror*, later printed as *Tales of Wonder*.<sup>25</sup> Scott's friend William Erskine, later Lord Kinneder, had met Lewis in London in the spring of 1798, had showed him Scott's versions of Bürger's *Lenore* and the *Wild Huntsman*, and had told him of Scott's other translations of similar German poems. Lewis asked that Scott assist him in his project, and Scott promptly offered what he had, mentioning them by name in his letter. In his answer Lewis wrote, among other things,

With regard to the romance in Claudina von Villa Bella, if I mistake not it is only a fragment in the original; but, should you have finished it, you will oblige me much by letting me have a copy of it, as well as of the other *marvellous* traditionary ballads you were so good as to offer me.<sup>26</sup>

This letter is undated in Lockhart, but was written before the meeting of Lewis and Scott, to which it refers as in prospect, a meeting which took place in the summer of 1798. All the events, therefore, seem to confirm Lockhart's statement that the translation of the song from *Klaudina* was made in the

<sup>24</sup> *Life* i, 215. See in Goethe's *Werke* the "Klagegesang von der edlen Frauen der Asan Aga, am dem Morlackischen,

Was ist weissen dort am grünen Walde?"

The only other allusion to the poem in Lockhart is to James Ballantyne's delight in it (*Life* i, 275). In a private letter, Rev. W. S. Crockett, author of the *Scott Country* and other works about Scott, has recently informed me of the discovery of the *Morlachian Ballad* in manuscript.

<sup>25</sup> In his "Essay on Imitations of the Ancient Ballad" (Henderson's edition of the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* iv, 48) Scott says: "Lewis had announced a collection first intended to bear the title of *Tales of Terror*, and afterwards published under that of *Tales of Wonder*."

<sup>26</sup> *Life* i, 253.

preceding summer or autumn, along with that of the Morlachian ballad.<sup>27</sup>

A third translation from Goethe, that of the *Erl-King*, was sent by Scott to his aunt, Miss Christian Rutherford, early in October of the same year. He wrote, "I send a goblin story, with best compliments to the misses, and ever am yours affectionately Walter Scott." He adds in a note to the translation,

You see I have not altogether lost the faculty of rhyming. I assure you there is no small impudence in attempting a version of that ballad, as it has been translated by Lewis.<sup>28</sup>

This letter to his mother's sister is also undated by Lockhart, but clearly antedates one of Oct. 8, in which Scott tells a friend of Lord Downshire's consent to his marriage with Miss Carpenter, that nobleman's ward. When Scott wrote his aunt Lord Downshire's consent had not been gained, for he says of his hoped for marriage, "nothing can now stand in the way except Lord Downshire, who may not think the match a prudent one for Miss C." Scott's *Erl-King* was thus completed as early as Sept. 1797, or perhaps a little earlier as would be implied by Lockhart.

Scott's translation of the *Erl-King* was first printed in the few copies of the *Apology for Tales of Terror* (Kelso 1799), of which more fully later. It was not included in his *Poetical Works* by Scott himself, and has not hitherto been known to have been published during his lifetime. It is possible now to say the translation was published in the *Scots Magazine* of January 1802, where it was accompanied by the following note:

After the numerous translations from the German which have appeared in this country, we conceive it to be needless to illustrate the popular mythology of the Erl-King, or spirit of the woods, according to the German. The beautiful German song of the Erlekönig (sic) has been translated by Mr. Lewis, the ingenious author of the Monk and other performances, and by Mr. Taylor of

<sup>27</sup> It will not usually be necessary to refer to incorrect dating of these early poems by various editors. *Frederick and Alice*, however, has been labelled "written in 1801" by the Cambridge edition of Scott's *Poetical Works*, although it appeared in Lewis's *Tales of Wonder*, dated 1801 but printed the preceding year. The Palgrave edition of Scott gives 1801, which may be the date of publication only. The Aldine edition says 1801 without further explanation.

<sup>28</sup> *Life* i, 237. Lewis's translation of the *Erl-King* appears in his *Tales of Wonder*.

Norwich, the original translator of the celebrated Lenore. For the following version which was executed before the publication of any of those we have mentioned we are indebted to a Scottish literary gentleman whom we do not hesitate to place at the head of those who have cultivated this species of poetry in this country.<sup>29</sup>

The reference to the "Scottish literary gentleman whom we do not hesitate" etc. points unquestionably to Scott, and apparently from the "we are indebted" he permitted the use of the poem, although his name is not used and the poem is signed "E. F." At this time Scott's friend Dr. John Leyden was editing the *Magazine*, having been placed in charge of it by A. Constable & Company who had taken it over in 1801.

During the next year, 1798, Scott continued his translations from German, making his version of Goethe's *Goetz von Berlichingen of the Iron Hand*. That *Goetz* was finished in 1798 is clear from the fact that it was printed in London in February 1799. Lockhart says, "In January, 1799, Mr. Lewis appears negotiating with a bookseller named Bell for the publication of Scott's version of Goethe's Tragedy, *Goetz von Berlichingen of the Iron Hand*."<sup>30</sup> Lockhart does not tell us, however, and perhaps did not know of Lewis's curious blunder in ascribing the translation on the title-page to "William Scott, Esq." This led William Taylor of Norwich to say, in his *Historic Survey of German Literature* (1827-30), that Goethe's *Goetz* was

admirably translated . . . in 1799 at Edinburgh by William Scott, advocate; no doubt the same person who, under the poetical but assumed name of Walter, has since become the most extensively popular of British writers.

This error Scott corrected in a letter to Taylor, dated Abbotsford Apr. 23, 1831.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> I have kept the spelling of the original note. For the actual discovery I am indebted to my friend Professor E. C. Baldwin of the University of Illinois who, at my suggestion, examined the *Scots Magazine* from 1799 to 1810 for possible poems of Scott. For the exact form of the poem as it appeared in the *Scots Magazine*, vol. lxiv, p. 72, see my article in *Mod. Lang. Notes* xxxviii, 154.

<sup>30</sup> *Life* i, 256.

<sup>31</sup> Robberds, *Life of Taylor*, i, 94. The letter is there dated 1832, but this seems impossible since Scott was then on his Mediterranean cruise. In its notice the *Critical Review* (Sec. Ser. xxvi, 429) gives the title-page:

Goetz of Berlichingen, with the Iron Hand: a Tragedy. Translated from the German of Goëthé, Author of "The Sorrows of Werter," &c. By William Scott, Esq. Advocate, Edinburgh. 8vo. 3s. 6d. sewed. Bell. 1799.

Lewis's letter to Scott in 1798 mentions "the other marvellous traditionary ballads you were so good as to offer me." The expression must refer to Scott's earliest original ballad imitations, *Glenfinlas* and the *Eve of St. John*. Of these Scott himself says in his *Essay on Imitations*:

By degrees I acquired sufficient confidence to attempt the imitation of what I admired. The ballad 'Glenfinlas' was, I think, the first original poem [of this kind he means] which I ventured to compose. . . . After 'Glenfinlas' I undertook another ballad, called 'The Eve of St. John.'<sup>22</sup>

Scott gives no date for the poems, and Lockhart erroneously places them both in 1799. He says:

But Lewis's collection did not engross the leisure of this summer. It produced also what Scott justly calls his "first serious attempts in verse"; and of these the earliest appears to have been the *Glenfinlas*. . . . The next of these compositions was, I believe, the *Eve of St. John*.<sup>23</sup>

By "this summer" Lockhart means the summer of 1799, as is clear from the preceding pages, especially the letter of April 19, 1799, mentioning the death of Scott's father. Indeed, of the second poem Lockhart makes the definite statement, "This was written at Mertoun House in the autumn of 1799."<sup>24</sup>

Yet Lockhart must have dated both these poems too late by at least a year. On Jan. 6, 1799, Lewis wrote to Scott:

Your last ballad reached me just as I was stepping into my chaise to go to Brocket Hall (Lord Melbourne's), so I took it with me and exhibited that and "Glenfinlas" with great success. . . . With regard to "St. John's Eve" I like it much, and instead of finding fault with its broken metre I approve it highly. I think in this last Ballad you have hit off the ancient manner better than in your former ones.<sup>25</sup>

It is thus clear that both *Glenfinlas* and the *Eve of St. John* were in Lewis's hands at the beginning of 1799, and must have been completed in the previous year. For *Glenfinlas*

<sup>22</sup> *Minstrelsy* iv, 44-5.

<sup>23</sup> *Life* i, 263.

<sup>24</sup> *Life* i, 264. Editors have usually followed Lockhart, apparently without investigation. The Cambridge edition says of *Glenfinlas*, "This ballad was written in the summer of 1799"; and of the *Eve of St. John*, "This ballad was written in the autumn of 1799."

<sup>25</sup> *Minstrelsy* iv, 56.

the earlier date is further confirmed by the letter of Anna Seward already quoted, and especially its annotation by her.<sup>36</sup> Besides, Colin Mackenzie sent Scott's *Eve of St. John* to Miss Seward so that she could acknowledge it on June 2, 1799, further proof that it could not have been written, as Lockhart says, "in the autumn" of that year. Both poems were undoubtedly composed in the year 1798.

A third original poem belongs to the same year 1798. Incidentally, Lewis visited Edinburgh and met Scott in this summer, a meeting which the latter remembered thirty years afterward as of great value to him.<sup>37</sup> Lewis even "spent a day or two with Scott at Musselburgh, where the yeomanry corps were in quarters."<sup>38</sup> At that time, Mr. James Skene of Rabslaw who had lived "several years in Saxony,"<sup>39</sup> recited to them "the German Kriegslied 'Der Abschied's Tag ist da,' " as Lockhart gives it.<sup>40</sup> Both Lewis and Scott were pleased with the German song and Scott composed before the next morning, "in the same measure" as Lockhart says, the poem beginning "To horse! to horse! the standard flies." This was at once adopted by the troop and is now known as the *War Song of the Royal Edinburgh Light Dragoons*.<sup>41</sup> The original German song has never been identified, but Professor Howard of Harvard suggests it is probably the *Kaplied* of Christian F. D. Schubart, the first stanza of which reads:

Auf, auf! ihr Brüder, und seid stark,  
Der Abschiedstag ist da!

<sup>36</sup> See p. 31 of this paper.

<sup>37</sup> *Life* i, 254.

<sup>38</sup> *Life* i, 255.

<sup>39</sup> *Life* i, 224.

<sup>40</sup> *Life* i, 256.

<sup>41</sup> It was first printed in the *Scots Magazine* of Oct. (vol. 65, p. 725) 1803, and copied into the *British Annual Register* of the same year but printed in 1804. It also appears in the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* iv, 212.

In the *Scots Magazine* the poem is called "War Song of the Edinburgh Cavalry Association." Robertson gives the date of publication as 1802, and in his Notes: "The song originally appeared in the *Scots Magazine* for 1802.—Lockhart." The Cambridge edition gives no date of publication, and the *Globe* does not include the poem. It was first included by Scott among his poems in the *Ballads and Lyrical Pieces* of 1806.

Schwer liegt es auf der Seele, schwer!  
Wir sollen über Land und Meer  
Ins heisse Afrika.<sup>42</sup>

It has never been suggested that the fragment called *The Grey Brother* was written in 1798, yet this is highly probable. Lockhart merely tells us it followed the *Eve of St. John*,<sup>43</sup> which as we have seen he wrongly placed "in the autumn of 1799." There is reason to believe he was also at fault in placing *The Grey Brother* in that year. The tale relates to a house near Lasswade, which Scott had taken in the summer of 1798. Especially, the poet halts the story at the fifteenth stanza to celebrate the valley of the Esk, in which he and his wife found the greatest pleasure during this first summer of their married life. Now it is certain that, in the sixteenth stanza, he makes significant personal allusions. The stanza reads:

There the rapt poet's step may rove,  
And yield the muse the day;  
There Beauty, led by timid Love,  
May shun the tell-tale ray.

As the first couplet of this stanza clearly refers to Scott himself, the second may be an even more specific allusion to his wife, who bore her first child on Oct. 14 of this year, and for whose sake Scott had sought residence in this retired spot during her pregnancy. There is good reason, therefore, to believe *The Grey Brother* followed *Glenfinlas* and the *Eve of St. John* in the year 1798.

During the latter part of 1798 also, Scott must have been corresponding with "Monk" Lewis, and discussing with him what he later called

My poor friend Lewis's criticism on my juvenile attempts at ballad poetry; severe enough, perhaps, but for which I was much indebted to him, as forcing upon the notice of a young and careless author hints which the said author's vanity made him unwilling to attend to, but which were absolutely necessary to any hope of his ultimate success.<sup>44</sup>

An undated letter from Lewis, marked "supposed 1799" in

<sup>42</sup> See Kürschner's *Deutsche national-Literatur*, vol. 81, p. 430, and Max Friedlander, *Das deutsche Lied im 18 Jahrhundert*, ii, p. 385.

<sup>43</sup> *Life* i, 265.

<sup>44</sup> *Appendix* to "Essay on the Ancient Ballad," *Minstrelsy* iv, 53.

the *Appendix* to the *Essay on the Ancient Ballad*, pretty clearly belongs to the latter part of the preceding year. It begins:

Thank you for your revised "Glenfinlas." I grumble, but say no more on this subject, although I hope you will not be so inflexible on that of your other Ballads; for I do not despair of convincing you in time that a bad rhyme is, in fact, no rhyme at all. You desired me to point out my objections, leaving you at liberty to make use of them or not; and so have at "Frederic and Alice."

The letter offers criticism not only upon *Frederick and Alice*, but on *The Chase* and *William and Helen*. It shows that Scott had sent his *Glenfinlas* to Lewis some time previously, that the latter had suggested some changes, and that, after some further correspondence perhaps, Lewis had again received the poem in a revised form, evidently with some demurrer from Scott as to the changes suggested. Since the letter does not mention the *Eve of St. John*, which according to another letter Lewis received on Jan. 6, 1799, I think we must assume it was written before that date, that is in the fall of 1798. Owing to the cordial relations between Scott and Lewis which had been established by the latter's visit at Edinburgh and Musselburgh, it would have been natural for Scott to send his *Glenfinlas* to Lewis soon after completing it, and that the correspondence regarding changes should have begun at once.

The character of Scott's demurrer to Lewis's criticism may be gathered from a passage in the *Essay on the Ancient Ballad*. Scott there gives an amusing account of how, in connection with this same *Glenfinlas*—"of Glenfinlas, I think," he wrote thirty years after—"it is not safe to submit such a performance to the more minute criticism of the same individuals" who have been loud in their praise. He found that each could suggest improvements, that few agreed with the criticisms of others, and that if he adopted all the proposed changes he would have "been required to alter every verse, almost every line." He continues:

This unexpected result, after about a fortnight's anxiety, led me to adopt a rule from which I have seldom departed during more than thirty years of literary life. When a friend whose judgment I respect has decided, and upon good advisement told me, that a manuscript was worth nothing, or at least possessed no redeeming qualities sufficient to atone for its defects, I have generally cast it aside; but I am little in custom of paying attention to minute criticisms, or of offering such to any friend who may do me the honor to consult me. I am convinced that, in general, in removing even errors of a trivial or venial kind, the

character of originality is lost which, upon the whole, may be that which is most valuable in the production.<sup>45</sup>

Some such decision, then, Scott had reached in the latter part of 1798, and some idea of it was doubtless conveyed in his most gracious manner to his London critic. It was probably "this subject" on which Lewis decided to say no more.

Commenting on this passage in the *Essay*, and the implication that Scott paid no attention to the criticisms of Lewis, Lockhart says:

It is certain that his memory had in some degree deceived him when he used this language, for of all the false rhymes and Scotticisms which Lewis had pointed out in these "lectures," hardly one appears in the printed copies of the ballads contributed by Scott to the *Tales of Wonder*.<sup>46</sup>

The exact facts lie between these two statements. Of the twelve changes Lewis proposed in *Frederick and Alice*, Scott adopted nine, or three-fourths. Of the five false rimes pointed out by Lewis in *The Chase*—the *Wild Huntsman* as it appeared in the *Tales of Wonder* and has appeared since that time—Scott altered all, but in the thirtieth stanza he did not much improve that of *pour—bower* by making it *pour—obscure*. What criticisms Lewis had first made on *Glenfinlas* we do not know, but it is clear from Lewis's "grumble" of the undated latter that Scott had not adopted them all in his revised version.

The history of Scott's *William and Helen* tells a still different story. For this poem Lewis suggested no fewer than thirty-four changes, none of which were adopted by Scott. All the faulty rimes and other inaccuracies pointed out by Lewis were retained in the poem to the end of Scott's life, and still appear in his works today. Scott's recent decision regarding "improvements" by friends was fully put in practice regarding this his earliest translation from German balladry. I suspect that Scott's unwillingness to make the changes suggested by Lewis

<sup>45</sup> See for the whole account *Minstrelsy* iv, 46-7. It may not be amiss to compare this account with that of the historian Gibbon. In his *Memoirs* (Athenæum Press edition p. 165) he says: "I was soon disgusted with the modest practice of reading the manuscript to my friends. Of such friends some will praise from politeness, and some will criticise from vanity. The author himself is the best judge of his own performances. None has so deeply meditated on the subject, none is so sincerely interested in the event."

<sup>46</sup> *Life* i, 263.

was the latter's reason for not using this poem in his *Tales of Wonder*, and for putting in its place William Taylor's *Lenora*. That Lewis intended to use Scott's *William and Helen* is clear from his letter of criticism mentioned above, in which he says: "In order that I may bring it nearer the original title, pray introduce in the first stanza the name of *Ellenora*, instead of Helen." A letter from Southey bears upon the change made by Lewis. Writing to Taylor on May 30, 1799, he says:

Lewis, the Monk-man, is about to publish a compilation of ballads, a superb quarto I understand, with prints. He has applied to me for some of mine, and to some person who had translated '*Lenore*,' and to whom your translation had been attributed; so that instead of yours he has hampered himself with a very inferior one. I suppose he will get rid of it and request yours.<sup>47</sup>

Taylor's reply of June 23 shows that he had not heard from Lewis, but Taylor's poem as it had appeared in the *Monthly Magazine* of March 1796, rather than the revised version which appeared later in the same year in separate form, was used by Lewis, though without reference to its author by name.<sup>48</sup>

The year 1799 begins, in Scott's literary life, with Lewis's letter of Jan. 6, referring to the receipt of "your last Ballad," named "St. John's Eve" a few lines below. Lewis took that and *Glenfinlas*, doubtless the revised version of the undated letter, to Lord Melbourne's (Brocket Hall). There he showed both "with great success," but could not refrain from telling Scott that the supernatural character of Lady Flora of Glengyle in *Glenfinlas* was not understood by the company "till the catastrophe arrived," and all suggested that "some previous stanzas ought to be introduced, descriptive of the nature and office of the wayward Ladies of the Wood." Lewis also said that "William Lambe," later the second Lord Melbourne, "was decidedly for the omission of the last stanza but one." Yet there is no evidence that Scott made either of these changes.

<sup>47</sup> Robberds, *Life of Taylor* i, 279 ff.

<sup>48</sup> Taylor, in his answer to Southey (Robberds, *Life* i, 283), seems not to have recalled Scott's version, although Scott had sent him a copy in November 1796, but assumed that "Mr. Lewis . . . prefers to associate with Mr. Spencer's rank and style in poetry." See my monograph "The Earliest English Translations of Bürger's *Lenore*," *Western Reserve University Bulletin* May, 1915, p. 33.

Of the *Eve of St. John* Lewis highly approved, but proposed four changes, of which Scott adopted only one, the modification of the original rimes *floor—bower* of stanza twenty-one. Evidence that Scott was holding firmly to his new resolution is implied in the next letter from Lewis, that of Jan. 24, in which he writes to Scott, "for your comfort and that of all such persons as are *wicked* enough to make bad rhymes," of a Mr. Smythe of Cambridge who argued "that occasionally a bad rhyme was better than a good one!!!!!"

Scott's time for composition was soon broken by his first journey to London in March, and he was not back in Edinburgh until the last of April or the first of May. Besides, his father had died in April, and this event entailed extra duties and obligations. Yet about this time Scott was undertaking an entirely new venture, the tragedy called the *House of Aspen*. The only note of Lockhart is, "I am inclined to believe the *House of Aspen* was written after Scott's return from London."<sup>40</sup> Scott himself, in his note on the play when it appeared in the *Keepsake* of 1830—a note which was dated Abbotsford, April 1, that is April 1, 1829—speaks of it as having been "executed nearly thirty years since." This would in general confirm the work as of 1799, and if taken literally to a time in that year after April 1.

Lockhart further tells us that the *House of Aspen* was sent to Lewis in London, was "much recommended by Mrs. Esten the actress," and was he thought actually put in rehearsal by Kemble, but finally given up. Scott, in his prefatory note in the *Keepsake*, puts the matter thus:

The late Mr. John Kemble at one time had some desire to bring out the play at Drury-Lane, then adorned by himself and his matchless sister, who were to have supported the characters of the unhappy son and mother; but great objections appeared to this proposal. . . . The author, or rather the translator, willingly acquiesced in this reasoning, and never afterwards made any attempt to gain the honour of the buskin.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Life* i, 260.

<sup>41</sup> The "objections" were that the secret tribunal would not be understood in England, there was too much "blood," and the parade of the secret conclave in the last act might excite ridicule. Scott admits he was also not uninfluenced by the ridicule heaped on German romanticism by the *Anti-Jacobin*, and especially the publication of the *Rovers* in 1798 (No. xxx, June 4).

Notwithstanding Scott's depreciation of his play, he still felt kindly toward it. He sent it to George Ellis in 1801, the year their correspondence began, and writes of it Dec. 7:

I am glad that Mrs. Ellis and you have derived any amusement from the *House of Aspen*. It is a very hurried dramatic sketch; and the fifth act, as you remark, would require a total revisal previous to presentation or publication. At one time I certainly thought, with my friends, that it might have ranked well enough by the side of the *Castle Spectre*, *Bluebeard*, and the other drum and trumpet exhibitions of the day; but the "Plays of the Passions" have put me entirely out of conceit with my Germanized brat; and should I ever again attempt dramatic composition, I would endeavour after the genuine old English model.<sup>41</sup>

When printing his *Lyrical Pieces* in 1806, he thought of including this prose tragedy, but again laid it aside.<sup>42</sup> His continued appreciation was perhaps partly due to that of his friends. On March 1, 1813, Henry Brevoort wrote to Washington Irving:

I ought to have told you that Scott is also a dramatist; Mr. Erskine has in his possession a manuscript Tragedy written many years ago, which is distinguished by many marks of his fine genius.<sup>43</sup>

Finally in 1828 Scott was asked to become editor of Heath's annual miscellany the *Keepsake*, and while he declined the editorship he allowed the printing, in the volume of 1829, of three tales which James Ballantyne had persuaded him to omit from the second *Chronicles of Croftangry*, and in the volume of 1830 the *House of Aspen*.<sup>44</sup> At this time Scott gives this final judgment of these hitherto unpublished pieces:

Very lately . . . the writer chanced to look them over with feelings very different from those of the adventurous period of his literary life during which

<sup>41</sup> *Life* i, 294. The *Plays of the Passions* were those of the now forgotten Joanna Baillie, of whom Scott was "an enthusiastic admirer" (*Life* i, 452). Scott's statement does not mean that he never again attempted the dramatic form. Witness his *Doom of Devergoil* (*Life* ii, 99-103, 159; iv, 419); *Macduff's Cross* (*Life* iii, 412; iv, 12, 29, 30, 115); *Halidon Hill* (*Life* iv, 12, 18, 115); *Auchindrane, or the Ayrshire Tragedy* (*Life* v, 261).

<sup>42</sup> *Life* i, 462. He also thought enough of his early drama to show it to Joanna Baillie when she visited Edinburgh in March 1808, and she criticised it in her letter to Scott of that month (*Familiar Letters of Scott* i, 105).

<sup>43</sup> *Letters of Brevoort to Irving* i, 76.

<sup>44</sup> *Life* v, 176. The three tales of the volume of 1829 are *My Aunt's Mirror*,

they had been written, and yet with such as perhaps a reformed libertine might regard the illegitimate production of an early amour. There is something to be ashamed of certainly; but after all, paternal vanity whispers that the child has a resemblance to the father. To this it need only be added, that there are so many manuscript copies of the following play that, if it should not find its way to the public sooner, it is certain to do so when the author can no more have an opportunity of correcting the press, and consequently at a greater disadvantage than at present.

In the prefatory note to the *Keepsake* Scott further says of the play's origin, that he had

borrowed the substance of the story and a part of the diction from a dramatic romance called "Der Heilige Vehmé" (the Secret Tribunal), which fills the sixth volume of the "Sagen den Vorzeit" (Tales of Antiquity), by Beit Weber."

Scott calls his work "rather a rifacimento of the original than a translation, since the whole is compressed and the incidents and dialogue occasionally much varied."<sup>48</sup> He adds, "The imitator is ignorant of the real name of his ingenious contemporary, and has been informed that that of Beit Weber is fictitious." Scott's note may now be supplemented by some important particulars. The *Sagen den Vorzeit* was the work of Georg P. L. Waechter (1762-98), who wrote under the pseudonym of Veit, not Beit, Weber as the *Keepsake* twice prints it. The play, too, is *Der Heilige Vehm*, not *Vehmé* as Scott doubtless wrote.

Further than this the year 1799 was not as prolific as those which had gone before. Scott had entered heartily into Lewis's plan of wonder tales, and was becoming impatient at the continued delay. So long as his new poems were to appear in Lewis's book, there was no possibility of publishing them himself. Moreover, there was little incentive to new composition. For these reasons, in the latter part of the year, he

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*The Tapestry Chamber*, and the *Death of the Laird's Jock*. In the same volume also occurs the Description of the Engraving Entitled "A Scene at Abbotsford" by the "Author of Waverley". For these and the play Scott received £500.

Scott's willingness to print these rejected pieces at this time was doubtless due to the serious struggle he was then making to pay his debts. However, he tells us in his *Diary* that he refused Heath's offer of £800 a year to edit the *Keepsake*, with £400 additional if he would contribute "seventy to one hundred pages." (*Life* v, 176).

<sup>48</sup> This characterization Lockhart uses as if his own in *Life* i, 259.

seems to have produced only certain fragmentary poems, and for Lewis's collection, one complete poem the *Fire King*. The fragments include the lines on *Bothwell and Blantyre*, which Lockhart first printed in the *Life*,<sup>56</sup> and which was doubtless to have been another "traditionary ballad." This poem belongs to the autumn of the year while he was visiting, or after he had visited Bothwell Castle, the seat of Lord Douglas. To the same year belong his unfinished *Shepherd's Tale*, and the *Fragment on Cheviot*, both first printed by Lockhart.<sup>57</sup> They seem to belong to the latter part of 1799.

The one poem of the year to reach completion was the *Fire-King*, first published in the *Tales of Wonder*. In the *Appendix* to his *Essay on the Ancient Ballad* Scott says of it:

Lewis, who was very fond of his idea of four elementary kings, had prevailed on me to supply a Fire King. After being repeatedly urged to the task, I sat down one day after dinner and wrote the 'Fire King' as it was published in the *Tales of Wonder*.

The poem was first included in Scott's *Apology for Tales of Terror*, issued privately in the last quarter of the year, perhaps October, so that the *Fire-King* must have been completed before that date. It was acknowledged by Lewis in a letter of Feb. 3, 1800: "I return you many thanks for your Ballad and the extract, and I shall be much obliged to your friend for the "Cloud King."<sup>58</sup> Lewis, it is true, had his criticisms:

Everybody makes the same objections to it, and expresses a wish that you had conformed your spirit to the descriptions given of him in *The Monk*, where his office is to play the Will-o-the-Wisp, and lead travellers into bogs, etc. It is also objected to, his being removed from his native land Denmark to Palestine; and that the office assigned to him in your Ballad has nothing peculiar to the "Fire King," but would have suited Arimanes, Beelzebub or any other evil spirit as well. However, the Ballad itself I think very pretty.

<sup>56</sup> *Life* i, 266. Robertson's edition of the *Poetical Works* calls it *Bothwell's Sisters* (p. 695).

<sup>57</sup> *Life* i, 267, 273. Robertson (pp. 696, 699) calls these the *Covenanter's Fate* and *At Flodden*.

<sup>58</sup> This *Cloud King*, as Scott tells us in the *Appendix*, was written by Dr. John Leyden, but "did not answer Matt's ideas, either in the color of the wings or some point of costume equally important." He adds that on this account Lewis, who liked the ballad otherwise, converted it into the *Elfin King* as that appears in the *Tales of Wonder*, and wrote a new *Cloud King* himself.

But Scott was now his own master. He made no changes, and the ballad as written was accepted and printed.

This we know specifically from Scott's further note in the *Appendix*. Medwin, in his *Conversations of Lord Byron*, had quoted the latter as saying:

When Walter Scott began to write poetry, which was not at a very early age, Monk Lewis corrected his verse; he understood little then of the mechanical part of the art. The Fire King in "The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border" was almost all by Lewis.<sup>60</sup>

To this statement, which must have been Byron's recollection of something told him by another, perhaps Lewis himself, Scott enters an absolute denial. He says:

This is an entire misconception. . . . Instead of writing the greater part, he did not write a single word of it. Dr. Leyden, now no more, and another gentleman who still survives were sitting by my side while I wrote it.<sup>60</sup>

Scott was naturally piqued at so incorrect a statement, especially owing to the resolution regarding his works formed the preceding year, to which attention has already been called.

Meanwhile Scott was continuing his collection of Border ballads, and the fall expedition in search of them was to be important in many ways. In October, after spending a week in Ettrick Forest and Liddesdale, Scott stayed some days at Rosebank near Kelso, the residence of his uncle Capt. Robert Scott, and here renewed acquaintance with his school friend James Ballantyne, then publisher of the *Kelso Mail*. On Scott's showing him some of his poems, and reciting some with enthusiasm, Ballantyne praised them even more highly than Lewis had done, and thus doubtless put balm to the wounds

<sup>60</sup> Scott says (*Appendix* p. 53) "in Medwin's *Account of Some Passages in Lord Byron's Later Years*," but the correct title is as above. "The Minstrelsy," too, is Byron's error for the *Tales of Wonder*.

<sup>60</sup> *Appendix*, p. 57. More interesting is Scott's account of the matter in a letter to Constable Oct. 22, 1824, soon after the appearance of Medwin's book. Scott wrote: "He says very truly that I received much instruction from poor Mat Lewis; but it related almost entirely to the rhymes, in which he was greatly superior, and to the structure and versification, for which the Monk had a most excellent ear. He wrote no part of the Fire King, which I finished in one evening after dinner, with Heber and Leyden sitting beside me. Nor do I think he ever helped me to a line, save one in which I made a false quantity, rendering Júlý, July."—*Arch. Constable and his Lit. Corres.* iii, 300.

the former had inflicted by his numerous criticisms. Scott then suggested to his friend the idea of book printing, "to keep his type in play" between the weekly issues of the *Mail*, and that he print a dozen copies of the ballads he had been praising, to show the Edinburgh people what he could do. The idea pleased Ballantyne, and the result was a booklet of seventy-six pages with the following title-page:

An/ Apology/ for/ Tales of Terror/ —A thing of shreds and patches—  
Hamlet/ Kelso/ Printed at the Mail Office/ 1799.<sup>61</sup>

The title *Apology for Tales of Terror*, as Lockhart tells us, alluded "to the long delay of Lewis's collection,"<sup>62</sup> the first title of which was *Tales of Terror* as already noted.<sup>63</sup> This little book included, according to Lockhart, "William and Helen, The Fire-King, The Chase, and a few more of those pieces. The exact contents, in order, are:

The Erl-King (fr. Goethe) Transl.; The Water-King (Danish); Lord William; Poor Mary, Maid of the Inn (Southey); The Chase; William and Helen; Alonzo the Brave and the Fair Imogene; Arthur and Matilda; The Erl-King's Daughter.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>61</sup> The *Ballantyne Press and its Founders* p. 10; on p. 6 is the account of the meeting between Scott and Ballantyne, and the hint that Lewis's delay in publishing his "marvellous ballads" has caused "considerable annoyance to Scott and to others who had promised their aid." Compare Lockhart's *Life* i, 275 for another account of the interview. What purports to be a proof edition of the booklet consisted of 57 pages, and ended with Scott's *William and Helen*, p. 58 being blank. Its title-page ran:

Tales/ of/ Terror/ type ornament/—A thing of shreds and patches/ Hamlet  
(at end of quotation but below the line)/ Kelso/ Printed by James Ballantyne/ at/ The Kelso Mail Printing Office/ 1799/

This copy, once owned by Edward Dowden, is now in the Yale University Library.

The earliest account of this rare and interesting booklet, and of some of the numerous errors regarding it, is in George P. Johnston's "The First Book Printed by James Ballantyne," *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society's Publications* ix, 90. See the article by Elizabeth Church based upon it, "A Bibliographical Myth" in *Mod. Phil.* xix, 307 ff., and my additional notes to that article in *Mod. Lang. Notes* xxxviii, 154, "Monk" Lewis and the 'Tales of Terror'.

<sup>62</sup> *Life* i, 275.

<sup>63</sup> See p. 34 of this paper. Lockhart again uses the title *Tales of Terror* in *Life* i, 283.

<sup>64</sup> My information is from an examination of the *Apology for Tales of Terror* in the Abbotsford Library by Mr. J. B. Hamilton of St. Mary's School, Melrose, through the courtesy of Mr. R. W. Hanson of the Edinburgh firm of

Of these nine pieces the first, fifth and sixth are by Scott, the second, seventh and ninth by Lewis, the third and fourth by Southey, and the eighth by Dr. J. Aiken, an imitation of Wm. Taylor's *Lenora*, and first published in Dr. Aiken's *Poems* of 1791. It will be seen that Lockhart was in error in saying the *Fire-King* was included in the booklet.

Ballantyne's printing so pleased Scott that the latter suggested his trying a volume of Border ballads. Lockhart quotes from Scott's letter:

I have been for years collecting old Border ballads and I think I could, with little trouble, put together such a selection from them as might make a neat little volume to sell for four or five shillings. I will talk to some of the booksellers about it when I get to Edinburgh, and if the thing goes on you shall be the printer.<sup>65</sup>

Thus was begun the immediate preparation of the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, which occupied most of Scott's time during 1800 and 1801. There was therefore little leisure for original poetry, and only one poem is known to have been written in these two years. Meanwhile, in the latter part of 1799 or the first part of 1800, another plan was in Scott's mind. Owing to the delay of Lewis's *Tales of Wonder*, in which some of his poetical pieces were to appear, Scott seems to have planned an independent edition of his own ballads. Some negotiations were clearly going on with Bell of London, as indicated by a letter from Lewis of Feb. 3, 1800:

I suppose you have heard from Bell respecting the copies of the Ballads I was too much distressed at the time to write myself.<sup>66</sup>

The matter was concluded before April 22, when Scott wrote Ballantyne as follows:

Some things have occurred which induce me to postpone my intention of publishing my ballads, particularly a letter from a friend assuring me that

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Ballantyne, Hanson & Co. Lockhart relied for his information on the *Memorandum* of James Ballantyne, which seems also to have been used by the writer of the *Ballantyne Press and its Founders*. We need have nothing to do here with the controversy regarding the business relations of Scott and the Ballantynes. That is sufficiently dealt with in Lang's *Life of Lockhart* ii, 126-72.

<sup>65</sup> *Life* i, 275. From "a neat little volume" this became first two, later three large volumes.

<sup>66</sup> *Appendix to Minstrelsy* iv, 58.

"The Tales of Wonder" are actually in the printer's hand. In this situation I endeavour to strengthen my small stock of patience, which has been nearly exhausted by the delay of this work, to which (though for that reason alone) I almost regret having promised assistance. I am still resolved to have recourse to your press for the Ballads of the Border, which are in some forwardness.<sup>67</sup>

It was probably in connection with this scheme of the Border Ballads that Ballantyne printed in 1800, perhaps as another sample of his work, some copies of Scott's *Eve of St. John*, the first independent publication bearing the author's name. *The Chase and William and Helen* had been printed anonymously, it will be remembered, while owing to a mistake of Lewis the London edition of *Goetz of Berlichingen* was said to be by "William Scott."<sup>68</sup> There seems to be no evidence that this rare imprint of the *Eve of St. John*, not mentioned at all by Lockhart or usually by other writers, was for sale.<sup>69</sup> Its title-page, as shown by the copy in the British Museum, a large quarto of eight leaves, reads:

The/ Eve of Saint John/ A Border Ballad/ By/ Walter Scott, Esq., Advocate/ Kelso/ Printed by James Ballantyne/ at/ the Kelso Mail Printing Office/ 1800. <sup>70</sup>

The sub-title "A Border Ballad," which seems not to have been otherwise used by Scott, implies connection with the title "Ballads of the Border" used in the letter above, probably his first title for what was later called *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*.

Even thus early, too, Scott considered the field in which he was to make his greatest success, that of prose fiction. In the *General Preface* to his edition of the novels in 1829 he says:

Thirty years since I had nourished the ambitious desire of composing a tale

<sup>67</sup> *Life*, i, 279. The friend may have been Heber.

<sup>68</sup> See p. 36.

<sup>69</sup> Most editions of the *Poetical Works* (Palgrave's, the Cambridge, Robertson's) say the poem was first printed in the *Tales of Wonder*, following the note in the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*: "This ballad was first printed in Mr. Lewis's *Tales of Wonder*."

<sup>70</sup> For this and the following details I am indebted to the Keeper of the Museum, Mr. Alfred W. Pollard. The poem begins on the second leaf and covers all but the last page of six leaves, the pages numbered 1 to 11. Curiously, a signature "B" appears at the foot of p. 6, and a "C" at the foot of p. 7. The large quarto format was later regularly used by Ballantyne for the first editions of Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, *Marmion*, etc. The "Eve of Saint John" in the British Museum is bound up with eleven other pieces of verse published between 1772 and 1835.

of chivalry, which was to be in the style of the *Castle of Otranto*, with plenty of Border characters and supernatural incident.<sup>71</sup>

The latter characteristic naturally falls in with Scott's early interest in the supernatural, shown by the Bürger and Goethe translations and by his own *Glenfinlas* and the *Fire-King*.

Scott's labors on the *Minstrelsy* during the years 1800 and 1801 were not only considerable in themselves, but brought him into broader acquaintance with literary men. Richard Heber the bibliophile spent the winter of 1800-1 in Edinburgh, and with him Scott formed a fast friendship, later recognized in dedicating to him the sixth canto of *Marmion*. Through him Scott made the acquaintance of Dr. John Leyden, interested like himself in legends of the Border. In one of his excursions into Ettrick vale Scott discovered William Laidlaw, long to be his friend and helper, and through Laidlaw he met Hogg the Ettrick Shepherd. He opened correspondence with Bishop Percy of the *Ancient Reliques*, and about the same time with Joseph Ritson, the uncompromising foe to Bishop Percy's manner of editing ancient folk poems.<sup>72</sup> Finally, through Heber again, he was introduced to George Ellis of the *Specimens of Ancient English Poetry*, with whom he was to become particularly intimate. With Ellis, too, he began to discuss as early as March 1801 his projected *Sir Tristrem*, another venture of these years. He also took this matter up with Archibald Constable and James Ballantyne the publishers as early as May 31, 1801.<sup>73</sup>

The one original poem of these years of labor on the *Minstrelsy* was *Cadyow Castle*. Scott had spent Christmas, 1801, as the guest of the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton in Lanarkshire, and there doubtless began the poem, which embodies an episode in the story of the Dukes of Hamilton. It was

<sup>71</sup> He printed the first chapter of this novel, thus a part of his literary work of 1799, as an *Appendix* to *Waverley* in 1829, calling it "Fragment of a Romance which was to have been entitled Thomas the Rhymer."

<sup>72</sup> See Burd's *Joseph Ritson* (p. 124) in *University of Illinois Studies in Lang. and Lit.* (1916).

<sup>73</sup> Archibald Constable and his *Literary Correspondents* iii, 4: "From the date of the earliest communication between them [Constable and Ballantyne]—May 31, 1801—*Sir Tristrem* would appear to have been at least three years in progress before completion."

finished before the two volumes of the *Minstrelsy* appeared in January 1802, but too late for that work already full to overflowing. It was handed about in manuscript during 1802, and was published in the third volume of the *Minstrelsy* in 1803.<sup>74</sup> Lockhart tells us that the poet Campbell saw and admired it in this manuscript form, and some of its verses were sent to Miss Seward of Lichfield in July 1802, confirming Lockhart's statement that the poem was completed in that year.<sup>75</sup>

In January 1802 the first two volumes of the *Minstrelsy* were printed with the following title-page:

Minstrelsy/ of the/ Scottish Border:/ Consisting of/ Historical and  
Romantic Ballads,/ collected/ in the Southern Counties of Scotland; with a  
few/ of modern date, founded upon/ local tradition./ In two volumes./ Vol. I/  
The Songs to savage virtue dear,  
That won of yore the public ear;  
Ere Polity, sedate and sage,  
Had quench'd the fire of feudal rage./  
Kelso:/ Printed by James Ballantyne,/ for T. Cadell Jun. and W. Davies,  
Strand, London;/ and sold by Manners and Miller, and/ A. Constable, Edin-  
burgh./ 1802/

The second edition has the same title-page, except that the name of Warton is added to the poetic lines above.<sup>76</sup>

It was said that Scott sent some verses of his *Cadyow Castle* to Miss Seward in July 1802. On their appearance earlier in the year he had sent the two volumes of the *Minstrelsy*, and thus began a correspondence which continued, with one break, until Miss Seward's death.<sup>77</sup> Her praise of his early poems Colin Mackenzie had doubtless transmitted to Scott himself. The correspondence thus begun, to which Scott acknowledged a

<sup>74</sup> *Life* i, 298-99. *Cadyow Castle* was reprinted in the *Annual Register* of 1803, p. 926.

<sup>75</sup> See letter of Scott to Miss Seward in *Life* i, 308.

<sup>76</sup> *The Ballantyne Press and its Founders* gives a facsimile of this title-page at p. 19. In his *Essay on the Ancient Ballad* (*Minstrelsy* iv, 51) Scott himself gives an account of what he calls "the first work printed by my friend and school-fellow, Mr. James Ballantyne." Here Scott should have said "published," since Ballantyne had already "printed" the *Apology for Tales of Terror*, as already noticed, and the *Eve of St. John*.

<sup>77</sup> *Letters of Anna Seward* v, 197, 236; see also allusions to Scott on pp. 230, 257, 265, 342 of the same volume, none of them appearing in Constable's inadequate index.

debt,<sup>78</sup> is more important than has been recognized for details of his early literary life. Scott's appreciation of her is shown by his printing in the third volume of the *Minstrelsy* her ballad imitation *Rich Auld Willie's Farewell*, which she had sent in acknowledging the first two volumes on April 27. In reply, June 29, 1802, Scott gives the first hint of another poem he was contemplating. He says, "I have some thoughts of attempting a Border ballad in the comic manner," and then tells of the marriage between his ancestor Sir William Scott and "Muckle-mouthed Meg." He adds, "The incident has always struck me as a good subject for a comic ballad, and how happy I should be were Miss Seward to agree in opinion with me."<sup>79</sup>

The "Border ballad in the comic manner" was the *Riever's Wedding*, written sometime after July of this year.<sup>80</sup> Besides, the year was a busy one in other respects. *Sir Tristrem* had been announced at the end of the second volume of the *Minstrelsy*, and Scott was laboriously preparing his edition from the single manuscript known, as well as composing a conclusion to the poem. The third volume of the *Minstrelsy* was also in preparation, and Scott edited for it the ballads of *Christie's Will* and *Thomas the Rymer*, some parts of each being his own. Of the first he says in his prefatory note:

The reader is not to regard the ballad as of genuine and unmixed antiquity, though some stanzas are current upon the Border in a corrupted state. They have been eked and joined together in the rude and ludicrous manner of the original; but as it is to be considered as, on the whole, a modern ballad, it is transferred to this department of the work.<sup>81</sup>

Of *Thomas the Rymer* Scott somewhat altered the second part, and wrote the third entire. As the third volume of the *Minstrelsy* appeared in May 1803 and must have been ready for the printer much earlier, these poems clearly belong to 1802. At the same time a new edition of the first two volumes of the *Minstrelsy* was in preparation in this prolific year.

Meanwhile a new and more considerable poem was con-

<sup>78</sup> *Life* ii, 104-5, 150.

<sup>79</sup> *Life* i, 305.

<sup>80</sup> *Life* i, 308. In this undated letter, written after Miss Seward's of July 10, Scott says, "The ballad of the Riever's Wedding is not yet written."

<sup>81</sup> *Minstrelsy* (Henderson) iv, 66.

ceived or begun. The story of the writing of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel* has been frequently told, as by Scott himself in his *Introduction* of 1830, and by Lockhart in the *Life* i, 383.<sup>82</sup> Yet some misstatements have been made concerning the poem, and the whole account, bolstered by proof and confirmation, has not been written. For example, in the *Familiar Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, one by Lady Dalkeith is called the "first letter regarding the Lay of the Last Minstrel."<sup>83</sup> This is undated, but placed after one written in March 1803. In fact, the first definite announcement of the poem was made in a letter to Miss Seward Nov. 30, 1802. There Scott says:

I am at present busy with the second edition of the *Minstrelsy*, and preparations for the third volume, particularly a sort of Romance of Border Chivalry and Enchantment which will extend to some length. When it has made any progress I will send you a few stanzas which, unworthy as they are, will I hope serve as a sort of peace offering.<sup>84</sup>

The reference to the romance of "enchantment," coupled with that to "border chivalry," shows the poem must have been the "*Lay of the Last Minstrel*," not to be completed for more than a year and not published until January 1805. This allusion to the *Lay* is certainly earlier than that in an undated letter to Ellis, which says:

In the third volume I intend to publish *Cadyow Castle*, a historical sort of ballad upon the death of the Regent Murray, and besides this a long poem of my own. It will be a kind of romance of Border chivalry in a light-horseman sort of stanza.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>82</sup> The passage is too long to quote, but includes the following facts: the Countess of Dalkeith had asked Scott to make a ballad of the Gilpin Horner story, which she had heard; he adopts the metrical form of Coleridge's *Christabel*, some parts of which he had heard Stoddart recite more than a year before. Then Lockhart here omits what he had already told in *Life* i, 319, how Scott threw aside the poem when his friends Erskine and Cranstoun had received it coldly, but adds the further circumstance of the poet's resuming the poem when for a time confined by an accident at camp. This accident we know from his former account was in the autumn of 1802.

<sup>83</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 22.

<sup>84</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 17. The occasion for peace making was probably due to Scott's not writing Miss Seward as promptly as she desired. In her published *Letters* there is no answer to this of Scott, and none at all to him until July 29, 1803. Miss Seward's letter is mentioned in the Cambridge edition of Scott's *Poetical Works*, but without date or details.

<sup>85</sup> *Life* i, 318.

This letter to Ellis was one introducing Dr. John Leyden, who apparently reached London in January 1803. It certainly followed that to Ellis in "November," as given by Lockhart on the preceding page.

As to the exact time of beginning the *Lay* Scott himself, in his *Introduction*, puts it: "more than a year after Mr. Stoddart's visit . . . I composed the first two or three stanzas of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*." The visit of Mr., later Sir John Stoddart, was at Lasswade in the summer of 1800.<sup>86</sup> This would place the beginning of the new poem in the fall of 1801. Such must have been the time when his friends Erskine and Cranstoun had seemed not to appreciate "the first two or three stanzas" as he read them, and he "threw the manuscript into the fire."<sup>87</sup> Something like a year later one of his friends showing more interest, he resumed the poem when, as quarter-master of the Edinburgh cavalry company, he was disabled for a few days by the kick of a horse during "permanent duty at Musselburgh, in the autumnal recess of 1802."<sup>88</sup> At least the references to the *Lay* in the letters to Miss Seward and to Ellis, especially his first purpose of printing in the third volume of the *Minstrelsy*, show that Scott was seriously at work on the poem before the close of 1802.

The meter which Scott now first used, like that of at least two other poems, had come to him almost by accident. That which he chose for his *William and Helen* was caught up from a friend, who had heard Mrs. Barbauld recite a few lines of William Taylor's *Lenora* at an Edinburgh assembly.<sup>89</sup> Mr. Skene's recitation of the German *Kriegslied Der Abschiedstag ist da* had given the measure for his *Troop Song*<sup>90</sup>. Now chance threw a third metrical form in Scott's way. On the visit already mentioned Mr. Stoddart had recited some of the first part of Coleridge's *Christabel*, as he had heard it from Coleridge in London.<sup>91</sup> The new meter made an immediate impression on

<sup>86</sup> *Life* i, 319. Stoddart's visit, as not later than 1800, is dated by his *Remarks on the Scenery and Manners of Scotland* published in 1801.

<sup>87</sup> *Introduction* of 1830.

<sup>88</sup> *Life* i, 319.

<sup>89</sup> See the *Earliest English Translations of Bürger's Lenore* for the full account, p. 47 ff.

<sup>90</sup> See p. 38.

<sup>91</sup> Not at Malta, as given by Minto in his Scott article, *Encyc. Brit.* ninth

Scott, who now adopted it for his new poem. He tells us further that he even "included a line of invocation, a little softened, from Coleridge,—

Mary, mother, shield us well,"

apparently referring to the first stanza of the poem, in which the received text reads,

Jesu Maria, shield us well.<sup>28</sup>

We know more of the progress of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel* than of most other of Scott's poems. In his *Introduction* of 1830 he says, "After I had once got fairly into the vein, it proceeded at the rate of about a canto a week." On Jan. 30, 1803 he had decided upon the name, writing George Ellis of

being engaged on what I think will be a more generally interesting legend [that is, than *Cadyow Castle*]. I have called it the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," and put it into the mouth of an old bard who is supposed to have lived down to 1690.<sup>29</sup>

When in London a little later he wrote Ballantyne (Apr. 21):

I have settled about printing an edition of the *Lay*, 8vo, with vignettes, provided I can get a draughtsman whom I think well of. We may throw off a few superb in quarto. To the Minstrelsy I mean this note to be added, by way

ed., and retained in the eleventh. Coleridge did not go to Malta until 1804, while the visit of Stoddart to Scott is mentioned by the latter in his *Introduction* to the poem and by Lockhart in the *Life* i, 285.

<sup>28</sup> See *Introduction* of 1830 for Scott's account. Scott's memory misled him in quoting from his own poem, perhaps by reason of confusing Coleridge's 54th line,

Jesu, Maria, shield her well,

and his 69th,

Mary mother, save me now.

On Scott's inaccuracy of quotation see Schultz, *Mod. Lang. Notes* xxviii, 246, and Graham, *Ibid* xxx, 14.

Byron, as reported by Medwin in *Conversations with Lord Byron* p. 309, was also at fault in quoting Coleridge's line. Medwin reports him as saying: "I hope Walter Scott did not write the review on 'Christabel' [that is, in the *Edin. Rev.*, one written by Hazlitt]; for he certainly, in common with many of us, is indebted to Coleridge. But for him, perhaps, 'The Lay of the last Minstrel' would never have been thought of. The line

'Jesu Maria shield thee well!'

is word for word from *Christabel*." For another reference in the *Conversations* to Scott and *Christabel*, see p. 262.

<sup>29</sup> *Life* i, 321.

of advertisement:—"In the press, and will speedily be published, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, by Walter Scott, Esq., Editor of the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*."<sup>64</sup>

In London, too, "Mr. and Mrs. George Ellis heard the first two or three cantos . . . read under an old oak in Windsor Forest."<sup>65</sup> Scott wrote of it to Lady Dalkeith, who had first suggested a border ballad on the goblin page of the poem. He told her that the poem would not appear in the *Minstrelsy*, that when finished it would consist of four or five cantos, and that he thought of publishing it separately, "inscribing it to Lord Dalkeith if his Lordship will permit it to be honored with his name."<sup>66</sup> In writing to Miss Seward from London, announcing his proposed visit to Lichfield, he added "my 'Romance' is not yet finished. I prefer it much to anything I have done of the kind." Again it was to Miss Seward that he made, some years later, the most definite statement as to the actual time employed on the *Lay*:

As for poetry, it is very little labour to me; indeed, 'twere pity of my life should I spend much time on the light and loose sort of poetry which alone I can pretend to write. Were all the time I wasted upon the "*Lay*" put together, —for it was laid aside for long intervals,—I am sure it would not exceed six weeks. The last Canto was written in three forenoons, when I was lying in quarters with our yeomanry."<sup>67</sup>

Scott was back in Edinburgh by the middle of May, and in July he fulfilled his promise of the previous November, to send some stanzas of his new poem to Miss Seward. They accompanied the third volume of the *Minstrelsy*, and are another evidence that Scott continued to prize the opinions of this almost forgotten English verse writer. Miss Seward's reply on July 29 makes it possible to identify a passage beginning with stanza twenty-four of the third canto, and including four, perhaps five stanzas.<sup>68</sup> So much of the *Lay* must therefore have been completed by July 1803.

<sup>64</sup> *Life* i, 325.

<sup>65</sup> *Life* i, 326.

<sup>66</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 22-3; undated, but immediately follows one of 1803. He sent three cantos of the poem to Lady Dalkeith, and his reference to the *Minstrelsy* shows the letter must have been written before May 1803. That is, three cantos of the poem must have been finished by that time.

<sup>67</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 72; Letter of Feb. 27, 1807.

<sup>68</sup> *Letters* vi, 91.

Scarcely had Miss Seward's letter been received before military duties engrossed Scott's attention. The threatened invasion of England by Napoleon, which brought out the famous sonnets of Wordsworth, brought more active duties to the quarter-master of the Edinburgh Light Horse and the Sheriff of Selkirkshire.<sup>99</sup> Besides, Scott was now also engaged on his edition of *Sir Tristrem*, which occupied him during the summer of 1803. Yet, at the visit of Wordsworth in September, Scott recited "the first four cantos of the Lay of the Last Minstrel,"<sup>100</sup> indicating that at least the poem was so near completion. At that point the *Lay* seems to have been laid aside for the *Sir Tristrem*, the completion of which occupied the rest of 1803 and part of 1804 until its publication in May of that year: *Sir Tristrem* had been thrust in between the beginning of the *Lay* and its conclusion, as *Marmion* was later to be thrust in between the *Lay* and the *Lady of the Lake*.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>99</sup> *Life* i, 336.

*Life* i, 352.

<sup>101</sup> In this connection it is possible to show that Lockhart advanced by a year a letter of Scott to Miss Seward, part of which he quotes in *Life* i, 336. Some of it relates to a friend to whom Miss Seward had given a note of introduction to Scott, and Lockhart places it "during the summer or autumn" of 1803. On the other hand, a letter of Miss Seward to Lieut-Col. R. Wolsley (Mar. 21, 1804) shows the note of introduction had been sent him at that time, so that he could not have sent it to Scott before the summer or autumn of that year, when Scott was also at Musselburgh. That Scott was engaged with the Edinburgh Light Horse in both 1803 and 1804 has confused Lockhart, who is none too careful in giving dates or in separating one year from another. See his early chapters embracing two or more years, without clearly separating them.

The confusion was assisted by reason of a break of about a year at this point in the correspondence between Scott and Miss Seward. Before her letter of July 29, 1803, had been posted she had lost a dear friend (Mr. Saville who died Aug. 2), and she had added to her letter "a few incoherent words" of grief, at the same time asking Scott not to answer, since she "should never be able to resume the delights of literary intercourse" (*Letters* vi, 132). Scott, who was perhaps beginning to weary of her sentimentalities, took her at her word as he wrote to Joanna Baillie years afterwards (*Life* ii, 104), "the crosslest thing I ever did in my life" he says in apology. In about a year Miss Seward herself resumed the correspondence by sending Scott a magazine criticism of his *Minstrelsy*, and mentioning the note of introduction of the year before. Then Scott explained that, but for Miss Seward's failure to name the person introduced, he would have looked him up and have had him "spend a day or two with us in quarters" (*Life* i, 337). Scott was "in quarters" this year during

Scott had intended to print *Sir Tristrem*, as well as the *Lay* in the third volume of the *Minstrelsy*, but early in 1803 it became evident there would be room for neither. He then suggested to Ballantyne the announcement in the forthcoming volume that both would be published separately.<sup>108</sup> The note regarding the *Lay* has been given, but to it was added: "Also Sir Tristrem, a Metrical Romance by Thomas of Ercildoune, called the Rhymer, edited with an Introduction and Notes by Walter Scott, Esq." The forthcoming volume of the *Minstrelsy* was issued in May,<sup>109</sup> leaving Scott free to complete either the *Lay* or *Sir Tristrem*. He completed only the latter, of which Lockhart says: "During the summer of 1803 . . . his chief literary labour was still on the Tristrem."<sup>104</sup> He discussed various matters concerning the poem in letters to Ellis of July,<sup>106</sup> Aug. 27,<sup>106</sup> probably those of Sept. 14<sup>107</sup> and Oct. 14,<sup>108</sup> and Ellis replied in September,<sup>109</sup> on Oct. 3,<sup>110</sup> and Nov. 10.<sup>111</sup>

Besides editing and completing *Sir Tristrem* in 1803 Scott contributed his first articles to the recently established *Edinburgh Review*. These were the reviews of the *Amadis de Gaul* translations by Southey and by Wm. Stewart Rose, and that of Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, both published in the October number of 1803.<sup>112</sup> Scott knew intimately both Sidney Smith, who was one of the originators of the new *Review*, and Francis Jeffrey who soon became its regular editor. The new journal, too, as Lockhart explains in accounting for Scott's interest, was "far from committing itself to violent politics at the outset." Not least important for Scott's extending literary relationships, and the intimate picture of himself, was the visit

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the last two weeks of July (see letter to Ellis of Aug. 1, *Life* i, 337), and doubtless into the autumn.

<sup>108</sup> Letter of Apr. 21, 1803, in *Life* i, 325.

<sup>109</sup> The *Ballantyne Press and its Founders* (p. 24) says "April."

<sup>104</sup> *Life* i, 336.

<sup>106</sup> *Life* i, 338.

<sup>106</sup> *Life* i, 340.

<sup>107</sup> *Life* i, 344.

<sup>108</sup> *Life* i, 349.

<sup>109</sup> *Life* i, 345-6.

<sup>110</sup> *Life* i, 346.

<sup>111</sup> *Life* i, 352.

<sup>112</sup> That is No. 5 of the *Edinburgh*, the second October number.

in September of William and Dorothy Wordsworth. The former could write of the genial Scottish poet, "Wherever we went with him he seemed to know everybody, and everybody to know and like him"; while Scott could modestly explain, "I have strolled so often and so long, that I may say I have a home in every farm house."<sup>113</sup>

The early part of 1804 was occupied with the preparation for the press of *Sir Tristrem*, which was issued in May in a limited edition because Constable the publisher thought it would not be popular.<sup>114</sup> The *Lay of the Last Minstrel* was completed by the writing of the last two cantos, the fifth in "three forenoons" when in "quarters with the yeomanry" as already noted,<sup>115</sup> and the sixth doubtless soon after. The actual printing was in this year also, as shown by a letter to Ellis of Dec. 30.<sup>116</sup> In addition, during this very busy year in military affairs, Scott wrote certain articles for the *Edinburgh Review*, three in number. In the January number he reviewed Godwin's *Life of Chaucer*, as well as the *Specimens of Ancient English Poetry* by his friend Ellis. For the April number he made the article on the *Life and Works of Chatterton*. To this year is also usually attributed the short poem called the *Bard's Incantation*. This, however, belongs to the autumn of the following year, as Lockhart indeed says, and as will be shown from other data later.

In "the first week of January 1805" the *Lay* was issued in a splendid quarto with wide margins, and immediately attained great popularity as all know. Its full title was,

The Lay of the Last Minstrel: a Poem. By Walter Scott, Esquire  
Edinburgh, Constable & Co. London, Longman & Co.

Scott sent a copy to Miss Seward among others, and in thanking him (Mar. 7, 1805) she did not hesitate to criticise the goblin

<sup>113</sup> *Life* i, 354.

<sup>114</sup> *Life* i, 363. The title-page read: *Sir Tristrem, a Metrical Romance of the 13th Century; by Thomas of Ercildoune, called the Rymer*. Edited from the Auchinleck MS. by Walter Scott Esq., Advocate. Printed by J. Ballantyne for Arch. Constable, Edinburgh, and Longman & Rees, London. 1804. The book was in royal octavo, of 506 pages, and the last on the title-page of which Scott acknowledged himself an Advocate.

<sup>115</sup> See p. 57; *Familiar Letters* i, 72.

<sup>116</sup> *Life* i, 380: "The Lay is now ready, and will probably be in Longman and Rees's hands shortly after this comes to you."

page, "your dwarfology" as she called it, as also Graeme's song in the sixth canto.<sup>117</sup> Scott's answer is important in detailing the genesis of the poem. He says in his modest way:

It has great faults, of which no one can be more sensible than myself. Above all it is deficient in that sort of continuity which a story ought to have, and which, were I to write it again, I would endeavour to give it. . . . The Dwarf Page is also an excrescence, and I plead guilty to all the censures concerning him. The truth is he has a history, and it is this: The story of Gilpin Horner was told by an old gentleman to Lady Dalkeith, and she, much diverted with his actually believing so grotesque a tale, insisted that I should make it into a Border ballad. . . . I began a few verses to be called the Goblin Page; and they lay long by me, till the applause of some friends whose judgement I valued induced me to resume the poem; so on I wrote, knowing no more than the man in the moon how I was to end. At length the story appeared so uncouth that I was fain to put it into the mouth of my old minstrel—lest the nature of it should be misunderstood, and I should be suspected of setting up a new school of poetry, instead of a feeble attempt to imitate the old. In the process of the romance the page, intended to be a principal person in the work, contrived (from the business of his natural propensities I suppose) to slink down stairs into the kitchen, and now he must e'en abide there.<sup>118</sup>

Meanwhile Scott was forming new plans of great moment. James Ballantyne had moved to Edinburgh toward the close of 1802, after the publication of the first two volumes of the *Minstrelsy*, and set up the Border Press, first in the neighborhood of Holyrood, and then at Foulis Court, Canongate.<sup>119</sup> In 1805 he moved for better quarters to Paul's Work and, finding his capital insufficient for all the business now coming to him, applied to Scott for a further loan.<sup>120</sup> With this new and very considerable assistance to Ballantyne, Scott asked to become a secret but third sharer in the business.<sup>121</sup> The engage-

<sup>117</sup> *Letters* vi, 207. See also Miss Seward's letter of Apr. 17 for her further remarks on the poem.

<sup>118</sup> *Life* i, 388; the letter is of Mar. 21, 1805. What Scott says of the old minstrel would indicate that the *Introduction* was last written. It is not impossible, since Lady Dalkeith suggested a ballad, that Scott first used the ballad measure, and that it was in this form disapproved by his friends. At any rate that might account for the later "applause" when the new meter was adopted.

<sup>119</sup> *The Ballantyne Press and its Founders* p. 17.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.* p. 34. Scott had already made a liberal loan to Ballantyne on the latter's first moving to Edinburgh (*Life* i, 326).

<sup>121</sup> *Life* i, 396. Thomas Constable, in *Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents* iii, 12, says: "It was at Whitsuntide 1805 that Mr. Scott entered on his partnership with James Ballantyne." Yet this is shown to be inaccurate

ment thus entered into marks the time when Scott, clearly realizing that he would probably never be a great advocate, definitely decided to give himself to literature.<sup>123</sup>

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(To be continued)

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by some sentences in Scott's letter of April 12 to Ballantyne. He there says, "When you have time, you will make out a list of the debts to be discharged at Whitsuntide, that we may see what cash we shall have in bank. Our book-keeping may be very simple—an accurate cashbook and ledger is all that is necessary; and I think I know enough of the matter to assist in making the balance-sheet."

<sup>123</sup> See his *Introduction* to the *Lay* in 1830, where he takes up the story of his literary life broken off, as he says, in the *Essay on the Ancient Ballad*.

## NATURE IN HEINRICH VON KLEIST'S LETTERS

Heinrich von Kleist's letters,<sup>1</sup> even in the limited numbers that have escaped destruction, afford a good opportunity for a study of his appreciation of nature. They contain early boyish exclamations of naive admiration, Rousseauesque reactions toward nature viewed as a moral guide or teacher, a love of solitude in out-of-door life and Kleist's views on the influence of nature upon man. Moreover, these letters reveal Kleist's sense of music in nature, a love of picturesque scenery and descriptions of rare poetic beauty abounding in striking comparisons and in vivid personification. Kleist's later correspondence indicates a crowding out of such contemplation of nature, due perhaps to the mad rush of outward events in his feverish life. With very few exceptions references to nature date from letters written during Kleist's courtship of Wilhelmine von Zenge, a period of almost two years, extending from the beginning of the year 1800 to the latter part of the year 1801.

In the first letter recorded, Kleist, then a boy of fifteen, but already sensitive to the beauty of nature, bursts forth into admiration of the romantic charms of the country he has passed through between Leipzig and Frankfurt-am-Main. Even in this early letter there is a slight tendency to enumerate details rather than merely to give a mass impression, for he mentions the majestic mountains of the Thuringian Forest, inconceivably beautiful vistas across snow-covered peaks, crags, oaks and pines a hundred years old, the blue haze lying over distant ridges, and meadows which are miles in length. Such "indescribably beautiful scenery" calls forth the following naive comment:<sup>2</sup> Ich habe nie geglaubt, dass es in der Natur so schöne Landschaften geben könne, als ich sie gemahlt gesehen habe; jezt aber habe ich grade das Gegentheil erfahren. In this same letter the rising sun reminds him of the recent death

<sup>1</sup> H. v. Kleists Werke. Im Verein mit Georg Minde—Pouet und Reinhold Steig herausgegeben von Erich Schmidt. Bibliographisches Institut. Leipzig und Wien. 1904/05. References are to page and line of this edition.

<sup>2</sup> 14, 23

of his mother:<sup>3</sup> Sonderbar ist es was solch ein Anblick für Wirkungen zeigt. Tausend andere heitert er auf; ich dachte an meine Mutter und an Ihre Wohlthaten. Mehr darf ich nicht sagen.

Six years later, Kleist, then concerned with giving up a military career which made no appeal to him and desirous of devoting himself to study, writes that in his earlier youth the cultivation of an appreciation of nature and of her phenomena was quite neglected, and that thus far he can do no more than consider her phenomena with astonishment and admiration.<sup>4</sup> As a matter of fact, Kleist's letters reveal no scientific interest in nature; it is the feeling of kinship with her, the revelation of a moral law within her, her romantic charm and picturesque beauty that appeal to him.

With the inception and growth of Kleist's love for Wilhelmine von Zenge, his feeling for nature developed. The letters of this period bear out his own statement that noble love produces incredible changes in young men and stimulates an appreciation of nature:<sup>5</sup> Still und einsam besuchten sie schattige Ufer, oder freie Hügel, und lernten Genüsse kennen, von deren Dasein sie sonst nichts ahndeten . . . Alles was schön ist und edel und gut und gross, das fassten sie mit offner empfänglicher Seele auf, es darzustellen in sich. Under the influence of his love, Kleist's letters are marked by more and more careful observation of nature, by increasingly poetic descriptions of her beauty. This is in marked contrast with his first letter in which he scarcely does more than enumerate things he saw, stating repeatedly that their beauty defies description. Beautiful scenery frequently turns his thoughts toward Wilhelmine:<sup>6</sup> In dem reizenden Thale von Tharandt war ich unbeschreiblich bewegt. Ich wünschte recht mit Innigkeit Dich bei mir zu sehen. Solche Thäler, eng und heimlich, sind das wahre Vaterland der Liebe . . . Und wie herrlich müsste einmal ein kurzes Leben in der idealischen Natur auf Deine Seele wirken. Denn tiefe Eindrücke macht der Anblick der erhabenen edlen Schöpfung auf weiche, empfängliche Herzen. Die Natur

<sup>3</sup> 16, 23

<sup>4</sup> 36, 10

<sup>5</sup> 179, 18

<sup>6</sup> 105, 14

würde gewiss das Gefühl und den Gedanken in Dir erwecken . . . O, einst müssen wir einmal beide eine schöne Gegend besuchen. Denn da erwarten uns ganz neue Freuden, die wir noch gar nicht kennen. Considerable travel in those days of the slow stage-coach through beautiful regions of Germany afforded Kleist an excellent opportunity of observing nature just at a time when he was most susceptible to her charms. As he travels by stage he is again reminded of Wilhelmine and seized by the desire of enjoying so much natural beauty with her:<sup>7</sup> Wenn Du einmal könntest so neben mir sitzen, zur Linken, Arm an Arm, Hand in Hand, immer Gedanken wechselnd und Gefühle, bald mit den Lippen, bald mit den Fingern—ja das würden schöne, süsse herrliche Tage sein. Contemplation of the sky directs his thoughts to his fiancée:<sup>8</sup> Ganz im Hintergrunde ahndet das Auge blasse Gebirge und drüber hin, über die höchste matteste Linie der Berge, schimmert der bläuliche Himmel, der Himmel im Norden, der Himmel von Frankfurt, der Himmel, der mein liebes Minchen beleuchtet, und beschützen möge, bis ich es einst wieder in meine Arme drücke.

At times Kleist's susceptibility to nature gives rise to outbursts of enthusiastic feelings. In the following passage such emotions well up and bring his love of contrast to the fore:<sup>9</sup> Ja, mein liebes Mädchen, das ist ein ganz andrer Styl von Gegend, als man in unserm traurigen märkischen Vaterlande sieht. Zwar ist das Thal, das die Oder ausspült, besonders bei Frankfurt sehr reizend. Aber das ist doch nur ein blosses Miniatur-Gemälde. Hier sieht man die Natur gleichsam in Lebensgrösse. Jenes ist gleichsam wie die Gelegenheitsstücke grosser Künstler, flüchtig gezeichnet, nicht ohne meisterhafte Züge, aber ohne Vollendung; dieses hingegen ist ein Stück, mit Begeisterung gedichtet, mit Fleiss und Genie auf das Tableau geworfen, und aufgestellt vor der Welt mit der Zuversicht auf Bewunderung. In a description of the Harz mountains is found a strong exemplification of the emotional effect produced upon Kleist by nature:<sup>10</sup> Ich erstieg um Mitternacht den Stufenberg hinter Gernrode. Da stand ich schauernd, unter

<sup>7</sup> 110, 1

<sup>8</sup> 111, 13

<sup>9</sup> 111, 19

<sup>10</sup> 133, 10

den Nachtgestalten, wie zwischen Leichensteinen, und kalt wehte mich die Nacht an, wie ein Geist, und öde schien mir der Berg, wie ein Kirchhof. Aber ich irrte nur, so lange die Finsterniss über mich waltete. Denn als die Sonne hinter den Bergen hinaufstieg, und ihr Licht ausgoss über die freundlichen Fluren, und ihre Strahlen senkte in die grünenden Thäler, und ihren Schimmer heftete um die Häupter der Berge, und ihre Farben malte an die Blätter der Blumen und an die Blüten der Bäume—ja, da hob sich das Herz mir unter dem Busen, denn da sah ich und hörte, und fühlte, und empfand nun mit allen meinen Sinnen, dass ich ein Paradies vor mir hatte. Nature produces the effect of music upon Kleist, stimulates his imagination in the world of tones and causes him to hear sweet musical notes in the air:<sup>11</sup> Ich höre zuweilen, wenn ich in der Dämmerung, einsam, dem wehenden Athem des Westwinds entgegen gehe, und besonders wenn ich dann die Augen schliesse, ganze Concerte, vollständig, mit allen Instrumenten von der zärtlichen Flöte bis zum rauschenden Contra-Violon. So entsinne ich mich besonders einmal als Knabe vor 9 Jahren, als ich gegen den Rhein und gegen den Abendwind zugleich hinaufgieng, und so die Wellen der Luft und des Wassers zugleich mich umtönten, ein schmelzendes Adagio gehört habe, mit allem Zauber der Musik, mit allen melodischen Wendungen und der ganzen begleitenden Harmonie. Es war wie die Wirkung eines Orchesters, wie ein vollständiges Vaux-hall; ja, ich glaube sogar, dass Alles was die Weisen Griechenlands von der Harmonie der Sphären dichteten, nichts Weicheres, Schöneres, Himmlischeres gewesen sei, als diese seltsame Träumerei. A thunderstorm produces a melancholy feeling of pleasure in Kleist:<sup>12</sup> Aber keine Erscheinung in der Natur kann mir eine so wehmütige Freude abgewinnen, als ein Gewitter am Morgen, besonders wenn es ausgedonnert hat. Wir hatten hier vor einigen Tagen dies Schauspiel—o es war eine prächtige Scene! On his trip to Würzburg Kleist finds in nature a source of consolation:<sup>13</sup> Einen ähnlichen Trost hatte ich schon auf der Hinreise nach W. Ich stand nämlich mit dem Rücken gegen die Sonne und blickte lange in einen lebhaften Regen-

<sup>11</sup> 133, 27

<sup>12</sup> 147, 13

<sup>13</sup> 160, 19

bogen. So fällt doch, dachte ich, immer ein Strahl von Glück auf unser Leben, und wer der Sonne selbst den Rücken kehrt und in die trübe Wetterwolke schaut, dem wirft ihr schönres Bild der Regenbogen zu. In nature Kleist finds phenomena that are lovely, fearful, touching, terrible, depressing, consoling, unbearable, inviting and majestic.<sup>14</sup> In her he sees a striving after peace, after rest, just as he is striving for the same end. He thus imputes his own feelings and mood to nature:<sup>15</sup> Von ganzer Seele sehne ich mich, wonach die ganze Schöpfung und alle immer langsamer und langsamer rollenden Weltkörper streben, nach Ruhe. After a period of depression resulting from the overthrow of his conceptions by contact with Kantian philosophy he finds himself for a time out of harmony with nature's beauty which does not reflect his mood:<sup>16</sup> Ich blickte von dem hohen Ufer herab über das herrliche Elbthal, es lag da wie ein Gemälde von Claude Lorrain unter meinen Füßen—es schien mir wie eine Landschaft auf einen Teppich gestickt, grüne Fluren, Dörfer, ein breiter Strom, der sich schnell wendet, Dresden zu küssen und hat er es geküsst, schnell wieder flieht—und der prächtige Kranz von Bergen, der den Teppich wie eine Arabeskenborde unschliesst—und der reine blaue italische Himmel, der über die ganze Gegend schwebte—Mich dünkte, als schmeckte süß die Luft, holde Gerüche streuten mir die Fruchtbäume zu, und überall Knospen und Blüthen, die ganze Natur sah aus wie ein fünfzehnjähriges Mädchen—Ach, Wilhelmine, ich hatte eine unaussprechliche Sehnsucht, nur einen Tropfen von Freude zu empfangen, es schien ein ganzes Meer davon über die Schöpfung ausgegossen, nur ich allein gieng leer aus. Weather has its own effect upon Kleist:<sup>17</sup> Ach Wilhelmine, es war einer von jenen lauen, süßen, halbdämmernen Tagen, die jede Sehnsucht, und alle Wünsche des Herzens ins Leben rufen. Kleist compares his restless troubled mood with nature:<sup>18</sup> Ja selbst meine Wünsche wechseln, und bald tritt der eine, bald der andere ins Dunkle, wie die Gegenstände einer Landschaft, wenn die Wolken drüber hinziehn. The

<sup>14</sup> 174, 7

<sup>15</sup> 214, 34

<sup>16</sup> 218, 30

<sup>17</sup> 224, 28

<sup>18</sup> 226, 12

rapturous mood induced by the beautiful view from the Brocken is described as follows:<sup>19</sup> Über das ganze Gebirge war ein Nebelflor geschlagen und wir standen vor der Natur, wie vor einem Meisterstücke, das der Künstler aus Bescheidenheit mit einem Schleier verhüllt hat. Aber zuweilen liess er uns durch die zerrissnen Wolken einen Blick des Entzückens thun, denn er fiel auf ein Parradies.

A number of passages quoted in the preceding paragraph indicate a tendency in Kleist to see a reflex of his moods in nature. On the whole, the feeling underlying his approach to nature is not one of melancholy, for his choice of scenes is generally that of cheerful, optimistic ones. At the same time Kleist sees in nature a moral guide, a teacher, a divine moral law, an appeal to conscience. He feels that he could not calmly enjoy the great out-of-doors without a clear conscience:<sup>20</sup> Einsamkeit in der offenen Natur, das ist der Prüfstein des Gewissens. In Gesellschaften, auf den Strassen, in dem Schauspiele mag es schweigen, denn da wirken die Gegenstände nur auf den Verstand und bei ihnen braucht man kein Herz. Aber wenn man die weite, edlere, erhabnere Schöpfung vor sich sieht,—ja da braucht man ein Herz, da regt es sich unter der Brust und klopft an das Gewissen . . . Finden wir uns selbst hässlich, uns allein in diesem Ideale von Schönheit, ja dann ist es vorbei mit der Ruhe, und weg ist Freude und Genuss. Da drückt es uns die Brust zusammen, wir können das Hohe und Göttliche nicht fassen, und wandeln stumpf und sinnlos wie Slaven durch die Palläste ihrer Herren. Da ängstigt uns die Stille der Wälder, da schreckt uns das Geschwätz der Quelle, uns ist die Gegenwart Gottes zur Last, und wir stürzen uns in das Gewühl der Menschen um uns selbst unter der Menge zu verlieren, und wünschen uns nie, nie wiederzufinden. Thus in the solitude of nature Kleist feels the presence of God and hears the still voice of conscience which is drowned in the tumult of the city. According to Kleist, nature is an excellent teacher:<sup>21</sup> Mir leuchtet es immer mehr und mehr ein, dass die Bücher schlechte Sittenlehrer sind. Was wahr ist, sagen sie uns wohl, auch wohl, was g u t ist, aber es dringt in die Seele

<sup>19</sup> 236, 19

<sup>20</sup> 107, 25

<sup>21</sup> 159, 29

nicht ein. Einen Lehrer giebt es, der ist vortrefflich, wenn wir ihn verstehen; es ist die N a t u r. Consequently Kleist urges Wilhelmine to be attentive to all phenomena of nature,<sup>22</sup> for none are unimportant; even the most trivial contain something worthy of note if one can but detect it. She is not merely to observe, but to learn from such phenomena by constantly instituting comparisons. Each walk that she takes is to enrich her by some moral truths gleaned from nature.<sup>23</sup> Kleist derives moral inspiration and instruction from nature by asking her in his happiest hours what is just, noble, good and beautiful.<sup>24</sup> He adds: Täglicb widme ich, zur Erhohlung, ein Stündchen diesem Geschäfte, und denke niemals ohne Freude an den Augenblick (in Würzburg) wo ich zum erstenmal auf den Gedanken kam, auf diese Art bei der grossen Lehrmeisterinn Natur in die Schule zu gehen. Didactic nature, writes Kleist,<sup>25</sup> can appeal only to the soul, not to the senses unaided by the active soul. The soul, he continues,<sup>26</sup> is like a mirror; it must make good use of the lesson learned from nature, must be burnished by it and become clear so as to reflect faithfully the image of beautiful nature. In short, the effect of nature upon the sensitive, refined soul is according to Kleist an ennobling one, making for harmony between herself and man. Solitude in nature appeals strongly to him as he comes under the influence of Rousseau. In a secluded valley he desires a little house just large enough for two people and love.<sup>27</sup> In country life close to nature he sees cleanliness, comfort, enjoyment of life, cheerfulness and kindliness.<sup>28</sup> Pursued by his desire for peace and happiness, Kleist sketches the following Rousseau-esque picture of idyllic repose in nature on the Elbe:<sup>29</sup> Es war so still auf der Fläche des Wassers, so ernst zwischen den hohen, dunkeln Felsenufern, die der Strom durchschnitt. Einzelne Häuser waren hie und da an den Felsen gelehnt, wo ein Fischer oder ein Weinbauer sich angesiedelt hatte. Mir schien ihr

<sup>22</sup> 160, 31

<sup>23</sup> 162, 21

<sup>24</sup> 172, 7

<sup>25</sup> 172, 24

<sup>26</sup> 172, 33

<sup>27</sup> 105, 5

<sup>28</sup> 109, 3

<sup>29</sup> 224, 30

Loos unbeschreiblich rührend und reizend—das kleine einsame Hüttchen unter dem schützenden Felsen, der Strom, der Kühlung und Nahrung zugleich herbeiführt, Freuden, die keine Idylle mahlen kann, Wünsche, die nicht über die Gipfel der umschliessenden Berge fliegen—ach, liebe Wilhelmine, ist Dir das nicht auch alles so rührend und reizend wie mir? Könntest Du bei d i e s e m Glück nicht auch Alles aufgeben, was jenseits der Berge liegt? Ich könnte es—ach, ich sehne mich unaussprechlich nach Ruhe . . . Ja, wer erfüllt eigentlich getreuer seine Bestimmung nach dem Willen der Natur, als der Hausvater, der Landmann? Kleist's final conclusion with regard to nature as a guide seems to be this:<sup>30</sup> Falsch ist jedes Ziel, das nicht die reine Natur dem Menschen steckt.

In addition to the above quotations which indicate a tendency to search for moral truths in nature and to seek solitude in nature as a means to moral perfection and happiness, there are many passages treating of nature which reveal an aesthetic appreciation of a high order. The sky is repeatedly mentioned with all its changing manifestations and phenomena both at night and during the day, such as the moon, sunrise and sunset, the rainbow, mist, haze, fog, clouds, thunder and lightning. The following passage marks careful observation of the sky at night:<sup>31</sup> Vorgestern auf der Reise, als die Nacht einbrach, lag ich mit dem Rücken auf dem Stroh unsers Korbwagens, und blickte grade hinauf in das unermessliche Weltall. Der Himmel war malerisch schön. Zerrissene Wolken, bald ganz dunkel, bald hell vom Monde erleuchtet, zogen über mich weg. Brokes und ich, wir suchten beide und fanden Ähnlichkeiten in den Formen des Gewölks, er die seinigen, ich die meinigen. Another trip at night calls forth further mention of night, the sky and moon:<sup>32</sup> So reizend war der Eingang in eine reizende Nacht. Der Weg ging immer am Ufer der Mulde entlang, bei Felsen vorbei, die wie Nachtgestalten vom Monde erleuchtet waren. Der Himmel war durchaus heiter, der Mond voll, die Luft rein, das Ganze herrlich . . . Mein Auge wich nicht vom Mond. Kleist characterizes the sky above Dresden as der reine blaue italische Himmel, der über die

<sup>30</sup> 226, 23

<sup>31</sup> 95, 13

<sup>32</sup> 99, 17

ganze Gegend schwebte.<sup>33</sup> A most poetic description of a sunrise<sup>34</sup> has already been quoted in connection with its profound emotional effect upon Kleist to whom the rising sun reveals a paradise. A sunset at Würzburg is described with vivid touches.<sup>35</sup> In der Tiefe, sagte ich, liegt die Stadt, wie in der Mitte eines Amphitheaters. Die Terrassen der umschliessenden Berge dienten statt der Logen, Wesen aller Art blickten als Zuschauer voll Freude herab und sangen und sprachen Beifall, oben in der Loge des Himmels stand Gott. Und aus dem Gewölbe des grossen Schauspielhauses sank der Kronleuchter der Sonne herab, und versteckte sich hinter die Erde—denn es sollte ein Nachtstück aufgeführt werden. Ein blauer Schleier umhüllte die ganze Gegend, und es war, als wäre der azurne Himmel selbst hernieder gesunken auf die Erde. Die Häuser in der Tiefe lagen in dunkeln Massen da, wie das Gehäuse einer Schnecke, hoch empor in die Nachtluft ragten die Spitzen der Thürme, wie die Fühlhörner eines Insectes, und das Klingeln der Glocken klang wie der heisere Ruf des Heimchens—und hinten starb die Sonne, aber hochroth glühend vor Entzücken, wie ein Held, und das blasse Zodiakal-licht umschimmerte sie, wie eine Glorie das Haupt eines Heiligen. Just as majestic is Kleist's account of a sunrise in the same letter.<sup>36</sup> Im Westen stand das nächtliche Gewitter und wüthete, wie ein Tyrann, und von Osten her stieg die Sonne herauf, ruhig und schweigend wie ein Held. Und seine Blitze warf ihm das Ungewitter zischend zu und schalt ihn laut mit der Stimme des Donners—er aber schwieg der göttliche Stern, und stieg herauf, und blickte mit Hoheit herab auf den unruhigen Nebel unter seinen Füßen, und sah sich tröstend um nach den andern Sonnen, die ihn umgaben, als ob er seine Freunde beruhigen wollte—Und einen letzten fürchterlichen Donnerschlag schleuderte ihm das Ungewitter entgegen, als ob es seinen ganzen Vorrath von Galle und Geifer in einem Funken ausspeien wollte—aber die Sonne wankte nicht in ihrer Bahn, und nahte sich unerschrocken, und bestieg den Thron des Himmels—und blass, wie vor Schreck, entfärbte sich die Nacht des Gewölks, und

<sup>33</sup> 219, 2

<sup>34</sup> 133, 15

<sup>35</sup> 145, 35

<sup>36</sup> 147, 16

zerstob wie dünner Rauch, und sank unter den Horizont, wenige schwache Flüche murmelnd. The following summer while in Paris Kleist feels shut in and longs for die schöne, grosse edle, erhabene Natur und die Frühlingssonne.<sup>37</sup>

During his travels Kleist came under the romantic spell of rugged, picturesque scenery, of mountains, valleys and streams. A letter describing a trip from Leipzig to Dresden brings vivid portrayal of mountain scenery:<sup>38</sup> Denke Dir unser Erstaunen, als wir uns dicht vor den Thoren dieser Stadt, plötzlich in der Mitte eines Gebirges sahen. Dicht vor uns lag eine Landschaft, ganz wie ein transparentes Stück. Wir fuhren auf einem schauerlich schönen Wege, der auf der halben Höhe eines Felsens in Stein gehauen war. Rechts der steile Felsen selbst, mit überhangendem Gebüsch, links der schroffe Abgrund, der den Lauf der Mulde beugt, jenseits des reissenden Stromes dunkelschwarze hohe belaubte Felsen, über welche in einem ganz erheiterten Himmel der Mond heraufstieg. Kleist continues his description in the same letter:<sup>39</sup> Wir fuhren nun immer an dem Fusse des Erzgebirges oder an seinem Vorgebirge entlang. Hin und wieder blickten nackte Granitblöcke aus den Hügeln hervor. Die ganze Gebirgsart ist aber Schifer, welcher, wegen seiner geblättern Tafeln, ein noch wilderes zerrisseneres Ansehn hat, als der Granit selbst. Die allgemeine Pflanze war die Harz-Tanne; ein schöner Baum an sich, der ein gewisses ernstes Ansehn hat, der aber die Gegend auf welcher er steht meistens öde macht, vielleicht wegen seines dunkeln Grüns, oder wegen des tiefen Schweigens das in dem Schatten seines Laubes waltet. Denn es sind nur einige wenige ganz kleine Vögelarten, die, ausser Uhu und Eule, in diesem Baume nisten. This is one of the very few passages in which trees are named and animal life is referred to. Another view in the mountains which appealed strongly to Kleist was from the castle Lichtenstein. His description of this view affords contrast and gives the effect of color, light, shade, height, perspective, outline, foreground and background:<sup>40</sup> Wir sahen von einem hohen Berge herab, rechts und links dunkle Tannen,

<sup>37</sup> 235, 19

<sup>38</sup> 99, 1

<sup>39</sup> 99, 33

<sup>40</sup> 111, 4

ganz wie ein gemahlter Vordergrund; zwischen durch eine Gegend, ganz wie ein geschlossnes Gemälde. In der Tiefe lag zur Rechten am Wasser das Gebirgssstädtchen; hinter ihm, ebenfalls zur Rechten, auf der Hälfte eines ganz buschigten Felsens, das alte Schloss Lichtenstein; hinter diesem, immer noch zur rechten ein höchster Felsen, auf welchem ein Tempel steht. Aber zur Linken öffnet sich ein weites Feld, wie ein Teppich, von Dörfern, Gärten und Wäldern gewebt. Ganz im Hintergrunde ahndet das Auge blasse Gebirge, und drüber hin, über die höchste matteste Linie der Berge, schimmert der bläuliche Himmel. Kleist was very fond of a certain view in the mountains at Würzburg, one that gave him particular pleasure at twilight:<sup>41</sup> Die Höhe senkt sich allmählig herab und in der Tiefe liegt die Stadt. Von beiden Seiten hinter ihr ziehen im halben Kreise Bergketten sich heran, und nähern sich freundlich, als wollten sie sich die Hände geben, wie ein Paar alte Freunde nach einer langen verflorenen Beleidigung—aber der Main tritt zwischen sie, wie die bittere Erinnerung, und sie wanken, und keiner wagt es, zuerst hinüber zu schreiten, und folgen beide langsam dem scheidenden Strome, wehmütige Blicke über die Scheidewand wechselnd. How firmly the scenery about Dresden impressed itself upon Kleist is seen in the following description drawn from his fond memory while in Paris:<sup>42</sup> Was macht auch mein liebes Dressden? Ich sehe es noch vor mir liegen in der Tiefe der Berge, wie der Schauplatz in der Mitte eines Amphitheatres—ich sehe die Elbhöhen, die in einiger Entfernung, als ob sie aus Ehrfurcht nicht näher zu rücken wagten, gelagert sind, und gleichsam von Bewunderung angewurzelt scheinen—und die Felsen im Hintergrunde von Königstein, die wie ein bewegtes Meer von Erde aussehen, und in den schönsten Linien geformt sind, als hätten da die Engel im Sande gespielt—und die Elbe, die schnell ihr rechtes Ufer verlässt, ihren Liebling Dressden zu küssen, die bald zu dem einen, bald zu dem andern Ufer flieht, als würde ihr die Wahl schwer, und in tausend Umwegen, wie vor Entzücken, durch die freundlichen Fluren wankt, als wollte sie nicht ins Meer—und Lokowitz, das versteckt hinter den Bergen liegt, als ob

<sup>41</sup> 145, 26

<sup>42</sup> 235, 26

es sich schämte—und die Weissritz, die sich aus den Tiefen des plauenschen Grundes losringt, wie ein verstohlnes Gefühl aus der Tiefe der Brust, die, immer an Felsen wie an Vorurtheilen sich stossend, nicht zornig, aber doch ein wenig unwillig murmelt, sich unermüdet durch alle Hindernisse windet, bis sie an die Freiheit des Tages tritt und sich ausbreitet in dem offenen Felde und frei und ruhig ihrer Bestimmung gemäss ins Meer fliesst. According to Kleist the topography of a country exerts a distinct influence upon the character of the inhabitants.<sup>43</sup> Das Enge der Gebirge scheint überhaupt auf das Gefühl zu wirken und man findet darin viele Gefühlsphilosophen, Menschenfreunde, Freunde der Künste, besonders der Musik. Die Weite des platten Landes hingegen wirkt mehr auf den Verstand und hier findet man die Denker und Vielwiser. Ich möchte an einem Ort gebohren sein, wo die Berge nicht zu eng, die Flächen nicht zu weit sind.

Rivers above all else in nature stirred Kleist's imagination to poetic flights. Almost invariably he personifies them most vividly and uses picturesque metaphors and comparisons in their description. The second last passage quoted combining a description of mountain and river is already a case in point. Another pleasing portrayal of a woodland stream reads:<sup>44</sup> Ich gieng an dem Ufer eines kleinen Waldbachs entlang. Ich lächelte über seine Eilfertigkeit, mit welcher er schwatzhaft und geschmeidig über die Steine hüpfte. Das ruht nicht eher, dachte ich, als bis es im Meere ist; und dann fängt es seinen Weg von vorn an. Again:<sup>45</sup> Wasser sieht man in jedem Thale, grüne Ufer, waldige Hügel. Aber das schönste Thal ist das südwestliche. Da schäumt die Weissritz heran, durch schroffe Felsen, die Tannen und Birken tragen, schön gruppiert wie Federn auf den Köpfen der Mädchen. Dicht unter der Ruine bildet sie selbst ein natürliches Bassin, und wirft das verkehrte Bild der Gegend malerisch schön zurück. Not content with this reference to the Weissritz, Kleist recurs to it again in a continuation of the same letter:<sup>46</sup> In der Mitte des plauenschen Grundes krümmt sich das Thal und bildet da einen tiefen Ein-

<sup>43</sup> 100, 21

<sup>44</sup> 100, 11

<sup>45</sup> 104, 7

<sup>46</sup> 104, 28

schnitt. Die Weissritz stürzt sich gegen die Wand eines vorspringenden Felsens und will ihn gleichsam durchbohren. Aber der Felsen ist stärker, wankt nicht, und beugt ihren stürmischen Lauf. Kleist writes this animated description of the Main River which has a great fascination for him:<sup>47</sup> Wenn ich jetzt auf der steinernen Mainbrücke stehe, die das Citadell von der Stadt trennt, und den gleitenden Strom betrachte, der durch Berge und Auen in tausend Krümmungen heran strömt und unter meinen Füßen weg fließt, so ist es mir, als ob ich über ein Leben erhaben stünde. Ich stehe daher gern am Abend auf diesem Gewölbe und lasse den Wasserstrom und den Luftstrom mir entgegen rauschen. Oder ich kehre mich um, und verfolge den Lauf des Flusses bis er sich in die Berge verliert, und verliere mich selbst dabei in stille Betrachtungen. Besonders ein Schauspiel ist mir sehr merkwürdig. Grade aus strömt der Main von der Brücke weg, und pfeilschnell, als hätte er sein Ziel schon im Auge, als sollte ihn nichts abhalten, es zu erreichen, als wollte er es, ungeduldig, auf dem kürzesten Wege ereilen—aber ein Rebenhügel beugt seinen stürmischen Lauf, sanft aber mit festem Sinn, wie eine Gattinn den stürmischen Willen ihres Mannes, und zeigt ihm mit edler Standhaftigkeit den Weg, der ihn ins Meer führen wird—und er ehrt die bescheidene Warnung und folgt der freundlichen Weisung, und gibt sein voreiliges Ziel auf und durchbricht den Rebenthügel nicht, sondern umgeht ihn, mit beruhigtem Laufe, seine blumigen Füße ihm küssend. The Main River and its valley are further described as seen from above:<sup>48</sup> O wie herrlich war der Anblick des Mainthales von dieser Höhe! Hügel und Thäler und Wasser, und Städte und Dörfer, alles durcheinander wie ein gewirkter Fussteppich! Der Main wandte sich bald rechts bald links, und küsste bald den einen, bald den andern Rebenthügel, und wankte zwischen seinen beiden Ufern, die ihm gleich theuer schienen, wie ein Kind zwischen Vater und Mutter. Kleist considered the scenery about Dresden most charming, and in describing it refers to the Elbe as follows:<sup>49</sup> Dressden hat eine grosse, feierliche Lage, in der Mitte der umkränzenden Elbhöhen, die in einiger Entfernung, als ob sie aus Ehrfurcht

<sup>47</sup> 145, 1

<sup>48</sup> 146, 37

<sup>49</sup> 223, 3

nicht näher zu treten wagten, es umlagern. Der Strom verlässt plötzlich sein rechtes Ufer, und wendet sich schnell nach Dressden, seinen Liebling zu küssen . . . Er wendet sich bald zu dem rechten bald zu dem linken Ufer, als würde die Wahl ihm schwer, und wankt, wie vor Entzücken, und schlängelt sich spielend in tausend Umwegen durch das freundliche Thal, als wollte er nicht in das Meer. Kleist again writes of the Elbe in these words:<sup>60</sup> Wie eine Jungfrau unter Männern erscheint, so tritt sie schlank und klar unter die Felsen—Leise mit schüchternem Wanken naht sie sich—das rohe Geschlecht drängt sich, den Weg ihr versperrend, um sie herum, der Glänzend—Reinen ins Antlitz zu schauen—sie aber ohne zu harren, windet sich flüchtig erröthend, hindurch. The banks of the Rhine from Mainz to Coblenz seemed to Kleist the most beautiful region of Germany, one which was created "con amore." Of this region he says:<sup>61</sup> Das ist eine Gegend wie ein Dichtertraum, und die üppigste Phantasie kann nichts schöneres erdenken, als dieses Thal, das sich bald öffnet, bald schliesst, bald blüht, bald öde ist, bald lacht, bald schreckt. Then follows again almost word for word, the description of the Main already quoted. He continues:<sup>62</sup> Aber still und breit und majestätisch strömt er bei Bingen heran, und sicher, wie ein Held zum Siege, und langsam, als ob er seine Bahn wohl vollenden würde—und ein Gebirge (der Hundsrück) wirft sich ihm in den Weg, wie die Verläumdung der unbescholtenen Tugend. Er aber durchbricht es, und wankt nicht, und die Felsen weichen ihm aus, und blicken mit Bewunderung und Erstaunen auf ihn hinab—doch er eilt verächtlich bei ihnen vorüber, aber ohne zu frohlocken, und die einzige Rache, die er sich erlaubt, ist diese, ihnen in seinem klaren Spiegel ihr schwarzes Bild zu zeigen. Kleist characterizes the Seine<sup>63</sup> as ein Strom, der wie mancher fremde Jüngling, rein und klar in diese Stadt tritt, aber schmutzig und mit tausend Unrath geschwängert, sie verlässt, und der in fast grader Linie sie durchschneidet, als wollte er den ekelhaften Ort, in welchen er sich verirrt, schnell auf dem kürzesten Wege durchheilen. Again he writes of the

<sup>60</sup> 224, 21<sup>61</sup> 236, 27<sup>62</sup> 237, 7<sup>63</sup> 252, 10

Seine<sup>54</sup> as diesem einzigen schmalen Streifen Natur, der sich in diese unnatürliche Stadt verirrt.

One of the last significant references to nature in Kleist's letters is dated August, 1801, and is a veritable glorification of nature:<sup>55</sup> Grosse, stille, feierliche Natur, Du, die Cathedrale der Gottheit, deren Gewölbe der Himmel, deren Säulen die Alpen, deren Kronleuchter die Sterne, deren Chorknaben die Jahreszeiten sind, welche Düfte schwingen in den Rauchfässern der Blumen gegen die Altäre der Felder, an welchen Gott Messe liest und Freuden austheilt zum Abendmahl unter der Kirchenmusik, welche die Ströme und die Gewitter rauschen, indessen die Seelen entzückt ihre Genüsse an dem Rosenkranze der Erinnerung zählen. For several years after this Kleist's letters contain virtually no mention of nature, but in March, 1811, he writes to Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué:<sup>56</sup> Ihre liebe freundliche Einladung nach Nennhausen hinaus zu kommen, und daselbst den Lenz aufblühen zu sehen, reizt mich mehr, als ich es sagen kann. Fast habe ich ganz und gar vergessen, wie die Natur aussieht. Noch heute liess ich mich, in Geschäften, die ich abzumachen hatte, zwischen dem Ober—und Unterbaum über die Spree setzen; und die Stille, die mich plötzlich in der Mitte der Stadt umgab, das Geräusch der Wellen, die Winde, die mich anwehten, es gieng mir eine ganze Welt erloschener Empfindungen wieder auf. These lines would serve to indicate quite clearly that contemplation of nature must have played a very small part in Kleist's life during those latter years, in which extant letters yield nothing. Moreover, they justify the inference that other unrecorded letters very probably contain just as little reference to nature.

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<sup>54</sup> 256, 4

<sup>55</sup> 257, 14

<sup>56</sup> 417, 3

## OLD NORSE *-dr* FROM *\*-nn+r*

Many divergent opinions have been expressed as to the development of Old Norse *-dr* from an earlier *\*-nn+r*. The problem is especially complicated in that the *\*-nn* may represent either a Primitive Germanic *\*-nn* or a Primitive Germanic *\*-nþ* and that the *r* may represent either a Primitive Germanic *r* or a later Old Norse *R*.

Kock<sup>1</sup> has shown that since a single *-n* before *-r* did not pass over into *ð* (cf. *son+r* not *\*sodr* but *\*sann-r > sadr*) the quality of the double nasal *-nn* (i. e., dental) must have been different from the quality of the single nasal *-n* (i. e., supra-dental).

But Kock has here suggested an answer to only one side of this question (viz., the phonetic reason for the transition *-nn+r > -dr*). Since the transition *-nn > -ð* occurred only before an *r* and not before an *R*, the question must first be decided as to the priority of the transition *-nn+R > -nnr* over the assimilation *-nn+R* to *-nn*. In the latter case *-nn* could not pass over into *ð* unless the *-r* were later restored by analogy.

Noreen assumes that wherever *-nn<sup>2</sup>* represents an earlier *-nþ*, the *-dr* is here phonetically correct because the *R* after *-nn* (< *\*-nþ*) at a very early date passed over into an *r* incapable of assimilation ("zu nicht assimilirbarem *r*"); e.g., *\*gunþ+R >*

<sup>1</sup> Axel Kock, *Ark. f. nord. fil.*, IX, 254 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A. Noreen, *Aisl. Gramm.*, §267, 4 b: "Wo aber *nn* aus *nþ* entstanden ist, steht lautgesetzlich *þr* oder anal. *nnr*, weil in dieser Stellung *R* sehr früh (nach §256) zu nicht assimilirbarem *r* wurde, z. b. *suþr* (ags. *súð*) südwärts, *guþr*, *gunnr* (ags. *gúð*) streit . . . ."

In §256 he says: "Das aus urgerm. *z* entstandene urn. *R* ist schon vorlitterarisch, am frühesten nach dentalen und interdentalen konsonanten, mit altem *r* zusammengefallen, z. b. *belre* (got. *batiza*) besser, *meire* (got. *maiza*) mehr, *er* (got. *iz-ei*) . . . ."

It will be noted that in §267, 4b, quoted above, Noreen mentions the *-dr* in the word *sudr* as an example of the transition *\*-nþ+R > -dr*. But the *-r* in *sudr* represents an original (i. e., Primitive Germanic) *r* (cf. the Indo-Eur. comparative ending *\*-er-* added to adverbs denoting place, as in P. G. *\*inn-ar-ð > P. Norse \*inn-cr-i > \*innri > idri*) and not a secondary *r* (< *R*). In §252 Noreen has treated the *r* in *sudr* correctly as representing an original *r*: "*nn* wird vor *r* zu *ð*, z. b. *iþre* aus *\*inneri* innerer, *suþr* südwärts . . . ."

\**gunn*+*r*>*gudr* (Angs. *gud*), \**tanþ*-*iR*>\**tenn*+*R*>\**tenn*+*r*>*tedr* (Angs. *ted*); but that wherever —*nn*<sup>3</sup> represents an original —*nn* the *R* disappeared thru assimilation (i.e., \*—*nn*+*R*>—*nn*) and that therefore in such cases the forms in —*dr* or in —*nur* represent later analogical formations, e.g., \**brunn*+*R*>\**brunn* (*brunnr*:*brudr* analogical), \**mann*+*R*>*mann* (*mannr*:*maðr* analogical), \**brenn*+*R*>*brenn* (*brennr*:*breðr* analogical).

Heusler<sup>4</sup> evidently agrees with Noreen to the effect that the *r* (*R*) was 1) retained after the —*nn* derived from \*—*nþ* but 2) disappeared after an original \*—*nn* thru assimilation; that therefore, in the former case the —*dr* is phonetically correct, but in the latter case represents a later analogical formation.

Both Noreen<sup>5</sup> and Heusler<sup>6</sup> also agree to the effect that before a later restored —*r* the —*nn* passed over into —*d* (just as it did at any earlier date before a phonetically correct *r*) cf. \**mannR*>*mann*:*MANNR*>*maðr*. The transition —*nn*+*r*>—*dr* must therefore, according to Noreen-Heusler, have still been operative after the time when the new —*r* was added to the stem.

Kahle, on the other hand, seems to think that the transition —*nn*>—*d* occurred only before an original *r*<sup>7</sup> and not before a later Norse *r*<sup>8</sup>(<*R*). Therefore, according to Kahle, not only)

<sup>3</sup> A. Noreen, *ibid.*, "Nach altem *nn* ist *R* assimiliert in *minne* (got. *minniza*) minder, pl. *menn* (\**manniR*, got. *mans*) . . . . . ; sonst steht allgemein anal. *nur* oder (nach §252) *þr*, z.b. *brunnr*, *brúþr* brunnen, *maþr* . . . . ."

Article §252 refers to the transition *nn*+*r*>*dr*.

<sup>4</sup> A. Heusler, *Aisl. Elementarb.*, §156: "*nn* wurde vor *r* zu *d* (geschrieben *þ*) . . . . ."

"Der Übergang fällt ins 10. Jahrhundert; der Lautwandel *nþ*>*nn* ist älter, also die Reihenfolge diese: urn. \**anþarð*>\**annra*>*apra*; urn. \**kunþaR*>—*kunnr*>*kuþr*. *nn*+*R* war schon viel früher geschmolzen \**manniR*>*menn*, Sing. \**mannR*>\**mann*; \**brenniR*>*brenn* 'brennst'. Wurde aber in diesen Formen die Endung —*r* neu eingesetzt, so wandelte sich nun *mannr* zu *maþr* usw."

<sup>5</sup> A. Noreen, *Aisl. Gramm.*,<sup>3</sup> §252: "Aber auch wo etwas später ein (*R* oder ein daraus entwickeltes) *r* zu *nn* tritt, findet dieselbe entwicklung statt."

<sup>6</sup> A. Heusler, *Aisl. Elementarb.*, §156: "Wurde aber in diesen Formen die Endung —*r* neu eingesetzt, so wandelte sich nun *mannr* zu *maðr* usw."

<sup>7</sup> B. Kahle, *Aisl. Elementarb.*, §216: "Vor idg. *r* wird es (—*nn*) zu *d*, z. B. *idre*<\**innere* 'der innere,' *sudr*<\**summr* 'südwärts,' *aðrer*<\**annrer* 'die andern' zu *annarr*."

<sup>8</sup> B. Kahle, *ibid.*, *Anm.*: "Formen wie *meþr* 'Männer,' *teþr* 'Zähne' neben den lautgesetzlichen *menn*, *tenn* sind entstanden, indem man zu einer Zeit, als *R* schon mit *r* zusammengefallen war, \**mennr*, \**tennr* neu schuf. Ebenso zu

such forms as *medr* (\*<*mennr*<\**mennR*):*brudr*(<\**brunnr*<\**brunnR*) but also 2) such forms as *ledr* (<\**iennr*<\**iennR*<\**ianþ-iz*) and *kudr* (<*kunnr*<\**kunnR*<\**kunþ-az*) are analogical, because an *R* was lost thru assimilation after an *-nn* whether this *-nn* represented either 1) an original \**-nn* or 2) an original \**-nþ*.

In his review (*I. F.*, V, *Anz.*, 75-76) of the second edition of Noreen's *Aisl. Grumm.*, Kahle opposes Noreen's theory as to the transition *-nþ+R>-nnr>-dr* chiefly on the ground<sup>o</sup> that forms like *tenn* (alongside of *tennr:ledr*) and the many woman names in *-unn* (alongside of *-unnr:uðr*) indicate a phonetically correct status (i.e., *-nþ+R>-nnr>-nn* just as \**-nn+R>-nnr>-nn*) and not an analogical formation. The form *tenn*, he thinks, can hardly be explained as an analogical formation after the model of *menn*; and the independent substantive *uðr:unnr* never appears as \**unn*.

Kahle's objection to Noreen's view regarding *tenn* as an analogical form does not seem to me to have much foundation. Kahle's assertion (*ibid.*) that the example of *menn* is too remote is not at all convincing. The form *menn* is according to both Noreen and Kahle phonetically correct (i.e., \**mann+i+R>\*mennr>menn*), but alongside of the form *menn* we have also the analogical by-forms *mennr:medr*. Granting that the form *ledr* is phonetically correct (i.e., \**ianþ+i+R>\*iennr>ledr*), what is to prevent our regarding the forms *tennr:tenn* as due to the example of *mennr:menn*? Aside from *menn:mennr:medr* we have also *kinn:kinnr:kiðr*(\**kinn+i+R>\*kinnr>kinn*, cf. Goth.

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beurteilen sind *brunnr:brudr* 'Brunnen' statt \**brunn*, *suinnr*:<*suidr* 'weise,' *finnr*:*fiðr* 'er findet.'"

Evidently the sign < in "*suinnr*: < *suidr*" is a misprint for >.

<sup>o</sup> B. Kahle, *I. F.*, V, *Anz.*, p. 76: "Vielleicht sind Fälle wie *teþr*, N. Plu. von *tenn*, aus *tennr*, *guþr* aus *gunnr* ähnlich aufzufassen wie *maþr*, d. h. als Neubildungen zur Zeit als *R* schon *r* geworden. Zwar sagt N. §206, dass *R* schon vorlitterarisch—am frühesten nach dentalen und interdentalen Konsonanten mit altem *r* zusammengefallen sei, daher stände (§217, 4b) *þr* lautgesetzlich, wo *-nn* aus *-nþ* entstanden sei. Dem widersprechen aber die von ihm selbst angeführten *tenn* neben *teþr* und die Eigennamen auf *-unn* neben dem Substantiv *uþr* aus *unnr* . . . . Wir werden also in den Formen auf *-nn* die lautgesetzlichen zu sehen haben, in denen auf *-þr* Neuschöpfungen wie in *maþr*. Dass *tenn* eine Neubildung wäre, ist sehr unwahrscheinlich, *menn*, an das man etwa denken könnte, liegt doch zu weit ab."

*kinuus*). In the consonantal group analogy played an especially important role and the few nouns in *-nn+R* must have been very closely associated. If, therefore, the forms *kinn* and *menn* are phonetically correct, there is no reason to assume that the form *tenn* must also be phonetically correct, for there was, no doubt, a tendency to associate all three words with one another as belonging to the same peculiar type, i.e., *-nn:-nnr:-dr*. Whichever one of these three combinations was phonetically correct or was analogical made no difference as to the association and resultant analogy.

As to the woman names in *-unn* (alongside of *-uðr:-unn*, independent substantive *\*unþ+R>\*unnr>uðr:unnr*, Angs. 4d) I am inclined to believe that the *-nn* is here due to the fact that the syllable in question did not receive the chief stress. Kahle's objection to this theory (*ibid.*) "doch steht einer solchen Auffassung das haupttonige *tenn* entgegen" falls to the ground, if we assume that *tenn* is an analogical form.

The Noreen-Heusler theory regarding the transition *\*-nþ+R>\*-nnr>-dr* seems to me (in view of our lack of prehistorical evidence) justified, chiefly because the vast majority of words containing this combination show both the form in *-dr*<sup>10</sup> and in the later *-nnr*,<sup>10</sup> but only a very few such words show a form in *-nn*.<sup>11</sup> The forms in *-nn* may be explained as due either to the force of analogy or to the fact that the *\*-nþ+R* was in an unstressed syllable. The fact that there are so very few forms in *-nn* derived from *\*-nþ+R* indicates to my mind that here the *r(R)* never had been assimilated to the *-nn* (<*\*-nþ*). If this had not been the case, why did not the "phonetically correct" forms (i.e., in *-nn*) more often appear? Kahle advances no reasons as to why "the phonetically correct" forms in *-nn* derived from *\*-nþ+R* should have regularly disappeared, whereas the phonetically correct forms in *-nn* derived from *\*-nn+R* should have regularly been preserved, e.g., according to Kahle *\*kunþ+R>\*kunnr>\*kunn* (replaced by *kunnr:kudr*) but *\*menn+R>\*mennr>menn* (not replaced by *mennr:medr*).

<sup>10</sup> Thus *\*gunþ+R>\*gunnr>gudr:gunnr* but not *\*gunn*; *\*kunþ+R>\*kunnr>kudr:kunnr* but not *\*kunn*, etc.

<sup>11</sup> Besides those examples discussed above; cf. *iqnn* nom. sing. but *Hildetannr* and *Tabr*, proper names. The form *iqnn*, instead of the phonetically correct *iadr* (<*\*tanr* < *\*tanþ+R*), is evidently due to the stem *tann-* of the oblique cases.

The existence of the by-forms in *-nnr* and *-dr* (cf. *mennr: medr*) in the type *\*menn+R>menn* is due to the restoration of the *-r*, but in the type *kudr* (*<\*kunþ+R*) only the by-form in *-nnr* (cf. *kunnr*) is regularly found, because there was no reason why the final *-r* should have been disappeared. In the type *kudr* the by-form in *-nnr* is evidently due to the fact that in view of the transition *-nnr>-dr* the two combinations (*-nnr* and *-dr*) were felt as interchangeable regardless of the priority of their development (e.g., the form *medr* is later than *mennr*, but *kudr* is earlier than *kunnr*). Furthermore, the fact that in the type *\*nþ+R* the form in *-dr* (cf. *kudr*, *brudr*, *gudr*, etc.) is older<sup>12</sup> than the form in *-nnr* (cf. *kunnr*, *brunnr*, *gunnr*, etc.) lends evidence to the assumption that the form in *-dr* is phonetically correct, for if, as Kahle thinks, the *-r* had here been restored by analogy, the chronology of the forms would have been the reverse (i.e., *\*kunþ+R>\*kunnr>\*kunn>kunnr>kudr* and not *\*kunnr>kudr:later kunnr*).

If the Noreen-Heusler theory *\*nþ+R>\*nnr>-dr* but *\*nn+R>\*nn+n>-nn* is correct, then we have further evidence that an *nn* derived from *\*nþ* did not have the same phonetic value as an *nn* derived from an original *\*nn*. The voiceless quality of the *nn* derived from *\*nþ* is evident from the treatment of a *d* (i.e., *d>t*) directly following, cf., *\*nenn-da>nen-ta*, cf. Goth. *nanþida*; *\*vill-da>villa*, cf. Goth. *wilþ-eis*, etc. We may now also assume that the dental character of the *-nn* derived from *\*nþ* is evident from the treatment of an *R* immediately following, in that after such an *nn* (*<\*nþ*) the *R* did not become assimilated as after an original *nn* but passed over into *r*. That the dental character (i.e., the *þ*) of the *nn* (*<\*nþ*) was a factor in this transition of *R* to *r* is shown by the fact that *R* elsewhere went over into *r* first after dental consonants (cf. Noreen, *Aisl. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup>, §256).

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. Cleasby-Vigfússon, "Icelandic Grammar" under each word of this type.

Note. The second edition of Heusler's *Aisl. Elementarb.* (1921) was not available to me until after the completion of this article. In this edition (§155) I note that Heusler has abandoned Noreen's theory, viz. *\*nþ+R>\*nnr>-dr* and assumed that after original *\*nþ*, as well as after original *\*nn*, an *-R* was regularly assimilated; i.e., *\*kunþaR>\*kunnr>\*kunn*, as well as *\*mannR>\*mann*.

## CHAUCER'S MAN OF LAW

Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale*, together with its Headlink and Prologue, has offered difficulties which thus far have found no wholly satisfactory solution.<sup>1</sup> The problems are as follows: the appropriateness of the story of Constance to the Man of Law; in the Headlink, the criticism of Chaucer, the list of the legends of Cupid, the possible reference to two narratives related by Gower, and the phrase, "I speke in prose"; and the appropriateness of the Prologue, which deals largely with poverty, to the story which follows immediately. My paper is not concerned with the Prologue or with the relation of the Headlink to Gower or with reasons why the list of poems in the Headlink does not tally exactly with the *Legende of Good Women*: these matters have been sufficiently discussed by other writers.

### I

The first problem to consider is the appropriateness of the tale of Constance to the Man of Law. Some critics admit that the story in itself is well handled, despite a repetition of motifs which is characteristic of this type of romance. Kittredge has called it a "masterpiece of *eloquentia*."<sup>2</sup> Root has praised highly the character of Constance.<sup>3</sup> Tatlock has said, "We may be quite sure, however, that the tale of Constance was not written for the Man of Law—one of the most unworldly and poetic tales for one of the shrewdest and most prosaic of the pilgrims."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. S. P. Tatlock, *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Work*, Chaucer Society, 1907, p. 187, "As to the meaning of the way in which the Man of Law's Prologue, Poem and Tale are put together, it is impossible to come to any certain conclusion. Ten Brink, Skeat, and others have more or less ingenious and unacceptable suggestions."

<sup>2</sup> Kittredge, G. L., *Chaucer and his Poetry*, Cambridge, 1915, p. 12. It may be noted in connection with the later discussion that modesty and self-depreciation belong to the medieval theory of eloquence.

<sup>3</sup> Root, R. K., *The Poetry of Chaucer*, Boston, 1922, pp. 185-7.

<sup>4</sup> Tatlock, work cited, p. 187.—T. R. Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, N. Y., 1892, III, p. 436, found the tale inappropriate, as did Pollard, *Works of Chaucer* (Globe ed.), London, 1910, p. xxvi. See also footnote 10 below.

Browne, on the contrary, declared it to be quite in the style of a lawyer pleading in open court.<sup>5</sup>

The narrative order is sound, the transitions are clear. The presentation is very sympathetic. The digressions from the narrative proper are comments pertinent to the course of action; the apostrophes arouse the emotion of the listener still further in behalf of the sufferer, or temporary client. The question as to the appropriateness of the tale to the Man of Law lies partly in the fact that the tale deals with miracles, phenomena concerning which a lawyer may be sceptical. There are two answers to the question. First, lawyers are frequently men of moral standing in their community, and hesitate to reject dicta of authority, either legal or theological. We have no reason to believe that Chaucer's lawyer was a scientific sceptic. Presumably he accepted the religion of his time as heartily as does many a barrister who reverently attends church today. Second, even if we prefer to deem lawyers dubious of church doctrines, we find nothing in our man's character as shown by Chaucer to make us decide that he did not know what would carry with his audience. Like the Knight, he entered into the game of telling stories in good earnest, and told the best story he had, with all the vigor possible and without a misstep which would allow us to regard him as insincere. He would be ashamed not to tell a good story; to do otherwise would reflect upon him and upon his profession, which is famous for its skill in pathetic narrative. Another objection sometimes advanced, advanced indeed implicitly by Tatlock above, is that a lawyer is not likely to be interested in romance, and that therefore Chaucer should have had his lawyer tell a story based on legal affairs. Hence, Tatlock cast a favorable eye upon the tale of Melibeus, thinking it well adapted to the Man of Law.<sup>6</sup> This view scarcely needs refutation, not because the tale of Melibeus is inappropriate to the lawyer, but because Tatlock makes the latter too prosaic. The objections are both general and specific. Many lawyers who successfully practise their calling or some branch of it have displayed great interest in literary avocations and have even written fiction. It is only natural for them to do so,

<sup>5</sup> Browne, W. H., "Notes on Chaucer's Astrology," *M. L. Notes*, XXIII, 53.

<sup>6</sup> Tatlock, work cited, p. 197.

because they are human beings who have other interests than their profession. The famous instance is Sir Walter Scott. Such are general objections. Specifically, our *Man of Law* likes romances, and has read many of them in Chaucer and elsewhere. Accordingly, since the narrative method resembles a lawyer's, the tale of Constance is adapted to the *Man of Law*.

## II

Those difficulties in the Headlink which I discuss require that we consider the character of the *Man of Law*. The interpretation of it given by Lowes<sup>7</sup> makes him a *Sobersides*, a man with a small range of simple ideas.

"The *Man of Law* is certain that he 'can right now no thrifty tale seyn.' Chaucer, in fact, has said them all—the stories of 'thise noble wyyes and thise loveres eke,' examples of wifehood like *Penelope* and *Alcestis* (though no such cursed stories, to be sure, as those of *Canace* and *Apollonius of Tyre*). For to the *Man of Law* 'the knotte why that every tale is told' seems to be mainly its bent to edification. Moreover, he is puzzled about the form his tale shall take, and extremely averse to being by any chance mistaken for a *Muse*:

But of my tale how shall I doon this day?  
Me were looth be likned, doubtelees,  
To Muses that men clepe *Pierides*,—  
*Metamorphosios* woot what I mene,—

And so, he declares,

*I speke in prose*, and lat him rymes make.

That Chaucer actually intended, when the head-link was written to put a prose preachment of some sort into the *Man of Law*'s mouth admits of little doubt. That it was not originally the story of *Constance* which he was to tell, follows, it seems clear, from the fact that her history is one of those very stories of 'noble wyves' regarding which the *Man of Law* asks:

What sholde I tellen hem, syn they ben tolde?

Just at this time, however, as appears from the Prologue to the *Seintes Legende of Cupyde* itself, Chaucer seems to have been

<sup>7</sup> Lowes, J. L., "Prol. to *Legende of Good Women* in its Chronological Relations," *P. M. L. A.* XX, pp. 795-6.

working over a prose translation of a tract quite sombre enough to satisfy even the Man of Law. And what the Man of Law actually begins with is a prologue taken bodily from this very work, while fragments of it appear here and there in the tale he does really tell. If Chaucer began, then, his prose translation with the Man of Law in mind; if he soon found it too much for even his own robust taste; if he substituted as the next best thing the story of Constance, in all likelihood composed before; if, however, a bit of the original material, offering a rather apt introduction to the account of the merchants with which the tale begins, occurred to him as a fitting prologue, while other bits were called to mind as, pen in hand, he went once more over the poem—if one makes these assumptions, one seems at least with some plausibility to account for several rather puzzling features of the situation as it stands."

Lowes is mistaken in holding that the statement which the Man of Law makes in his Headlink about those stories which Chaucer tells of "noble wives" precludes the lawyer's telling a story of a noble wife. When the Man of Law reviewed his stock of stories, he perceived three items: that a story of a noble wife would be successful, that many such stories had been told by Chaucer, that he did not want to tell either a story already related by Chaucer or a story like that of Apollonius. Accordingly, he might tell the tale of Constance, because it is the type of story he would like to tell, and because Chaucer had not used it. This Headlink discloses that the Man of Law was fond of romances; that, as I have shown above, he had read Chaucer early and late, as well as other authors of romances; and that what he did choose to recount is not inappropriate to his character. There is no necessity for our considering him a "sombre" person.

Let us examine the Headlink further. The Man of Law is addressed by the Host in the former's capacity of a lawyer.

"Sire man of lawe," quod he, "so have you blis,  
Tel us a tale anon, as forward is;  
Ye ben submitted thurgh your free assent,  
To stond in this cas at my jugement. . . ." (33-6)

The lawyer acquiesces, perhaps with a smile, and not with a "sober chere." He declares,—

"To breke forward is not myn intende.  
Biheste is dette, and I wol holde fayn  
Al my biheste; I can no better seyn.  
For swich lawe as man yeueth another wyghte  
He sholde him-selven usen it by ryghte. . . ."

Therefore, it is plain that Chaucer resumes the character of the Man of Law definitely as such, but proceeds to develop him beyond the view of the general *Prologue* and to reveal another side of his nature. In this respect, the poet's literary method is the same as with the Clerk; as Professor H. S. V. Jones has suggested to me, in both cases a serious and dignified character displays upon further acquaintance a sense of humor and does so with dramatic effect. We have in the *Man of Law* a lawyer whose interests are not confined to the severities of the law, one who can answer graciously the mild pleasantry of the Host. His mood is not that of a literal-minded man.

The Man of Law introduces into his remarks a criticism of Chaucer:

"I can ryght now no thrifty tale seyn,  
But Chaucer—though he can but lewedly  
On metres and on ryming craftily,  
Hath seyde hem in swich english as he can  
Of olde tyme, as knoweth many a man." (46-50)

In such adverse treatment of Chaucer, he is either serious or humorous. If he is serious, he contradicts himself shortly, by the long list which he gives of Chaucer's romantic stories from his earliest example in the *Boke of the Duchesse* to his latest in the *Legende of Gode Women*, and by which he discloses a fondness for Chaucer's work. Such a contradiction implies a lapse of clear thinking on the part of the Man of Law that he does not exhibit elsewhere. He is, according to the Prologue of the *Canterbury Tales*, a man precise in grave matters. Hence, the inconsistency of his attitude toward Chaucer renders scarcely tenable the view that he is serious in his fling at the poet.

If on the other hand, the hypothesis that he is humorous in part of his criticism of Chaucer is defensible, it must offer the correct solution. The passage is quite in keeping with raillery among gentlemen. An intelligible presumption is that the Man of Law knows that Chaucer is in the party, and accordingly, is belittling the poet with deliberate yet friendly banter.

His list of tales of "noble wives" is a shift in the direction of his attack; it becomes virtually a compliment offered in the same sociable temper. His seemingly contradictory turn from adverse to favorable comment is consistent with the nature of humor. He continues his praise by modestly declaring that he does not pretend to be a rival of the Muses or of Chaucer. Moreover, he says,

"I recche noght a bene  
Though I come after him with hawe bake;  
I speke in prose, and lete him rymes make."  
And with that word, he, with a sober chere,  
Bigan his tale, as ye shal after here.

This end of his preliminary speech still betokens the attitude of a gentleman who has to tell a story in the presence of an expert whom he esteems, and with whom he can for a moment pretend to find fault. In comparison with the adept Chaucer, he might well enough say that his tale would be in prose, even though he should on the occasion actually attempt rime<sup>8</sup> in telling his story. His "sober chere" refers not to what goes before, but to his addressing himself to the serious tale which he has decided to relate.

As to the presumption that the Man of Law knew Chaucer to be in the party, he could have become acquainted with the poet before the pilgrimage, because he had been a successful lawyer in London and had dealt with large affairs of business. Chaucer, we know, was long an active business agent of the English government near London, and also was not wholly unversed in law courts. Possibly, even, Chaucer did not join the company alone, but went on the pious lark to Canterbury with a friend or two, like the Man of Law. Or, if they had not met before the pilgrimage, the Man of Law could have become acquainted with Chaucer at the Tabard, where Chaucer had made it a point to get on terms with all present. To some of the guests, however, like the Miller and the Reeve, and even the Host, Chaucer may have felt himself under no compulsion to announce

<sup>8</sup> W. Ewald, *Der Humor in Chaucers Canterbury Tales*, Halle, 1911, (Stud. zur eng. Phil., XLV), p. 13, even suggests that Chaucer intends a joke to be played by the Man of Law who, asserting that he will speak in prose, in fact uses verse immediately afterward. Such a view is not necessary to my hypothesis.

himself as a distinguished poet. Such an introduction of himself to the general company would have meant little, except to persons like the Man of Law and the Clerk. If he did not care to be wholly reticent, he could pass as a man who, like the Man of Law, had acted as a government official. In the absence of contrary evidence and in the presence of a palpable gain to be derived from the belief that the Man of Law knew Chaucer, the author of romances, to be one of the pilgrims—a belief that accords with Chaucer's consistent practice of developing byplay among the characters in order to heighten interest in his dramatic scheme,—one is warranted in the presumption that Chaucer's plan for the *Canterbury Tales* was to let at least one of the fellow travelers know the poet.<sup>9</sup>

Returning to the last remarks of the Man of Law before he began his tale, remarks which I see no necessity to regard as absolutely literal, we do not have to presuppose that Chaucer intended at first that such a Man of Law as I have described should talk in prose about views of Innocent in *De Contemptu Mundi*, as Lowes conjectured, or about the affairs of Melibeus, as Tatlock and Miss Hammond argued.<sup>10</sup> We are not forced to swallow whole the utterances of the Man of Law any more than we do those which Chaucer himself makes before and after his tale of Sir Thopas, and which are conceived with clear dramatic propriety. The Man of Law with whom we became acquainted in the general *Prologue* would already have decided what story he would tell whenever his turn came; despite what he said to the contrary, he was really no more at a loss as to how he should proceed than

<sup>9</sup> Root, work cited, p. 199, believes that Chaucer is traveling incognito, at least so far as the Host is concerned, but "wonders whether the Man of Law in his reference was equally ignorant of the poet's presence." E. P. Hammond, *Chaucer, a Bibliographical Manual*, N. Y., 1908, p. 252, assumes the possibility that Chaucer was known to the pilgrims after the *Sir Thopas* episode.

<sup>10</sup> Lounsbury, work cited, III, p. 436, suggested a prose tale as Chaucer's original plan for the Man of Law. Skeat, *C. Works of G. C.*, Oxford, 1894, III, p. 406, proposed *Melibeus*, but rejected the idea, believing that the Man of Law meant merely that he used prose in law courts. Pollard, *Primer*, London, 1893, pp. 123-4, approved of the proposal, however; and Tatlock, work cited, p. 197, urged that *Melibeus* is argumentatively adapted to the Man of Law, perhaps forgetting that a diplomatist like Chaucer also might argue skilfully and in character on problems of state. Miss Hammond, work cited, pp. 257-8, supported the suggestion of *Melibeus*.

Chaucer was or the Pardoner. He deliberately went aside in his preliminary discourse, and spoke just as he pleased, as did on occasion the Pardoner, the Wife of Bath, and indeed the Parson. All these characters indulged the company with their reflections about life and what is in it. They did not hesitate to inflict upon the other pilgrims reproofs or gibes—some refined; and the Man of Law was no exception. He was fond of romances and liked his jest.<sup>11</sup>

Discreet he was, and of great reverence:

He seemed swich, his wordes were so wyse. *Prol. to C. T.*, (ll.311-2)

He was not always as he seemed,—not always “sober” or “sombre.” He could spare a day or so from his profession now and then.

No-wher so bisy a man as he ther nas,

And yet, he semed bisier than he was. *Prol. to C. T.*, (ll.321-2)

### III

But the relish of comedy which we derive from understanding the Man of Law's hit at Chaucer is not, I believe, the end of the affair. For that we wait till Chaucer, who has been biding his time with good purpose, illustrates the lawyer's criticism of his meter by *Sir Thopas* and displays equal modesty in presenting his offerings. For us to-day, Chaucer really wins the game between him and the Man of Law by an extraordinary exercise in poor meter. The subtler pilgrims thus enact among themselves a little comedy, of which many of their comrades are unconscious.<sup>12</sup> And when the jest is fully demonstrated, the Host ends it, quite as ignorant of what is the real situation

<sup>11</sup> E. Meyer, *Die Charakterzeichnung bei Chaucer*, Halle, 1913, (Stud. zur eng. Phil., XLVIII), pp. 95-6, has too narrow a conception of the Man of Law's character. His view of *Sir Thopas*, pp. 42-5, is better.

<sup>12</sup> In this suggestion, it is not my purpose to offer another group associated with the fundamental idea which Koch desired in his criticism of Kittredge's theory of a marriage group, *Eng. Stud.*, XLVI, “Neuere Chaucer-Literatur,” p. 113. In objecting on general grounds to that theory, Koch asks, “Endlich, wenn die vorhin genannten erzählungen wirklich eine gruppe für sich bilden sollten, welches sind die andern gruppen und die ihnen zu grunde liegenden ideen von Chaucers angeblichen grossartig angelegten ‘human comedy’? Nur wenn dieses sich klar und bestimmt aus seiner dichtung herauschälen lassen, wird man die annahme Kittredges gerechtfertigt finden.”

as he would have been, had he stayed behind at the Tabard in Southwerk.

The *Man of Law's Tale*, according to a defensible arrangement of the tales, is succeeded by the *Tales of the Shipman* and the *Prioress*. After the *Prioress* ended hers, the company was at first exceedingly sober.<sup>12</sup> But the Host, shaking off the spell, addressed Chaucer humorously, and called for a "tale of mirth." In answer, Chaucer requested the Host not to be displeased if he knew no other story than "a ryme" that he had learned long ago. The Host approved, saying,

"now shul we here  
Som deyntee thing, me thinketh by his chere."

Then follows the tale of *Thopas*, full of grotesque figures of speech, conventional phrases frequently not pertinent to the situation, anti-climaxes. We now know that Chaucer is here burlesquing weaknesses of metrical romances in Middle English, and that he is not satirizing romance in general. He pokes fun at phraseology, meter, conduct of narrative, and choice of incidents, where he finds them faulty. Moreover, he sketches a small town booby who has heard, possibly read, romances of faerie and of Saracen giants. This person, Sir *Thopas* by name, will practise knightly behavior in the country near his establishment. He will spur madly, he will have a queenly lady to love, when he hears sparrowhawks and other songsters. He encounters a "giant" who threatens to slay, not indeed Sir *Thopas*, but rather his steed. Sir *Thopas* is resolved to hope for success on the morrow; meanwhile, he must go home for his armor, in which only chivalrous combats are fought. Accoutred, he will return to defeat, nay, even to slay the rustic slinger. On arriving at his household, he enjoys life like a prosperous bumpkin, while he is armed most heavily, and is regaled with food, wine, and stories. Forth he sallies; he lies down on the way, armor on in knightly style. . . .

Thus we can enjoy the humor of both a burlesque on literary effects, and a sketch of a rural squire, whose awkwardness makes him as little fit for noble and gracious conduct, as are

<sup>12</sup> Excellent criticism has been presented by T. A. Knott, "A Bit of Chaucer Mythology," *Mod. Phil.*, VIII, 135 ff. For the Tale of Sir *Thopas* itself, see J. M. Manly, *Mod. Phil.* VIII, 144 ff., "The Stanza-Forms of *Sir Thopas*."

those later men of ambition, Sir Tophas in Lyly's *Endymion*, Sir Andrew Aguecheek, and Bob Acres. Chaucer has thereby shown the Man of Law the possibilities in the handling of poor meter. Furthermore, we perceive the irony in the situation, that the Host, who puts a sudden end to the story, does not realize that he has got what he asked for, "a tale of mirth," "som deyntee thing." Like many another person, he cannot appreciate the merits of a burlesque of literature. Is the Man of Law deceived likewise?

Chaucer, to continue his pose of weakness in rime, protests that the Host should allow him to go on,

"Sin that it is the beste rym [he] can."

The Host refuses, saying that Chaucer shall "no lenger ryme"; then, relenting, he adds that he will let him tell something in prose of mirth or doctrine. Chaucer proceeds to relate "a litel thing in prose," which, if his readers will make allowances for unimportant variations in his version of the story and if the Host be not too fastidious, he thinks ought to please.

The interplay of characters has been humorous throughout. The Man of Law would, I believe, appreciate it thoroughly, even to the close of the Tale of Melibeus,<sup>14</sup> and to the application which the Host then makes of the story to his own relations with his wife.

#### IV

In sum, the story of Constance is appropriate to the Man of Law, once we perceive that Chaucer did not intend him to be merely a lawyer who can think of nothing but his profession. The Headlink does not announce that he will not tell a story of a "noble wife," but rather indicates that he has decided to take one that Chaucer had not employed. Furthermore, the Headlink shows that the Man of Law is interested not only in romances, but in Chaucer, and that, more probably than not, he is aware of Chaucer's presence in the assemblage. He can even rally the poet and compliment him in the same breath. He would not venture to cope with him in rime. In his Prologue

<sup>14</sup> I do not mean that he would find the story uninteresting, but that he would still chuckle over his consciousness that Chaucer might as easily have told a story in good verse.

he essays at first to arouse his audience to a state of mind broadly sympathetic to the reception of his tale, and then makes a brief transition to the adventures of Constance.

The sly comedy in the Headlink, wherein the Man of Law pokes fun at Chaucer, presumably is not soon over; it is suspended for a time. It is resumed in accordance with Chaucer's established method—that which he uses in treating aspects of marriage; that is, despite comic or serious interlude, the argument or game once set on foot appears again when it has a natural opportunity. In the present case, Chaucer responds to the Man of Law, just as the Clerk does elsewhere to the Wife of Bath. He answers the Man of Law's contradictory remarks on meter by a burlesque romance which humorously yet triumphantly confirms his opponent's appraisal of his skill in verse.<sup>15</sup> The Man of Law, therefore, is not merely a lawyer. He is a personage even outside the courtroom. In private character, he likes to read romances and can tell a good tale. He has a sense of humor. He can play a covert part in a social gathering which is made up of various classes of society, and thereby provoke one of his acquaintances to a dramatic retort.

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<sup>15</sup> If in his *Sir Thopas* Chaucer harks back to the Man of Law, in his *Melibeus*, a story of a "noble wife," he arouses the Host and, in the opinion of some scholars, started a train of thought in the mind of the Wife of Bath. For an opinion that *Melibeus* sounds the overture of the theme of marriage, see W. W. Lawrence, "The Marriage Group in the C. T.," *Mod. Phil.*, XI, 247 ff. On the whole, the danger to the theory of the small marriage group is that supporters of it tend to overload the beginning and the end of the theme by too many examples. Herein objection might also be made to S. B. Hemingway, "Chaucer's Monk and Nun's Priest," *M. L. Notes*, XXXI, 479 ff., though he offers excellent suggestions. The most formidable arguments for the marriage group are connected with the nucleus, in which are the Wife of Bath, the Clerk, and the Merchant, and herein the position still sustains attack easily.

## ZU RUDOLF HILDEBRANDS HUNDERTJÄHRIGEM GEBURTSTAG. EIN ERINNERUNGSBLATT

Zierlich Denken und süß Errinnern  
Ist das Leben im tiefsten Innern.

Selten habe ich die Wahrheit dieser sinnigen Goetheworte so lebhaft empfunden als beim Herannahen des hundertsten Geburtstages von Rudolf Hildebrand, den seine Schüler und Verehrer am 13. März dieses Jahres im Geiste begehen werden. Auch unser Journal, das ja unspränglich "Journal of Germanic Philology" hiess, die älteste, germanischer Philologie im weitesten Sinne gewidmete Zeitschrift dieses Landes, darf sich bei dieser Feier wohl einfinden. An anderer Stelle dieser Blätter finden die Leser daher als eine Art Festbeitrag den noch unveröffentlichten Briefwechsel zwischen ihm und Jacob Grimm, der früh in dem jungen Mitarbeiter den berufensten Fortsetzer seines letzten grossen Werkes, des deutschen Wörterbuchs, erkannte. Wenn auf *einem* der Jünger Jacob Grimms, dann hat der Geist des Schöpfers unserer Wissenschaft auf Rudolf Hildebrand in aller Fülle geruht.

Nicht viele der Jünglinge, die Rudolf Hildebrand, dem Altmeister deutscher Philologie und unvergleichlichen Lehrer, einst in seiner besten Zeit, Ende der siebziger und Anfang der achtziger Jahre zu Füssen sassen, werden heute noch am Leben sein. Da ich dem einzigen Manne damals als Schüler und Freund nahe stand und später, nach seinem Tode, als Herausgeber seines Literarischen Nachlasses mitwirken durfte, so ist es mir vielleicht vergönnt, sein Bild aus der Erinnerung, wie an der Hand nachstehender Briefe an mich, zu erneuern. Wenn ich dabei, zum besseren Verständnis, manches Persönliche von mir selbst berichten muss, dann wird es gewiss durch die festliche Veranlassung entschuldigt werden.

Schon vor Jahren, bei der Besprechung von Hildebrands nachgelassenem Werke "Gedanken über Gott, die Welt, und das Ich." (Journal E. & G. Ph. X, 610 ff.) habe ich den Eindruck festzuhalten gesucht, den die ausserordentliche geistige Erscheinung des Mannes auf den jungen Studenten machte. "Nie", so schrieb ich in jener Besprechung, "werde ich die Stunde vergessen, in der ich ihn als junger Student zum ersten Male

hörte. Es war im Wintersemester 1879–80, jener Blütezeit des sterilen Kriticismus, den Flegeljahren der anmassenden Naturwissenschaft, einer der traurigsten Perioden deutschen Geisteslebens, in der der grosse Moment der nationalen Erneuerung ein kleines, vom Pessimismus verseuchtes Geschlecht gefunden hatte. In der masslosen Überschätzung formalen Wissens, wie es damals in den Schulen herrschte, aufgewachsen, hatte ich mich mit wahren Heisshunger in theologische, philosophische und philologische Studien gestürzt, und konnte doch in Stunden stiller Einkehr das peinigende Gefühl nicht los werden, dass mir all das stolze Alexandrinertum im Grunde nur leere Hülsen biete. Da bat mich eines Tages ein gleichgesinnter Mitstudent, dem ich meine innere Not vertraut hatte, ihn in Hildebrands Vorlesungen über Literaturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts zu begleiten. Noch sehe ich die kleine Gestalt mit dem prachtvollen Haupte, den gross und edel geschnittenen Zügen, auf dem Katheder stehen, noch höre ich den tiefen Klang seiner wunderbar eindringenden, melodischen Stimme. Er sprach über Klopstock und seine Dichtersprache und kam auf das Wort 'glühen.' So musste Klopstock, so musste später der junge Goethe im schöpferischen Augenblicke das Wort in seiner ganzen Fülle der Bedeutung gefühlt und gesprochen haben, wie es seelenvoll hier von Hildebrands Lippen klang, während ein Abglanz nachschaffender Begeisterung über sein Gesicht leuchtete und dem Hörer sich mitteilte. Es war eine Erfahrung, wie ich sie vorher nie gemacht hatte. Ich hatte ein Stück dichterischer Sprachschöpfung miterlebt.

"Das war nicht der kritisch arbeitende, unausstehlich trockene Stimmtön, der damals, wie leider auch heute noch vielfach, als der allein glaubwürdige galt. Noch viel weniger war es das billige 'Pathos' seichter Aestheten und Literaturschwätzer, das heute so oft der Menschheit Schnitzel kräuselt. Man hatte vielmehr das Gefühl, dass hier der denkbar gründlichste Kenner aus seiner Person heraus ins Ganze, Grosse der dichterischen Verkündigung übergetreten war, in der er lebte und webte. Die Ahnung, die in dieser Stunde über mich kam; dies ist der Mann, der dich, ja dein Volk, zu einem neuen, höheren Leben führen kann, sollte sich um so mehr bestätigen, je näher ich ihn in seinen Vorlesungen über Goethe, übers Volkslied, über die Gudrun, in seinem Seminar und in seinem Buche über den

Sprachunterricht, in Grimms Wörterbuch und dann in längerem persönlichem Umgang kennen und lieben lernte."

Bedenke ich, wie heute, 30 Jahre nach seinem Tode, aus dem namenlosen nationalen Unglück der Ruf nach Umkehr von Irrwegen der Wissenschaft und Kunst und die Sehnsucht nach innerer Erneuerung und einem vertieften Leben die besten Geister Deutschlands ergriffen hat, dann steigt die Gestalt Hildebrands in ihrer ganzen Profetengrösse vor mir auf. Wie viel hat er nicht vorahnend geschaut, wie hat er nicht warnend, zürnend, und strafend die Grundübel des Zeitgeistes, den abstracten Intellectualismus, den Criticismus, den seichten Positivismus, den Pessimismus und Solipsismus bekämpft, und wie hat er zugleich sein umfassendes Wissen, seine Meisterschaft im Verstehen und Nachschaffen der deutschen Literaturschätze und seine unerreichte Lehrkunst in den Dienst des Einzelnen und des Ganzen gestellt, um das neue, höhere Leben, wie er in qualvollem innerem Ringen es sich selbst erobert hatte, in den Geistern zu wecken und zu nähren! Auch von Hildebrand galt, was Goethe an Schiller rühmt: "Seine Anziehungskraft war gross, er hielt Alle fest, die sich ihm näherten." Ich hatte ihm in einer Unterredung schüchtern von meiner Verehrung für Hölderlin, dem damals fast Vergessenen, oder Unbeachteten erzählt, und als ich dann zu meiner Freude von ihm hörte, wie hoch auch er meinen Liebling schätzte, ihn gebeten, ihn im kommenden Semester (Sommer 1881) in seinem Seminar (Privatissimum) vorzunehmen. Es traten jedoch Umstände ein, die mich bestimmten nach Tübingen zu gehen, wohin mich namentlich Chr. Sigwart, der Philosoph, und Rudolf Roth, der Sanskritist, zogen, und wo ich dann auch promovirte. Obwohl die philosophische Facultät mir den Wunsch aussprach, dass ich mich in Tübingen als Privatdozent für deutsche Philologie niederlasse, so beschloss ich doch, mich nach Amerika als dem lockenderen Arbeitsfelde zu wenden, zumal mein Vater mir schon vor Jahren dahin vorausgegangen war. Hildebrand wusste von meinen Lebensplänen nur im Allgemeinen, und ich war daher um so freudiger betroffen, als ich bald nach meiner Ankunft in New York die nachstehende Karte vor ihm erhielt, die mir zeigte, wie er mir liebevoll in Gedanken nachgegangen war.

Leipzig 30 Juli 82

*Mein lieber Herr Doktor Goebel,*

das ist ihnen schon lange, lange zugedacht, zumal ich mir von Herrn Bonn hatte Ihre Adresse geben lassen, (der seit Ostern in Marburg ist). Mir lag daran, dass ich Ihnen sagte, wie ich Ihrer mit herzlichster Gesinnung gedenke und immer gedenken werde, und wie ich Sie so ungern gehen sah, auch gern wüsste wie sie sich weiter in dieser oder in Ihrer dortigen Welt einrichten, hoffentlich recht mutig und fürs Gute mit eingreifend, das ja nicht Hände genug finden kann. Wir haben in diesem Semester Lessing getrieben, (geht auch im Winter weiter) im vorigen Herder und Goethe, es war ein trefflicher Kreis, wie ich ihn lange nicht gehabt.

Also mit besten Wünschen für Sie

PROF. R. HILDEBRAND

Neben wissenschaftlichen Studien und Entwürfen beschäftigte mich zunächst die Stellung und das Geschick der deutschen Bevölkerung dieses Landes, die damals noch zu Hunderttausenden jährlich einwanderte. Mir war der Gedanke unerträglich, dass die Millionen von Abkömmlingen eines grossen Kulturvolkes die Pflege der mitgebrachten Geistesschätze sollten verkümmern lassen, zumal ich als Student zahlreiche junge Amerikaner kennen gelernt hatte, die auf deutschen Universitäten ihr Wissen und Können zu bereichern suchten. Die zweihundertjährige Feier zum Gedächtnis der ersten deutschen Ansiedlung in Amerika, die im Jahre 1883 stattfand, öffnete mir den Blick in den geschichtlichen Hintergrund der langen deutschen Kulturarbeit in diesem Lande, und so schrieb ich als eine Art Beitrag zu der Feier meine kleine Schrift "Über die Zukunft unsers Volkes in Amerika"<sup>1</sup> in der Form von Briefen an Karl Biedermann, den mir befreundeten Kulturhistoriker. Die lebhafteste Zustimmung, die meine Schrift bei Männern wie Karl Schurz, Andrew D. White, u.A. fand, galt der Sache im Allgemeinen; aber nur Hildebrand erkannte, wie der nachstehende Brief bezeugt, worauf es mir im letzten Grunde ankam: die zukünftige Vermählung des deutschen mit dem amerikanischen Geiste auf den höchsten Gebieten des Menschenlebens.

Leipzig 10 Febr. 84

*Mein lieber Herr Doktor,*

Endlich komme ich einmal zu einem Briefe an Sie, obschon auch heute wieder bedrängt von Geschäften. Aber Sie sollen nicht länger in irgend welchem Zweifel bleiben über meine Gesinnung. Sie wissen wohl noch, wie ungern ich

<sup>1</sup> Jetzt wenig verändert wiederabgedruckt in meinem Buche "Der Kampf um deutsche Kultur in Amerika," Leipzig 1914; S. 14 ff.

Sie damals gehen sah. Nahm ich doch eigentlich auf Ihre Anregung den Hölderlin vor, und nun fehlten Sie dabei! Ihr Geist und seine Richtung interessirten mich so sehr, dass mir viel daran lag dareingenauierten Einblick zu gewinnen. Sie holen das nun so schön nach durch Ihre Zusendungen, die mich in hohen Grade ansprechen. Ich kannte Sie bis dahin fast nur als einen Geist von feinstem Empfinden und tiefer eindringenden Denken, nun aber sehe ich Sie auch als einen der *nach aussen greifen und eingreifen* will und kann, und das macht mir grosse Freude, denn ich selber kenne nur diess als letztes, höchstes Ziel.

Und welch grosses Arbeitsfeld Sie dabei vor sich haben, wo es zu pflügen und zu säen, freilich auch zu roden gibt, das ist mir aus Ihrem Büchlein viel deutlicher geworden, als ich ahnte, allerdings aber auch die grossen Schwierigkeiten die sich dort dem Aufkommen des deutschen Geistes in den Weg werfen. Wenn aber mit dem deutschen Geist sich dort der amerikanische Unternehmungsgeist paart und der grosse Zukunftsglaube, der dort in der Luft liegt, während wir hier unter dem Druck der alten Verhältnisse leider mehr von Tag zu Tag, allenfalls von Jahr zu Jahr so hin leben, wie ein müdes Zugpferd immer nur von einem Schritt zum andern am Boden hinsieht, statt mutig in die Ferne, wie ein feuriger Renner, und das *kann* doch eigentlich nicht ausbleiben? dann können Sie drüben mit grösserem Muth und Zuversicht in die Zukunft sehen als wir hier, wo so viel edle Kraft verbraucht wird im Kampf mit altem Wust, den es fern zu halten oder abzuschütteln gilt. Mir fällt dabei Mr. H. Wood ein, den Sie wohl haben kennen lernen, der mir mit Wärme sagte, er habe erst im deutschen Geiste eigentlich leben lernen. Lernen nur mehr Amerikaner so denken oder *empfinden* (mich freut ausserordentlich zu sehen, welches bewusste Gewicht Sie auf diesen Punkt legen, *das* griff mir in den Kern meines Geistes, da sind wir also einig, *alles* Heil der Zukunft hängt *davon* ab)—ja, dann kann sich einmal im kommenden Jahrhundert das Beste des deutschen Geistes bei Ihnen vermählen mit dem Besten des Yankeegeistes und eine neue Welt heraufführen auch in den höheren Gebieten des Menschheitslebens, für die wir Deutsche doch wohl in neuerer Zeit mehr Kämpfer und grössere ins Treffen geführt haben als andere Völker.

Ich begreife vollkommen, dass Ihnen dabei für Ihre Zukunftsträume etwas ganz Neues, das natürlich noch nicht zu definiren ist, vorschwebt, mit völliger Unabhängigkeitserklärung von den Formen der Heimat, auch in Geist und Literatur. Es wäre nicht das erste Mal, dass Kolonien das Mutterland überholen und verjüngen helfen, in Griechenland gings zum Beispiel, mehrfach so. Also Glück zu, wirken Sie mutig weiter in diesem Geiste, ich hoffe es noch zu erleben, dass Sie sich dort auch etwas Boden schaffen in den Verhältnissen und im Weiteringen nie erlahmen. Ich habe jetzt Beziehungen zu einem Amerikaner, Richardson aus Philadelphia, der classischer Philolog ist und—mit wahrhaft deutscher Begeisterung fürs Volkslied schwärmt, hört denn auch mein Colleg darüber. Das ist doch auch mehr deutsch als yankeisch? Wissen Sie etwas von Wood, und wie es ihm geht? Ich liesse ihn gerne grüssen.

Auch die überschickte Zeitung mit dem Studentenausflug<sup>2</sup> hat mich wahr-

<sup>2</sup> Ich hatte im Sommer 1880 den Westerwald durchwandert um Volkslieder zu sammeln und meine Erlebnisse dabei in der Form einer kleinen Novelle erzählt, die ich im New Yorker Belletristischen Journal veröffentlichte und Hildebrand zusandte.

haft ergötzt. Mir ist ja dieser Stil von jeher unzugänglich, um so mehr freue ich mich, ihn bei mir nahstehenden Geistern so hübsch entwickelt zu finden und weide mich daran, er tritt mir dadurch gleichsam näher.

Also mit bestem Dank und besten Wünschen für das weitere Gedeihen Ihres Wirkens

in herzlichster Gesinnung

PROF. R. HILDEBRAND

P.S. Schlagen Sie auch die Religion für den Geist der Zukunft hoch genug an?

Wenige Monate nach Empfang dieses Briefes erschien meine Schrift "Über Tragische Schuld und Sühne,"<sup>9</sup> in der ich den wichtigen Begriff des Tragischen wie er sich bei unseren grossen Denkern und Dichtern entwickelt hatte, zu verfolgen suchte. Ich hatte mit Hildebrand gelegentlich über die Arbeit, die meiner Doktordissertation zu Grunde lag, gesprochen, und war natürlich gespannt welchen Eindruck das Buch auf ihn machen würde. Die freundliche und feinsinnige Beurteilung die er ihr in dem folgenden Briefe widmete, liess mich darüber in keinem Zweifel.

Leipzig 27 Sept. 84

*Mein lieber Herr Doktor,*

Schon als Sie hier von Ihrer Doktorarbeit sprachen, hatte ich den lebhaften Wunsch, sie gedruckt lesen zu können, und nun haben Sie mir denn von dort aus das Vergnügen gemacht, und ich danke Ihnen allerbestens dafür. Ich habe sie, zum Teil in der Musze des Badelebens im Lobenstein, sorgfältig gelesen nicht bloss durchgejagt wie ich das nur zu oft muss, mit solchen Schriften und bin Ihnen nun geradezu dankbar verbunden für reiche Anregung, Genugthuung, Belehrung, die sie mir gewährt hat. Mir selber ist das Thema eins der allerwichtigsten seit langen Jahren, ich erinnere mich zum Beispiel, dass mir als Primaner im Zusammenhang des Nachdenkens darüber endlich Christus als das höchste Urbild des tragischen Helden erschien, vielleicht im Anschluss an eine Stelle in Schillers "Theosophie des Julius" (in dem Cap. Aufopferung), die schon damals ganz tief auf mich oder in mich wirkte, es ist schade, dass Schiller diesen fruchtbaren Jugendgedanken, der den tiefsten Keim von wahrem Tragischem in seiner denkbar höchsten Fassung birgt, in seinen späteren Untersuchungen nicht verwerthet hat, während er eigentlich im Marquis Posa thatsächlich angewendet erscheint, war doch Schiller selber eine solche aufopferende Christusnatur. Ich hatte aber nie Zeit, der Sache so im geschichtlichen Zusammenhang nachzugehen, wie Sie das nun gethan haben, und für diesen geschichtlichen Faden, der zusammenfassend durch die Denk- und Dichtearbeit unserer grossen Zeit geht, bin ich Ihnen nun wahrhaft dankbar, ich werde einzelnes daraus fortan genau im Auge behalten und möchte, Sie brächten die Arbeit noch ausgeführt (auch mit allem Belegstellen) noch einmal auf den Markt, wobei vielleicht auch das freudige Ende Ihrer Gedankenlinie mit ihrem

<sup>9</sup>Berlin, Carl Dunckers Verlag, 1884.

natürlichen Heinweis auf eine noch grössere Zukunft und die Zurückweisung der modischen Heuler und Winseler, die in ihr Nichts hinüber gesetzt werden müssen, noch deutlicher und kräftiger auftreten könnte. Hängt doch von einer gesunden Wiedergeburt unseres Trauerspiels auch eine gesunde Wiedergeburt unseres Lustspiels ab, wie denn der Modemensch mit dem rechten Weinen auch das rechte Lachen verlernt hat, eins bedingt das andere.

Gestern hab ich dem Redacteur der Grenzboten, mit dem ich befreundet bin, Oberbibl. Dr. G. Wustmann, von Ihrem Schriftchen gesagt, und er hat mir eine Besprechung (durch eine Kraft aus Bernays Schule) zugesagt, ich habe an Ihren Verleger nach Berlin deshalb geschrieben, mit der Bitte, der Redaction ein Ex. zuzuschicken.

Besten Dank auch, mein Lieber, für Ihren Brief, mir ist es eine wahrhafte Stärkung, zu sehen, wie mein Reden da einmal auf eine Seele gestossen ist, die aus sich so vorbereitet war, die Fruchtkeime der Zukunft, die mir aus meinen eignen Lebensprüfungen und Leiden erwachsen sind, in sich aufzunehmen so tief und kernig; wie oft hab ich die Qual schmecken müssen, mich mit meinen innersten und sichersten Gedanken und Strebungen einsam fühlen zu müssen, wenn nicht im geraden Widerspruch mit der Richtung des Zeitgeistes, geht mirs doch in meinem nunmehrigen Arbeits- und Lebenskreise noch vielfach nicht anders—und ich bin *von Natur* angelegt, mich zu eigenem Daseinkönnen mit den Andern, wo möglich mit Allen *Eins* fühlen zu müssen, und wo das einmal in einem Punkte gelingt, da allein hab ich die Empfindung des Glücks und der vollsten Befriedigung, nothwendig also selten genug, obwohl ich mich zum Glück anderseits auch reich an wirklichen Freunden nennen darf, von denen nun freilich viele schon im Jenseits sind.

Dass Sie in Ihren jungen Jahren auch schon viel innerlich erfahren, gelitten und verarbeitet haben, sehe ich nicht bloss aus Ihren Andeutungen, auch aus der schönen Gerechtigkeit, mit der Sie Geister verschiedenster Art richtig zu erfassen wissen, denn aus jenen Kämpfen entwickelt sich bei gesunden Naturen eine gewisse höhere Allgemeinheit des Denkens und Empfindens, die auch in den Besonderheiten das Eine, Ewige herauszufühlen weiss; ihre höchste Erscheinung ist *allgemeine* Liebe (in Schiller's Theosophie schon so tief und hoch erscheinend) also *mehr* als das allgemeine *Geltenlassen*, über das es eigentlich Goethe nicht hinausbrachte; am *allerhöchsten* ist es erschienen in der *Feindesliebe*, die Christus forderte und übte.

Da bin ich, eig. ohne es zu merken und zu wollen, bei der Religionsfrage angelangt: ja, wenn man nur den rechten durchgehenden innersten Fäden des Weltlebens genau nachgeht, so führen sie einen allemal zuletzt dahin, wenn auch der Modemensch *scheut*, sobald er das vor sich gewahr wird—o welche Thorheit! Er sieht, wie die Vögel im Schotenfelde, einen Popanz da, wo Leben Liebe und Licht wohnen, allein wohnen. Ich freue mich, nach Ihren Bemerkungen Sie auch darin auf dem rechten Wege zu sehen.

Hätte ich Zeit, so möchte ich wohl zu Ihrer Schrift noch dies und das erinnern, z. b. für Lessing und Schiller manches zum Schutz vorbringen, wo sie mit Ihnen nicht zufrieden sind. Aber fahren Sie nur mutig so fort, ich freue mich in tiefster Seele Ihres Strebens.

Mit herzlichsten Grüssen

PROF. R. HILDEBRAND

Im Jahre 1885 war ich an die deutsche Abteilung der Johns Hopkins Universität berufen worden, die, damals in ihrer Blüte stehend, den deutschen Universitäts-Gedanken als freier, wissenschaftlicher Forschungstätte nach Amerika zu verpflanzen suchte und damit für die älteren akademischen Anstalten des Landes vorbildlich ward. Besonders galt es, das Studium der modernen Sprachen zur Wissenschaftlichkeit zu erheben. Zu diesem Zwecke gründeten wir jüngeren Vertreter dieser Sprachen zusammen mit dem trefflichen, vom deutschen wissenschaftlichen Geiste erfüllten A. Marshall Elliott, die "Modern Language Notes." Mir selbst fiel in dieser Monatschrift, der ersten ihrer Art in diesem Lande, die Vertretung des deutschen Faches zu. Auf meine Artikel in der jungen Zeitschrift, namentlich auf einen Aufsatz über die englische Übersetzung von Scherer's Literaturgeschichte bezieht sich der nächste Brief Hildebrands.

Leipzig, 18 Juli 1886

*Mein lieber Herr Doktor oder nun Professor,*

Ich bin recht lange stumm gewesen gegen Sie. Ja, ich—war leidend, und bins eigentlich noch, so dass ich all mein Thun einschränken musste. Das Übel arbeitete still schon lange in mir und brach im Herbst im Moorbade aus, so dass ich den Winter über dem Katheder fern bleiben musste: ich hatte die Stimme verloren, die laute! Das war ein harte Prüfung. Nun lese ich zwar wieder, da die Stimme wieder da ist, kämpfe aber noch mit dem Zustand der Überarbeitung. Das sind eigentlich höllische Dinge.

Sie haben mir mancherlei freundlich geschickt, das mich freute und mir Ihr rastloses Wirken gegenwärtig hielt. Ach, wie muss uns hier nicht das erwünschte Gedeihen des deutschen Wesens gerade bei Ihnen drüben am Herzen liegen! Gott segne Ihre Arbeit dafür.

Nun sehe ich aus Ihrem Briefe, wie Sie auf einen Platz gekommen sind, wo Sie die Arme dafür regen können, besser wohl als sonstwo. Ich freue mich lebhaft der Erfolge, von denen Sie berichten können. Schade, dass Ihr Herüberkommen nicht geschehen kann, ich hörte gern genauer, wozu ja Fragen mit Gegenrede nöthig sind, wie eigentlich Ihr Arbeitsfeld aussieht, und was für Aussichten auf tieferen Erfolg der Boden bietet. Dass Sie von Ihrem Thun mir selber einen solchen Anteil zuschreiben, ehrt auf alle Fälle Ihre Liebenswürdigkeit und Treue, ich glaube gern die Hauptsache, um mich daran zu stärken, denn Ermuthigung ist fast das Nöthigste was ich in meiner Lage brauche. Ich erinnere mich noch deutlich, wie ungern ich Sie damals schon von mir gehen sah.

Ihre Zeitschrift, die mich an die Pariser Revue critique erinnert, macht mir auch Freude. Die deutschen Gedanken und Ideen nehmen sich freilich oft wunderlich aus im englischen Kleide, es ist oft, als ob an Form und Farbe etwas Wesentliches verändert wäre. Zu Ihrer Besprechung von Scherers Buch, die

mir sonst sehr gefiel, muss ich aber doch erinnern, dass in Betreff der Nibelungenfrage sich inzwischen der Umschwung vollzogen hat oder doch im Vollzuge ist, der nicht ausbleiben konnte, dass heisst von Holtzmann und Zarnckes Standpunkt zurück auf den Lachmanns, wenn auch mit manchen Ausbesserungen und Fortführungen: C als echteste Handschrift ist abgethan und A tritt wieder in seine Rechte, die sie bei mir eigentlich nie verloren hatte; ich habe im Privatissimum von Zeit zu Zeit die Frage vorgenommen, jetzt aber fallen auch Zarnckes Schüler, wie Braune (war bei mir im Priv.), Sievers, Paul von ihm ab—die Sache ist ja für den Unbefangenen und einfach Denkenden zu klar und einfach, die ganze C-Theorie wird bald als ein schwer begreifliches Ereignis in der Geschichte der deutschen Philologie dastehen. Zarncke selbst hat schon ganz leise den Rückzug angetreten.

Das mitgeschickte Gedicht<sup>4</sup> ist mir recht von Wert, sofern es mich in die heimlicheren Gründe Ihrer Gedanken sehen lässt: da ist Zartheit und Weite, Höhe und Tiefe entsprechend verbunden, wenn auch die anschauliche feste Klarheit grösser sein könnte, die doch erst den letzten Abschluss des Gelingens gibt. Aber das sinnig Tiefe darin schätze ich so, wo ich ihm begegne, dass ich es mit Freude begrüsse als Nachklang besserer Zeit, der wieder der Grundton werden muss für die Melodie unsers Lebens. Etwas Hölderlin darf man ja wohl darin wittern, hüten Sie sich nur vor den krankhaften Zuthaten Ihres Lieblings. Schade, dass Sie in meinem Privat. über ihn gerade nicht mehr da waren, das ich ja eigentlich für Sie angestellt hatte. Aber ein kleines oder auch grösseres Aber muss ich doch hinterdrein schicken—die Verse, Die Hex-, und Pentameter, lassen rhythmisch allerlei oder auch viel zu wünschen übrig, was doch bei Ihrem Hölderlin anders ist. Das zweite Glied des Pentameters ist meistens so, wie es z. b. Herder und Goethe bauten (oder vielmehr rasch laufen liessen), ehe man es damit ernst nahm. Dies als freundschaftliche Mahnung.

Nun denn nochmals Dank für Ihre schöne Treue und beste Wünsche für das Gedeihen Ihre wichtigen Bestrebungen

von Ihrem bestensgesinnten

R. HILDEBRAND

Den letzten Brief Hildebrands erhielt ich ein Jahr nach meiner Ernennung zum Professor des Deutschen an der Stanford University, wohin auch Ewald Flügel, vorher Privatdozent in Leipzig und Mitherausgeber der *Anglia*, als Vertreter der englischen Philologie berufen worden war. Die unsicheren Züge der Handschrift verraten mit welcher Mühe der fast ganz Erblindete mir geschrieben hatte. Um so ergreifender war es mir zu gewahren, wie ihm die Zukunft der deutschen Studien in Amerika bis zuletzt am Herzen lag.

<sup>4</sup>Gemeint ist das Gedicht *Herbstabend*, jetzt abgedruckt in meiner Sammlung *Gedichte*, Leipzig 1894. S. 51 ff. Hildebrands metrische Ausstellungen an dem Gedichte trafen übrigens nicht mein Original, sondern waren hervorgerufen durch sinnlose Aenderungen, die der Redakteur der Zeitschrift, worin das Gedicht zuerst erschien, zu meinem grossen Aerger sich eingenmächtig am Texte erlaubt hatte.

Leipzig 16 Apr. 1893

Lieber Freund und College,

College, denn in diesen Begriff sind Sie nun doch voll eingerückt—es war mir keine kleine Freude, Sie dort so fern an der neuen Universität thätig zu finden, und zwar so hübsch zusammen mit meinem guten Flügel—es ist mir noch wie mehr traumhaft, dass ich so zwischen Ihnen nun auch *selber* dort mit auftauche. Wie gern wüsste ich recht viel und Genaues über die dortigen Verhältnisse. Sie werden doch auch wieder ganz anders sein als unsere Universitäten, die mit ihrem eigenthümlichen geschichtlichen Aufbau doch ganz einzig auf Erden dastehen.

Was sie mir über die Lage und das Schicksal des deutschen Wesens in dem amerikanischen Strudel schrieben, geht mir natürlich nahe genug, überrascht mich aber nicht. Es hat wohl nie ein Volk gegeben, das mit sichererem Sieges- und Herrengefühl alle Dinge, die eigenen wie die fremden, angesehen und angegriffen hätte, als das Yankeethum. Die eigene deutsche Art ist viel zu zart, um dagegen aufzukommen. Und doch bleibt eine *Einwirkung* des deutschen Geistes wohl wünschenswert im höchsten Grade, und Sie und der Freund sind ja da gewiss auf dem rechten Posten, wie auf der Bresche, nicht? Der Himmel segne Euer Wirken. Sie müssen ja genügend ermessen können welcher stillen Segenswirkung die echte deutsche Art fähig ist bei Ihnen, wie das zum Beispiel in Frankreich sicher zu Tage liegt, wo gerade seit 1870 eine wachsende Neigung wie auch feines Verständniss für den deutschen Geist und seine Früchte ganz unverkennbar ist.

Wie steht es denn mit den deutschen Schulen dort? Gibt es genug *rechte* Lehrer? Seminarien gibt es wohl nicht. Kennt man, verzeihen Sie mir die Frage—meine Schrift über den deutschen Unterricht, für die ich hier so viel Dank ernte von Lehrern, die sich dadurch bestens gefördert finden? Lyons "Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht" scheinen sie zu lesen, die Sache ist mir nicht unwichtig, seit ich durch mein Gichtleiden vom Katheder für immer ausgeschlossen bin und nur das sog. Privatissimum fortführen kann. Vorigen Winter lasen wir oder las ich über Goethes Lieder mit 15 Mann, diess Semester Gudrun. Aber nur zweistündig nicht mehr sechsstündig (ich habe lange die alte Kraft nicht mehr). So lagere ich denn zur Ergänzung in der Zeitschrift allerhand alte Vorräthe ab, zu denen auch dies und das Neue kommt, und—das will ich nicht läugnen—wünsche es wirksam, zumal ich mit der Art, wie Andere unsere Wissenschaft betreiben vielfach unzufrieden sein muss, manchmal bis zur Bitterkeit (so übrigens von jeher). Besonders ärgert mich jetzt die Scherer'sche Richtung. Was der deutsche Geist in seinem Stubenfleiss nicht im gelehrten Wesen alles für Auswüchse treibt! Da habe ich denn dieser Tage den Verdross zu hören, wie meine "Gesammelten Vorträge und Aufsätze" so *schlecht* gegangen sind, dass an eine zweite Sammlung, um die Teubner von einem Freunde angegangen wurde, nicht zu denken ist. Ich glaube, ich schwimme zu wenig in herrschenden Fahrwasser.

Nun aber genug von mir, ich freue mich Ihrer Stellung und Gesinnung freue mich doppelt Ihres Zusammenlebens mit dem trefflichen Flügel—also tapfer weiter.

Herzlich grüssend Ihr

R. HILDEBRAND

Grüssen Sie mir einstweilen Flügel, er soll auch sein Breiflein kriegen, hat mich lang warten lassen.

Am 31. October 1894 starb Rudolf Hildebrand. Mit ihm war der letzte grosse Vertreter der deutschen Philologie im 19. Jahrhundert dahingegangen. Sie war ihm, wie er in der gedankenreichen Vorlesung zum Antritt seiner Professur in Leipzig erklärte, nicht eine blossе Wissenschaft, sondern eine Arbeiterin am Heile der Nation. Als Mitschöpfer des Deutschen Wörterbuchs, dessen Leistungen die Arbeiten der Gebrüder Grimm auf diesem Gebiete weit überragen und noch auf lange hin vorbildlich bleiben werden, auch für die Lexicographie anderer Völker, als Reformator des deutschen Unterrichts und als tiefsinniger Denker wird Rudolf Hildebrand im Gedächtnis der deutschen und englischen Philologen auch dieses Landes weiterleben.

JULIUS GOEBEL

## ALDHELM'S LEGAL STUDIES

In December, 671,<sup>1</sup> Aldhelm, monk<sup>2</sup> of Malmesbury, and son of King Centwine<sup>3</sup> of Wessex, being then thirty-two years of age, wrote to Lothere,<sup>4</sup> who the previous year had become the West Saxon bishop at Winchester, about the studies which he had been pursuing at Canterbury under Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian.

Of these studies, the first which Aldhelm mentions is Roman law, in these words (Ehwald, p. 476):

Neque enim parva temporum intervalla in hoc lectionis studio protelanda sunt, ei dumtaxat, qui solerti sagacitate legendi succensus legum Romanorum jura medullitus rimabitur, et cuncta jurisconsultorum secreta imis præcordiis scrutabitur.<sup>5</sup>

The scholars who have touched upon this passage of Aldhelm have not, so far as I have observed, made any effort to determine with what text or texts he was engaged. Such are Savigny (*Gesch. des Röm. Rechts im Mittelalter*, Vol. 1, 2d ed., 1834, p. 467 = *History of the Roman Law during the Middle Ages* 1.442); Lappenberg (*Anglo-Saxon Kings* 1.256); Kemble (*Cod. Dipl.* 1.vii-ix), Lingard (*Anglo-Saxon Church* 1.102, note); Böhnhoff (*Aldhelm von Malmesbury*, p. 51, note 5); Ehwald

<sup>1</sup> Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera*, p. 476.

<sup>2</sup> Having been tonsured in 661; cf. Manitius, *Gesch. der Lat. Lit. des Mittelalters* (Müller, *Handbuch der Klass. Altertumswissenschaft* 9.2.1.135); Böhnhoff, *Aldhelm von Malmesbury*, pp. 25, 40.

<sup>3</sup> Cook, *The Possible Begetter of the Old English Beowulf and Widsith* (Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 25), p. 291.

<sup>4</sup> Otherwise Hloth(h)ere, Leutherius, Eleutherius; other forms of the name are Lothair, Clotaire, all from an original Chlodochar, Chlot(h)achar, of which the first element, Chlodo, signifies "famous," while the second is interpreted as meaning "belonging to the army." He was the nephew of Agilbert, who had been Bishop of Wessex at Dorchester-on-Thames 650-663 (Bede, *Ecc. Hist.*, ed. Plummer 2.143,146). and who afterwards became Bishop of Paris. That Lothere was the addressee of the letter is a well supported deduction; see Ehwald, p. 475.

<sup>5</sup> The other subjects he mentions are prosody and the art of calculation, with a more incidental reference to astronomy. Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* 4.47) relates that, in the sixth century, the Auvergnat, Andarchius, was very learned in the works of Virgil, the books of the Theodosian law, and the art of

(*op. cit.*, p. 476, note 6). Lappenberg, however, makes a statement which may yet have an important bearing upon our inquiry—namely, that Aldhelm composed a work on the subject. Lappenberg writes:

What such men as Theodore of Tarsus and other foreign or Kentish ecclesiastics may have accomplished in this respect we are without the means of ascertaining, though among the various branches of knowledge possessed by Beda himself, no trace is observable of his acquaintance with the Roman law;<sup>4</sup> the more remarkable, therefore, appears the knowledge of it manifested by Aldhelm, not only in occasional expressions, but also in a special composition (*Note*, This fragment was to have been printed under the direction of C. P. Cooper, Esq., among the publications of the late Record Commission).

calculation (Guizot, *Hist. of Civilization*, Lecture 11, tr. Hazlitt, 1846, p. 14; cf. Roger, *L'Enseignement des Lettres Classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin*, p. 109). Guizot adds: "At the end of the seventh century Saint Bonet, Bishop of Clermont, 'was imbued with the principles of the grammarians, and learned in the decrees of Theodosius.' Saint Didier, Bishop of Cahors from 629 to 654, 'applied himself,' says his life in manuscript, 'to the study of the Roman laws.' " On the basis of a line (1.31) in his *Vita Martini*,

Cote ex iuridica cui vix rubigo recessit,

Fortunatus (ca. 535- ca. 600) is often credited with having studied at Ravenna grammar, rhetoric, and law, but a recent biographer, Koebner (p. 12, note), maintains that we should understand, not "juridical whetstone," but "critical whetstone," in relation to style. If this view is accepted, it should perhaps be applied to the line (1435) in Alcuin's poem, *De Pontificibus*, where, speaking of Albert, he says,

Illos iuridica curavit cote polire,

which has been understood to mean that law was taught at the School of York. The notion of whetting the tongue, or the intellect, may be found as early as Pindar (*Ol.* 6.82. 140; 10.11.22); cf. Horace, *A. P.* 304; Cicero, *Tusc.* 4.19.43; 4.21.48; Cassiodorus, *Var.* 1.22.2; 3.63; Aldhelm, ed. Ehwald 82.2; 465.2766-7. The question here is whether it was effected by legal or by rhetorical exercises. However, we are assured upon excellent authority (De Wulf, *Philosophy and Civilization in the Middle Ages*, p. 47) that "for a long time law was regarded as a branch of rhetoric, and it was not until the time of Imerius of Bologna that law was taught as a branch distinct from the liberal arts course" (cf. Gaskoin, *Alcuin*, p. 36; Vinogradoff, *Roman Law in Mediæval Europe*, pp. 27, 31). Even if such were the case, the wits may have been sharpened by the study of law (cf. Aldhelm's "medullitus rimabitur," above, a phrase which William of Malmesbury could not forget, it seems, since, not content with reproducing it in *Gest. Pont.*, p. 342, he employs "medullitus rimatus" in *Gest. Reg.* 1.103). For Alcuin's acquaintance with the Breviary of Alaric, see p. 108, note 10.

<sup>4</sup> Lingard observes (*loc. cit.*): "Beda speaks of the code of Justinian as of a work well known to his countrymen (Bed. Chron. p. 28, anno 567)"; but cf. Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, 2d

To a similar effect is this sentence by Montalembert (*Les Moines d'Occident*, 2d ed., 5.34, note 2=Eng. trans. 4.220, note 2): "Je ne sais où Palgrave a vu qu'il existait quelque part un traité manuscrit d'Aldhelm sur le droit roman, dont il espérait en 1832 la prochaine publication."

Kemble's remarks, too, deserve to be reproduced here:

The formal study of the Roman law still survived in the seventh century. Aldhelm remarks upon the time and pains it cost to master it, and declares it to have been a pursuit of his own. Wilfrid of York was celebrated for his proficiency in it [Eddi, chap.42], to which, in part at least, he probably owed his unpopularity in England, and the undeviating support he received from the Papal Court. . . . Amongst the Lombards, Franks, East and West Goths, . . . the Church, as a body, continued to live under the *Lex romana*, or Roman system of rights, privileges, immunities, and duties; and in direct proportion to the influence of the clergy was the predominance of Roman and ecclesiastical forms.<sup>7</sup> . . . As Savigny well observes, "Whatever nation they might belong to by birth, their priestly character made them belong to a *new nation*—the clergy": hence both for themselves and those whom they could influence, they retained as much as possible of *their* national forms, viz. the Roman.

The search for Aldhelm's textbook might lead us to consider the Theodosian Code, but Pollock and Maitland<sup>8</sup> believe that it was long after Aldhelm's century before that was known in England, while they say that the Breviary of Alaric is a different matter, and that north of the Alps this was regarded as the chief authority (p. 6). Their description<sup>9</sup> of it is as follows (pp. 8-9):

Euric's son, Alaric II, published it in 506 as a book; among the *Romani* of his realm it was to supplant all older books. It contained large excerpts from the Theodosian Codex, a few from the *Gregorianus* and *Hermogenianus*, some

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ed., p. 11, note 5: "Bede himself (Opera, ed. Giles, vol. vi. p. 321) had read of Justinian's Codex; but what he says of it seems to prove that he had never seen it: Conrat, op. cit. i. 99." Elsewhere Maitland remarks (Traill and Mann, *The Building of Britain and the Empire*, p. 252): "We have no proof whatever that, during the five centuries which preceded the Norman Conquest, any one copy of a Roman law-book existed in England."

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Allard, *Les Origines du Servage en France*, p. 101.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>9</sup> With this account should be compared the fuller one contained in Guizot's *History of Civilization in Europe*, Lecture 11; see also Vinogradoff, *Roman Law in Mediæval Europe*, pp. 7-12; *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed. 23.572; Holtzendorff-Kohler, *Encyclopädie der Rechtswissenschaft*, 7th ed. 1.390-1, which says: "Im 11. Jahrhundert kam es zwar in Vergessenheit."

post-Theodosian constitutions, some of the *Sententia* of Paulus, one little scrap of Papinian, and an abridged version of the Institutes of Gaius. The greater part of these texts was equipped with a running commentary (*interpretatio*), which attempted to give their upshot in a more intelligible form.<sup>10</sup> It is thought nowadays that this "interpretation" and the sorry version of Gaius represent, not Gothic barbarism, but degenerate Roman science. . . . It was not in Spain that the *Breviarium* made its permanent mark. . . . On the other hand, it struck deep root in Gaul. It became the principal, if not the only, representative of Roman law in the expansive realm of the Franks.

If the Breviary of Alaric became the principal representative of Roman law in the Frankish realm, it would not be an unnatural conjecture that some knowledge of this law-book might have been extended to England in the course of a hundred and fifty years or so after its publication in 506, especially under the new and powerful impulse toward learning in that country which originated in the mission of those two vigorous organizers from the Continent, Theodore and Hadrian. But, if so, we should not be surprised if some trace of the Breviary were to be found in England within the mediæval period. And such is, indeed, the fact. William of Malmesbury, the biographer of Aldhelm, after finishing his *Gesta Regum* and *Gesta Pontificum*, compiled and transcribed, probably between 1126 and 1130 (possibly as late as 1137), the great Selden manuscript of the Bodleian Library;<sup>11</sup> and an important part of this manuscript consists of the Breviary of Alaric.

Concerning the Selden manuscript, and this section in particular, Bishop Stubbs shall himself be allowed to speak.

Of this MS., fol. 138-227 comprise (p. cxxiv): "Epistola Theodosii minoris de confirmatione Legum Antiquarum, followed by the recension or abridgment of the Laws known as the Breviarium Alarici."

*Ibid.*, pp. cxxxvi-cxxxvii: "Selden describes the legal work

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Guizot, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9: "The *Interpretation*, . . . digested in the time of Alaric by civil or ecclesiastical juriconsults, whom he had charged with this work, takes cognizance of all these changes; it explains, modifies, and sometimes positively alters the text, in order to adapt it to the new state of the government and of society; it is, therefore, for the study of the institutions and Roman laws of this epoch, more important and curious than the text itself." Two specimens of such interpretations may be found in a letter of Alcuin's of A. D. 801 or 802 (*Monumenta Alcuiniana*, pp. 637-8; cf. Gaskoin, *Alcuin*, p. 36, note 4; pp. 128 ff.).

<sup>11</sup> Stubbs, *Gesta Regum* 1. xxiv, xxv, cxxxi.

in the seventh chapter of the Dissertation on Fleta, in the second section. He is illustrating the history of the use of the Theodosian Code in England. . . . The dissertation on Fleta was printed in 1647; and from it apparently Gothofredus learned the existence of the volume to which he refers as the work of William of Malmesbury. . . . It is referred to by Zirardinus in his edition of the *Novellæ* published in 1766, by Wenck in his work on Vacarius in 1820, by Savigny in his first edition of the History of the Roman Law, and by Haubold in his *Opuscula Academica*. It was, however, for the first time carefully analysed and identified by Karl Witte, who published a dissertation on the book at Breslau in 1831, and justified Savigny's conjectural identification of one portion of it as the *Breviarium Alarici*. From Witte . . . the task of illustrating the book passed on to Dr. Haenel, . . . from whom I venture to borrow some further indications of its history and value."

The following is the last sentence of the prefatory epistle (*ibid.*, p. cxxxviii): "Sed quia quædam sunt in legibus imperatorum obscura, ad plenum intellectum apposuimus librum Institutionum Gaii et Pauli Jurisconsultorum."

*Ibid.*, p. cxxxviii-cxxxix: "The collection includes a copy of the *Breviarium Alarici*, omitting the first book, and the codices of Gregorius and Hermogenianus with the fragment of Papinian; no doubt it was transcribed from an imperfect copy. The loss of these portions is more than made up by the insertion of other important matter, which affords numerous valuable readings on collation with other legal manuscripts. Haenel argues from this that the original compiler had two MSS. before him, an imperfect copy of the *Breviarium*, and a book of canon law containing amended articles touching the state of the Church. . . . The question which naturally arose, was William of Malmesbury the compiler or the copyist, was tentatively answered. Witte suspected that he was the compiler. Haenel argues that his share in the work was transcription only. . . . I agree . . . with Haenel in not believing him to be the compiler. . . . Our author most probably copied an older manuscript of the Roman Laws as an appendix of historical interest to his chronological 'deflorations' of the other works contained in the volume."

Are we to suppose that William of Malmesbury had become a devotee of legal studies, stimulated by the example of Irnerius, who about 1100 was teaching Roman law at Bologna "to an intently listening world" (Pollock and Maitland, pp. 23, 111-2)? Apparently this was not the case, for our authorities declare<sup>12</sup> (p. 117): "If William of Malmesbury, when copying a history of the Roman emperors, introduces into his work a version of the Breviary of Alcuin, he is playing the part of the historian, not of the jurist." Had he, however, been acting rather as a jurist, we might assume that, in his eagerness to acquire law-books for his own and others' use, he had sought for a copy of the Breviarium in Italy or France; and, since presumably the swarms of students about Irnerius and his successors would soon have absorbed existing manuscripts, such a copy would most naturally have been a new one. But if it was a new one, there would have been no point in William's being at the pains to make an autographic transcript of it. Moreover, the budding lawyers at Bologna would most likely soon have become critical enough<sup>13</sup> to prefer complete copies of the Breviary to imperfect ones, and would therefore, in purchasing or producing one, be sure to include the parts which are lacking in the Selden MS. Accordingly, it seems hardly likely that William imported from the Continent the original of his autographic copy.

What remains, then, except that he found it in England? Now we know that Roman law was almost totally without influence in England up to the time when William made his transcript. Pollock and Maitland declare (p. 117; cf. pp. 100, 102): "The history of law in England, and even the history of English law, could not but be influenced by them [the civil and the canon law]. Their action, however, hardly becomes visible until the middle of the twelfth century is at hand." We may conclude, then, that manuscripts of the Breviary must have been extremely scarce in England. Where was William to find one? To whom should he apply? And for what pressing reason, since he was not a jurist, and did not propose to be more than an amateur, or even smatterer, in legal lore, should he have been in quest of an Alarician Breviary?

<sup>12</sup> A similar opinion seems to be held by Stubbs (*op. cit.* 1. xxv, cxxxix).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Vinogradoff, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

This leads us to the conjecture that perhaps he never was in quest of it, but that it lay ready to his hand. William, it must not be forgotten, was the librarian of his monastery, and, from his own account, an assiduous one. He thus dilates upon his achievements (*Gest. Pont.*, p. 431, tr. by Stubbs, *Gest. Reg.* 1.xvi):

If I enlarge on this study, I may fairly claim to be doing so in my own right, seeing that in this, of all places, I have come short of none of our ancestors; nay, unless what I am saying is mere boasting, have far outstripped them all. All credit to him who conserves the stores already acquired; I have collected much material for reading, emulating in this the prowess of the memorable man of whom I speak [Godfrey of Jumièges, Abbot of Malmesbury from 1081 to 1105]. To that his laudable beginning I have, as far as man can do, been not wanting; may there be one who may cherish our labors.

But, that he might not seem to take the credit for the whole library to himself, he admits that it had already a certain number of books, the mere beginnings of a library: "*Libri conscripti nonnulli, vel potius bibliothecæ primitiæ libatæ.*"

What, then, if among these few books some were of ancient date, even from the period of the abbey's virtual foundation by Aldhelm? What if he, who was most liberal in his donations to it, had also given it books, the nucleus of the future library over which William, more than four centuries later, was to preside? And what if among them were some of the schoolbooks over which he pored at Canterbury, including his chief textbook of law? Certain it is, if we may believe William, that a Bible, which Aldhelm purchased at Dover from the crew of a vessel which had brought a number of books over from Normandy, was still to be seen at Malmesbury (*Gest. Pont.*, p. 378): "*Id volumen adhuc Melduni visitur, antiquitatis venerandum preferens specimen.*" So, too, the Breviary over which Aldhelm had bent, at the suggestion of Theodore and Hadrian, may likewise have been piously preserved as a venerable specimen of antiquity, until, the time having arrived when such books began to be in request, William makes a fair copy to include in his notable volume, perhaps with the idea that the precious manuscript itself might thus be kept from loss or injury. The ancient book may even have been the autograph of Aldhelm, as the new transcript was that of William, seeing that any hypothetical Canterbury original would hardly have been alienated to Aldhelm, however studious of it he had been.

But how would Theodore or Hadrian have come into possession of such a Breviary, and been impelled to lay it before Aldhelm, and perhaps others, for intensive study? Well, in the first place, we are told, on excellent authority (see above, p. 108) that it had become "the principal, if not the only, representative of Roman law in the expansive realm of the Franks." Secondly, we know that Theodore and Hadrian, on their journeyings from Rome to Canterbury, spent several months with bishops in various parts of Gaul, and thus, whatever their previous knowledge or ignorance of the Breviary, they would have had opportunity to learn the sentiments of these ecclesiastics on the importance of Roman law, and of the Breviary in particular, in the task of subjecting the barbarians to a common rule, under which Britain should be induced to share, side by side with Gaul. Of these prelates, one of the most conspicuous was Agilbert, Bishop of Paris, by whom Theodore was kindly received and long entertained (*Bede, Eccl. Hist.* 4.1). This Agilbert, as we have already seen (above, p. 105), had, up to five years previously, been Bishop of the West Saxons for thirteen years, having, though of Gaulish extraction, first resided a long while in Ireland for the purpose of study (*Eccl. Hist.* 3.7). Bede subjoins: "At length the king, who understood only the language of the Saxons, weary of his barbarous tongue, privately brought into the province another bishop, speaking his own language, by name Wini. . . . Agilbert, being highly offended that the king should do this without consulting him, returned into Gaul, and, being made bishop of the city of Paris, died there, being old and full of days." From this it is clear (1) that Agilbert had lived long enough in Gaul to speak his native tongue better than Saxon, and (2) that the barbarous conduct from which he conceived himself to have suffered might have seemed to him a good ground for urging upon Theodore the propriety of bringing the islanders under a stricter and more uniform discipline. All this is of course of the nature of inferential reasoning, but perhaps not altogether without warrant from the facts.

To sum up. If Theodore and Hadrian, for whatever reason, urged upon Aldhelm a certain familiarity with Roman law, they are rather more likely to have at least begun with the Breviary of Alaric, of which he may then have proceeded to

make a copy for himself, on the theory that he might some time find it a useful possession.<sup>14</sup> Having become Abbot of Malmesbury, and afterwards Bishop of Sherborne, he may have deposited his copy in the monastery for safe-keeping and eventual consultation. This manuscript, along with the Bible that he had acquired from Gaul, and probably other books, would doubtless have been treasured by the monks in reverence for their illustrious founder and benefactor. William, the biographer of Aldhelm, industrious historian and ambitious librarian, may have made with his own hand a copy of this doubly venerable codex (as he certainly did of *some* manuscript of the Breviary), William's copy being yet in existence, though as a whole still unpublished. If all this be admitted, we are not without reason to suppose that the Roman laws studied by Aldhelm at Canterbury, when he was thirty-two years of age, at least included the Breviary of Alaric.

Should the "special composition" which Lappenberg mentions (above, p. 106) be rediscovered and printed, it may serve to confirm, or perhaps to modify, the opinion here expressed.

ALBERT STANBURROUGH COOK

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<sup>14</sup> Perhaps he may have looked forward to becoming abbot of Malmesbury—as he actually did some four years later—and wished to qualify himself to secure and hold by charter such possessions as might be bestowed upon it. The alienation of land by charter, or deed, was an innovation on Germanic practice, and the abbot needed to be informed concerning the rights thus conferred, and the manner in which they were to be safeguarded and defended. On this point see Vinogradoff, *Roman Law in Medieval Europe*, p. 26.<sup>15</sup> Even England, the country least affected by Roman influence, does not form an exception in this respect [the permeation of barbaric law by Roman notions]. The Old English Books, which constitute grants of private property exempted from the application of Folkright, are, to a great extent, a Romanesque importation effected by the Church in conjunction with the kings. Their chief aim was to substitute a form of property similar to that known to Roman Law, for the landownership restricted by tribal custom, which represented the barbaric mode of land tenure in England." Cf. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* 2.2. 323: *boc* 2, 2a; 324: *Bocland* 2a. Roger, *L'Enseignement des Lettres Classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin*, p. 293, says: "Il est . . . vraisemblable qu'en parlant de l'étude des lois, Aldhelm n'entend pas seulement une étude archéologique, ni même la connaissance des canons ecclésiastiques, mais aussi l'étude du droit romain en tant que fournissant un fondement aux besoins pratiques de l'État."

For Aldhelm's acquisition of large endowments, see William of Malmesbury, *Gest. Pont.*, pp. 334-5, 349 ff., 363.

## REVIEWS AND NOTES

**A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GERMAN LITERATURE IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION** by Bayard Quincy Morgan. University of Wisconsin studies in language and literature, no. 16. Madison, Wis., 1922. 708pp.

When one of our most prolific and skillful translators pauses amidst his preoccupation with Hauptmann to compile for us a bibliography of English renderings, routine criticism stays for a moment its hand. But there is no mistake; with its dimensions of twenty-four by sixteen by six centimeters the volume affects none of the elegances of "belles lettres." It is a "scholarly work" pure and simple.

By the use of double columns, narrower margins all round, and finer print in part, the volume might have been a centimeter slenderer, not at all to the detriment of its appearance. The arrangement is simple: first comes a list of the translations under the names of the known authors alphabetically arranged, 6544 numbered entries in all. Then follow the anonyma, entries A1 to A324, then the list of bibliographies ending with B25, and the list of collections ending with C269. It is as if the alphabet were especially constructed for this bibliography. At the conclusion is an index of translators with their products indicated by number. This list is an incalculable time saver. Whenever feasible Morgan has given us an estimate of the merit of the more important translations with \*\* meaning excellent, \* meaning good, and † indicating condemnation. We are pleased to note that except in a few instances the judgment is his personal one.

In the main bibliography the arrangement is in places not precisely "übersichtlich." In the cases of Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, Luther, and others, subdivision according to an indicated plan is carried out, but even here the way of the searcher is not smooth. Alphabetical arrangement of single works of Schiller leads to such sequences as *The fight with the dragon*, *Fraternal magnanimity*, *Fridolin or the road to the iron foundry*, *The ghost-seer*, *The visionary*, *An interesting fragment*, *The apparitionist*, *The Armenian*, *Historical works*, *History of . . . etc.* One wishes here for a classification according to German titles, since the English titles may be, and indeed are, various. At some places this more practical arrangement prevails. *The elective affinities*, for example, is listed under *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* on page 174. German titles could have been inserted, in small bold-faced type perhaps, to catch the eye, but

the merely partial carrying out of this plan with the works of a given author is confusing at times. There are captions for *Faust*, *Werther*, and *Wilhelm Meister* alone among the works of Goethe. The uninitiated may search some time for *Götz von Berlichingen* before finding it at last apparently under *Faust*. In the case of the obscure authors, who make up the bulk of the bibliography, the onerous labor of ascertaining the original titles of their little known works could have been dispensed with, consistency notwithstanding.

The titles are taken from four main catalogues (see Morgan's introduction, page 9), those of the British Museum, the Library of Congress, the American publishers and the English publishers. Professional librarians are wont to begin with Roorbach's *Bibliotheca Americana* (1820-1861) and Kelly's *American catalogue* (1861-71) when compiling American lists. Skimming thru some of these volumes I find the following works to add to Morgan: 778x Eschenburg, *Manual of classical literature*; 1151x Froelich, *Foolish Zoe*; 2124x Hagenbach, *History of the church in the 18th and 19th centuries*; 2308x Hecker, *Epidemics of the middle ages*; 2816x Humboldt, W., *Course of linguistical studies*; 3801x Meritz, *Gottlieb Frey; or honesty is the best policy*; 5335x Schwartz, *Gold and a name*; A20x Anon. *Comical creatures from Württemberg* (?), and unlisted versions of listed works which may be indicated as follows: Benedix 181x, Fouqué 953x, Gessner 1299xx, Goethe 1583x Kohl 3078x, Meinhold 3773x, Rellstab 4487x, Ungern-Sternberg 5713x, and C206. Morgan's earliest date for a translation of Benedix's *Eigensinn* is 1882; Roorbach lists a translation of 1865. His earliest for Sternberg's *Breughel brothers* is 1872; Roorbach's supplement of 1858 lists without date an obviously much earlier one. Morgan gives 1891 as the earliest date of an American edition of Mrs. Malcom's translation of Freytag's *Die verlorene Handschrift*; Kelly lists an edition of 1869. An English edition (Morgan 1068) had preceded both. Morgan lists, with no surmise as to date, Glaubrecht's *Anna the leech-vendor* (1324) and Gellert's *Trust in God* (1196). From Roorbach we may conclude that both appeared between the years 1858 and 1861, while Kelly enables us to give 1870 for Schindler's *Life of Beethoven* (5036). Most of these items are quite without interest it is true, but we may nevertheless conclude that the meager returns would have quite repaid the slight effort the search would have cost. The *American catalogue* of 1876, on which Morgan relies, did not intend to repeat all the items in Roorbach and Kelly, but only to indicate what American works were actually in print at the time.

The depository catalogue at the University of California gives further evidence of the fallibility of bibliographies. I have investigated only under the names of Gessner and Goethe. As

number 1284x might be listed the first Baltimore edition of Mary Collyer's translation of Gessner's *Der Tod Abels* (Bible and heart printing office 1807). This is on a Library of Congress card that seems to have been overlooked by Morgan or one of his assistants. Another edition of this work (1299x) appeared in Hartford (S. Andrus 1825). This is catalogued on a Harvard College library card. Strangely enough there is but one translation of Gessner listed by Roorbach, altho all of the eighteen American entries of Morgan bear a date prior to 1855. My Goethe addenda are of no great significance. A library of Congress card records a Boston edition of Hayward's translation of *Faust, Part I*, dated 1851 (cf. 1510b), and a Harvard College library card records *Faust, Part I*, translated by Anna Swanwick, (N. Y., A. Hinds & co. 18-) (Handy literal translations). This should be listed somewhere between 1533 and 1542. These works of Goethe and Gessner are listed neither in Roorbach, Kelly, nor in the *American catalogue* of 1876, as all of them except probably the last named should have been. Hence these tests seem chiefly to demonstrate the insufficiency of the older bibliographies as a basis for the newer ones.

An excellent special bibliography of *Faust* in English overlooked by Morgan is that by William Heinemann in the *Bibliographer* Vol. II (1882). From this list the following additional early items might have been culled. 1) Selections from *Faust*: Anon. in *Blackwoods Magazine*, June 1820. Shelley in *The Liberal* 1822 (cf. Morgan 1455). Anster 1828 (?) (cf. Morgan 1470). Carlyle in *The Athenaeum*, June 1823. Hayward in *The foreign quarterly review*, July 1833. 2) *Faust* complete or completed parts: (?) Chas. Knox, London 1834 (cf. Morgan 1514). Anon. Part II, London 1836. Bell, Part II, Dumfries 1838 and 1842.

To the above may be added a few other titles found by chance rather than by system. The University of California library possesses the following:

2394x Hebbel, Friedrich. *The Niebelungs*. Tr. H. Goldberger. London A. Siegle (1903?).

2737x Hofmannsthal, H. *Cristina's journey home*. Tr. Roy Temple House. *Poet Lore* vol. 28 (1917).

2993x Kleist, Heinrich v. *The feud of the Schroffensteins*. Tr. Mary J. Price. *Poet Lore* vol. 27 (1916).

3706x Mann, Thomas. *Royal highness*. Tr. A. Cecil Curtis. London, Sidgwick and Jackson, 1916.

4522x Richter, Jean Paul. *Last will and testament. The house of weeping*. Tr. Th. de Quincy in *Uncollected writings*. London, Swan, Sonnenschein & co. 1890. vol. II, p.160-172.

5956x *Songs and sayings of Walther von der Vogelweide, Minnesaenger*. Tr. Frank Betts, Oxford, B. H. Blackwell; N. Y., Longmans, Green & Co., 1917.

Since reissues are included in Morgan the following may be noted as well. Morgan lists (\*\*2429) Leland's translation of Heine's *Book of Songs* and adds — N. Y., 1868. 3d edition 8vo. This third edition is probably that of Henry Holt. If he had happened to be working at the library of the University of California he would have noted also — 1874 and — 1881. Later he notes Frothingham's translation of Lessing's *Laokoon* (\*\*3539), Boston, Robert's bros., 1874. The California library has also an edition of this translation bearing the date 1877, and one bearing the date 1894. The edition was later reprinted by Little, Brown & Co., 1904 (3543) but California has a later edition of this Little, Brown version bearing the date 1910. Morgan lists as no. 1649 an Appleton edition of Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs* 1860; Kelly lists also an edition of 1870 by Theo. Schaefer, N. Y. Since it was manifestly quite impossible to give all the reprints, it might have been well to leave them out entirely, thus saving valuable space.

Of the items indicated above, that of the Hebbel volume alone seems to call for comment. This is a handsome quarto volume with appropriate and artistic full page illustrations drawn and signed by G. H. McCall, all bearing the date 1903. It developed that the Library of Congress could give no information in regard to this work. An inquiry address to the firm was answered by Mr. Ohzol the successor of Mr. Siegle. Mr. Ohzol was unable to find any trace of the work in any catalogue so the date must remain largely a matter of surmise. If we may accept 1903 as the date, it is the earliest translation of a drama of Hebbel. *Agnes Bernauer* did not appear until five years later. It is rather astonishing that an enterprising publisher should print a handsomely illustrated translation of a German masterpiece and then successfully conceal the traces of the work from the public. One cannot but wonder how many other lights are shining beneath bushels. Despite the most systematic efforts, a complete bibliography would need to be dependent in part upon chance discoveries.

It is almost superfluous to point out the variety of service Morgan's bibliography can render. For the book-buyer, individual or institutional, it is a useful handbook. To the ambitious translator it points out the yet untrodden way, and it is perhaps most useful of all to the many serious students of literature who, on account of the recent neglect of the study of German in the schools, are now dependent upon translations. Such aid as can be rendered is now being extended to these students. Harvard, Wisconsin, California, and perhaps some other universities are offering formal courses in German literature in English translation. Hitherto it has not been easy to compile the necessary reading lists and the selection of versions had to be largely a matter of chance. Now that Morgan

has pointed out the way we may hope that such courses may be instituted wherever they are needed.

The bibliography ends with the year 1917. Many would no doubt have been pleased had the author abandoned consistency and listed the more important works of German literature which have been translated since 1917. Brought up to date the list would include along with many repetitions, the following new titles:

571x Dehmel, Richard. *Selection of verse*. 48 poems. Tr. Edwin H. Zeydel. *Poet Lore* vol. 31 (1920) 401-421.

2279x Hauptmann, G. J. R. *Phantom*. Tr. B. Q. Morgan. N. Y., Huebsch 1922.

2744x Hofmannsthal, H. H. *Lyrical poems*. Tr. Charles Wharton Stork. Yale University press 1918; London, Milford, 1918.

2883x Kaiser, Georg. *From morn to midnight*. Tr. Ashley Dukes. London, Henderson, 1920; N. Y., Brentano (Theatre guild version) 1922.

2947x Keller, G. *Seldwyla folks. Three singular tales*. Tr. Wolf von Schierbrand. N. Y., Brentano, 1919. (*Three decent combmakers, Dietegen, Romeo and Juliet of the village.*)

3456x Latzko, A. *Judgement of peace*. Tr. L. Lewisohn. N. Y., Boni and Liveright, 1919.

3456xx Latzko, A. *Men in battle*. Tr. A. Seltzer. London, Cassell, 1918.

3705x Mann, Heinrich. *Patrioteer (Der Untertan)*. Tr. E. Boyd. N. Y., Harcourt Brace, 1921 (European library).

3705xx Mann, Thomas. *Buddenbrooks*, Tr. H. T. Lowe-Porter. N. Y. Knopf, 1924.

4194x Nietzsche, F. W. *Nietzsche-Wagner correspondence*. Ed. E. Foerster-Nietzsche. Tr. C. V. Kerr. N. Y., Boni and Liveright, 1921 (International letters series).

5213x Schnitzler, A. *Hands around (Reigen)*: Authorized translation. Privately printed for subscribers. N. Y., The author.

5207x Schnitzler, A. *Casanova's homecoming*. N. Y., Seltzer, 1922 (privately printed, Seltzer 1921).

5227x Schnitzler, A. *Shepherd's pipe and other stories*. Tr. O. F. Theis. N. Y., Nicholas L. Brown, 1922 (Sea-gull library).

5560x Sudermann, H. *Iolanthe's wedding*. Tr. A. Seltzer. N. Y., Boni and Liveright, 1918. (Penguin series).

5580x Sudermann, H. *Silent mill*. N. Y., Brentano, 1919.

5553x Sudermann, H. *Book of my youth*. N. Y., Harper, 1923.

5958x Wassermann, J. *Goose man*. Tr. A. W. Porterfield. N. Y., Harcourt Brace, 1922 (European library)

5958xx Wassermann, J. *World's illusion*. Tr. L. Lewisohn. N. Y., Harcourt Brace, 1920 (European library).

In the introduction Morgan offers us two interesting charts. The first is a graph, indicating the increase in the sum total of translations per decade up to 1885 and the decrease since then. The second is a statistical table indicating the number of translations of the more popular authors in the successive decades. Prior to 1770 Gessner and Klopstock were known to English and American readers, and the French works of Friedrich II had been translated. The decade 1770-1780 added Wieland's name to the list. The next ten years add twenty translations of Goethe and five of Campe (Morgan's table indicates ten, but this number seems to anticipate the next decade). 1790-1800 was the first decade of copious translation. Goethe, Schiller, and Bürger were conspicuous with ten, twenty-nine, and twelve translations respectively, but Kotzebue still more so with one hundred and seven. His popularity lasted about four decades while Lafontaine enjoyed a more modest reputation for about thirty years. The eighteen hundreds, the tens, twenties, and thirties discovered only Zschokke, Fouqué, and C. Schmidt, and for more solid edification translated the works of Luther, the Schlegels, and Humboldt. The romantic school appeared in force in the forties with Fichte, Grimm, Hauff, Humboldt, Niebuhr, and Jean Paul. Fouqué and Zschokke also reach the height of their popularity in this decade. Except for Heine who gained in favor from now on the fifties added only Gerstaecker, Meritz and Wyss (*Swiss family Robinson*) and Wagner. Lessing also first begins to be properly honored at this time. The sixties appear to little advantage with Auerbach, Mühlbach, Heyse, and Marlitt (the Elsie books). Mommsen's name adds some solidity to the list. The seventies were catholic in their tastes, accepting Busch, Ebers, Kant, Schopenhauer and Werner. The decade 1880-1890, conspicuous as the peak in chart I, was poor in discoveries. Heimbürg and Spyri are numerically strongest among the new names. The mass production of this decade is based on the re-issue of old favorites. There were one hundred and forty-eight issues of works of Goethe during these years against sixty-nine during the previous decade. The nineties discovered Hauptmann and Sudermann. The nineteen hundreds discovered Nietzsche and Schnitzler. During the years 1911-1917 the number of translations of Hauptmann was doubled and of Nietzsche almost quadrupled. In the case of other prominent authors, Ebers excepted, a general falling off is recorded. While meditating on Morgan's charts, both I and II, one must bear in mind the increase in the English reading population and the increase in the annual production of books of all kinds in the English language. The appearance of twenty translations of works of Goethe during the decade 1781-1790 is a phenomenon of the greatest significance, but the twenty-three re-issues of 1911-1917 call for no comment whatever.

One notices next the tardy recognition of the dramatists. Grillparzer's *Sappho* was translated as early as 1820 and has been translated four times since then, but *Medea* waited until 1879 and *Die Jüdin von Toledo* until 1915 for their first renderings. In the present century perhaps some bold spirit will venture upon *Libussa*, or *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*. Kleist's *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg* was translated in 1875 and again in 1916, *Die Familie Schroffenstein* in 1916; *Der zerbrochene Krug* and the other dramas of Kleist have been overlooked as yet. Seven of Hebbel's dramas have now appeared in English version, all of them since 1903. Ludwig's *Erbförster* made its first appearance in English in 1913. On the other hand the works of certain recent and contemporary German dramatists, Hauptmann, Sudermann, Halbe, Wedekind, Schnitzler, Schönherr, and others have received prompt recognition from English and American publishers.

The novelists have been, on the whole, more fortunate. The leading works of Freytag were promptly translated. Between 1869 and 1883 sixteen of the works of Spielhagen, five of Reuter, and two of Raabe were rendered into English. Keller's "Novellen" have been translated from time to time, (see Morgan 2943a-2955), his favorite however, *Die drei gerechten Kammacher*, was not translated until 1919, (see supplementary list above), while *Der grüne Heinrich* still awaits its introduction to the English reading public. The contemporary novelists too receive as a rule the attention due them, but Ludwig's *Zwischen Himmel und Erde* was not translated until 1911 and Fontane's *Effi Briest* not until 1915.

Among the victims of neglect Fontane is perhaps the outstanding figure. No publisher has risked a pound or a dollar on an individual volume of his writings. *Effi Briest* and *My childhood days* appear in an abbreviated form in the "German classics" translated by W. A. Cooper. *Irrungen, Wirrungen* was published by Colliers under the title *Trial and tribulations* in the Harvard Shelf of Fiction—Volume XV, German authors, 1917, too late in the year to permit of inclusion in Morgan's bibliography and here the record ends. American novel readers are supposed to demand recent works. If a foreign author is not translated while he is alive and producing, he will likely remain long unknown. It is quite certain that the American public will accept Fontane when it learns to know him, and it may be safely predicted that a reward on earth awaits the publisher who first offers *Effi Briest*, in its entirety, or *Frau Jenny Treibel*. If for the present publishers neglect Fontane, is it because they underestimate the taste of the American people? More likely it is because they are ignorant of the author.

It is rather evident that certain good works will remain unpublished unless enterprise is subsidised. The "German classic"

series, edited by Kuno Francke, was a notable achievement by this instrumentality. True it reproduced in an expensive fashion many works that were already to be had cheaply, but it also introduced new works in translation and this was the more valuable part of its accomplishment. But for the "German classics" we would still be without *Die Jüdin von Toledo*, *Der Büttnerbauer*, *Effi Briest*, and many another work. Unfortunately the series as a whole is so expensive that even many large public and institutional libraries do not possess it. What is needed now is a series of smaller volumes, purchasable separately, of translations not available elsewhere. Such a series ought not to represent a loss to a publisher, but the returns might be slow. Hence the publisher might justly ask for a certain subsidy. This suggests one of the best opportunities for someone who would like to aid in the dissemination of good literature. We hope that Morgan's self-sacrificing work on the bibliography may serve to call attention to this desideratum.

LAWRENCE MARSDEN PRICE

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*AN ANGLO-SAXON VERSE-BOOK.* By W. J. Sedgefield. (Publications of the University of Manchester, English Series, No. xiii.) Manchester, University Press, 1922. 248pp.

Professor Sedgefield, who has always been a most enthusiastic champion of Anglo-Saxon studies, now offers another volume of interesting textual and editorial matter. This new book is not designed as a Reader of the customary variety; it does not challenge comparison, e.g., with Wyatt's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, which appeared a few years ago (Cambridge, University Press, 1919). Not only is it limited entirely to poetry, but it is "intended to illustrate a course of study, whether private or in university lectures, of Anglo-Saxon self-expression in literature." Thus, in the author's opinion, "the requirements of the literary student receive, perhaps, for the first time in such a book, as much attention as those of the philologist." The only book known to me which is constructed on a somewhat similar plan, is Schücking's handy *Kleines angelsächsisches Dichterbuch* (Cöthen, 1919), which includes didactic elegies, lyrics, specimens of heroic legend, and the two famous historical poems. But it would hardly be fair to enter into any comparison between these two anthologies, since Professor Schücking and his publisher no doubt had to adjust themselves to the pitiful economic conditions of a stricken country.

It is a pleasure to look over the rich contents of this volume, which cannot fail to give the student an insight into the surprising wealth and variety of Anglo-Saxon poetry. Germanic

legend and story are represented not only by Widsith, Waldere, Deor, Finnsburg, but also by selections from Beowulf (including both 'Germanic' and specifically Scandinavian matter). Next there follow the highly characteristic elegiac, lyric, and moralizing poems and passages, which, by common consent, occupy one of the foremost places in the old literature; further, narrative and descriptive specimens drawn from Beowulf, in addition to the inevitable battle poems of Brunanburh and Maldon; gnomic and didactic poetry, a number of riddles, and those instructive pieces of late Anglo-Saxon and transitional verse which are preserved in the Chronicle. Nor has the frankly Christian and Biblical literature been slighted. Besides Cædmon's Hymn, Bede's Death-Song, and various Beowulfian passages, we find nearly the whole of the difficult Exodus poem reproduced, also a few passages from Christ, and the famous Epilogue of Elene. Some teachers might possibly put in a claim for the inclusion of the vigorous narrative of Judith and the exquisite little Dream of the Rood. But this would only be another way of saying that there are so many good things to be found in the Old English poetry that it is extremely difficult to do full justice to it even in the most judiciously planned anthology.

As the book is not intended primarily for philological students, the critical apparatus has been kept within as narrow limits as possible. But general introductory remarks serving as a kind of 'running commentary' and explanatory notes accompany each text, a glossary of some fifty pages has been provided, and there is not lacking a brief outline of Anglo-Saxon versification based on the 'five types' system.

Altogether, this volume seems to me admirably adapted as a textbook for a serious survey course in Old English literature. Of course, the guiding hand of an expert instructor, or strenuous individual effort on the part of the student would be required to smooth over the rough places likely to discourage the untrained explorer—the manifold *enge ānpaðas*, *uncūð gelād*.

It goes without saying that in a collection of texts aggregating some thirty-six hundred lines and representing some twenty-five different poems there occur numerous passages whose interpretation has been a matter of dispute or might call for a fresh comment. Only a few critical notes can be offered here.

Beowulf 1131f. *holm storme wēol, / won wið winde*. (P. 17). In his note (p. 147), Sedgefield leaves the question of the form *won* open; he thinks it may be either the preterit of *winnan*, 'fought', or the adjective, meaning 'dark.' Fortunately, certain other passages remove all possible doubt as to the verb function of *won*. Thus, we find Met. Boeth. (ed. Sedgefield) 28.57f.: *ȝð wið lande ealneg winneð, / wind wið wāge*; cf. the corresponding prose passage, 126.19: (*hwȳ ne wundriað hī . . .*) *gewinnes*

*sæ ond winda, ond ȝþa ond landes*, = Boeth., lib. iv, met. 5.13f.: 'nemo miratur flamina Cori / litus frementi tundere fluctu'; further Riddles 4.19f: *fāmīg winneð / wæg wið wealle*, cf. 17.1: *oft ic sceal wiþ wæge winnan ond wiþ winde feohtan* (= Symphosius 61: 'cum vento luctor, cum gurgite pugno profundo'); also Heliand 2243f.: *thie seu ward an hruoru, / wan wind endi water*. Similarly at least, *winnan* is used absolutely in Ælfric's Saints xi, 142: *On þām tīman wæs swīþe heftigtime wynter, / and se foresāda mere wæs mid forste oferþeaht, / and se winterlica wind wan mid þām forste* (Skeat: "the winterly wind raged as well as the frost").

Beow. 1746f. (P.41.) Sedgfield prints (as in his edition of Beowulf): *him bebeorgan ne con / wōm wundorbebodum wergan gāstes*. However, as has been shown, I think, in *Archiv* cviii; 369, such a construction of *bebeorgan* is hardly tenable—Toller, in his Supplement to the *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, cites Beow. 1746f. as the only example—; *him bebeorgan ne con* should be construed as a parenthetic clause, and *wōm wundorbebodum* be considered parallel with the preceding *biteran strāle*.

Wanderer 22f. *sipþan geāra iū goldwine mīn[n]le / hrūsan heolster* (MS. *heolstre*) *biwrāh, ond ic hēan þonan / wōd* etc. (P. 29.) The retention of the MS. reading *heolstre* would cause no difficulty and would insure a most acceptable meaning: 'I buried my lord'. Cf. Kock, *Anglia* xxvii, 227. There occur a number of other passages in this book which would seem to deserve a more conservative treatment.

Wanderer 27. (P.29.) Sedgfield, in agreement with Wyatt (*AgS. Reader*), reads: (*hwær ic feor oþþe nēah findan meahle*) *þone þe in meoduhealle mīn[n]le* (MS. *mine*) *wisse*, supplying mentally the noun 'lord'; "one who had known my (lord) in the meadhall". I cannot bring myself to believe that the Anglo-Saxon poet would have cared to express such an idea. The reading suggested in this *Journal*, viii, 254: [*mīn*] *mine* (i.e. *myne*) *wisse* still seems to me the most satisfactory one; the thought expressed in l. 27 is presumably analogous to that of the following line: *oþþe mec frēondlēas[n]le frēfran wolde*.

Deor 1. (P. 8.) The editor is right, I think, in adopting the emendation of (Rieger and )Wülker: *wearnum* (MS. *wurman*): "W. experienced misery to the full," though a change of a single letter might, possibly, answer the same purpose: *Wēlund him be wurnan wrāces cunnade*. As pointed out in the note, the dative plural of *w(e)arn*, *worn*, (*weorn*), with and without *tō*, occurs in practically the same sense; also *wearnmēlum* 'gregatim,' Wright-Wülker, *AgS. & O. E. Vocab.* I. 25.1 could be mentioned. An additional argument not to be overlooked would be, in my opinion, the formal one of the close parallelism of the combination *befullan* used with verb phrases. (If a tribal name were hidden under the MS. form *wurman*, we should naturally expect

the preposition *mid* before it.) I am bound to state that the emendation *wynnān* suggested in *Anglia-Beibl.* xxxii, 39f. now appears to me somewhat too complicated, *i.e.*, in its bearing on the interpretation of the context.

Seafarer 5 (*hæbbe . . .*) *gecunnad in cēole cearselda fela* (followed by *atol ȝpa gewearc*). (P. 32.) The meaning doubtfully assigned to the nonce word *cearseld*, 'abode of care', 'wretched lodging' (Grein: 'habitaculum mæroris'), is really too far-fetched in this place. We can hardly be blamed for thinking of *cearsida*, cf. 1.3: *earfoðhwile oft þrōwade*, 1.28: *gebiden in burgum bealostipa hwōn*. Nor should Ettmüller's ingenious guess *cearsældā* be deemed too bold to be dismissed without a hearing; for its semantic aspect, formations like *heard-sælþ*, *-sælnes(s)*, *-sælig* might be cited.

Maldon 160. (P. 75.) The change of the form *gefecgan* to *gefelgan* is surely uncalled for. Suffice it to call attention to Sievers, *AgS. Grammatik* §196.3.

The second word in the last line of Cædmon's Hymn (Northumbrian version in the Cambridge MS.) is printed (p. 80) as *folda*. Probably the spelling found in the MS. is to be interpreted as *foldun*, as Förster has shown in his paper, *Archiv* cxxxv, 282ff., —though theoretically *foldu* or *foldan* would be likewise admissible.

Elene 1236. (P. 102.) The editor very properly keeps the reading of the MS.: *þurh þæt fæcne hūs* and, in his notes (p. 184), translates it 'through the sinful house,' offering as an alternative rendering of *þæt fæcne hūs*, 'this habitation of sin,' *i.e.*, 'the world.' Could *fæcne* in this passage perhaps mean 'treacherous,' 'liable to fail,' *i.e.* 'perishable?' We may call to mind expressions like *sceal þeah ānra gehwylc ððrum swican* ('slip awa'), Runic Poem 60, *wëra geswīcþ*, ib. 94, cf. also Soul and Body, *passim*. Thus, the much discussed phrase may mean simply 'living in the flesh.' Cf. Dial. Greg. 60. 21ff.: *ure / Alýsend þurh his þone mænniscan lichaman eall þæt hē dyde, hē gegearwode ond gecýððe ūs . . .* (= 'Redemptor noster per mortale corpus omne quod egit, hoc nobis in exemplum actionis praebuilt').

Riddle 15 (16). 16. (P. 116.) It is interesting to note that Sedgfield's interpretation of *nele þæt ræd teale* (MS.), based on the change of *nele* to *ne ic*, viz. "I do not consider that advisable," substantially agrees with that proposed by Kock, *Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings*, p. 62. No doubt, Kock's *talie* (or, possibly, *tealie*) would be an improvement on the form *teale*.

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*NORTHERN PARALLELS TO THE DEATH OF PAN.* By Archer Taylor, (*WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY STUDIES*, vol. X, Humanistic Series, No. 1), 1922.

It may truly be said that the greatness of a book of science stands in direct proportion to the length of time it takes to prove the incorrectness of parts of it, while the main thesis often remains uncontroverted for more than a century. Such a book Wilhelm Mannhardt's *Wald- und Feldkulte* undoubtedly is. Published in 1874, it marks the beginning of a new era in the study of mythology and folklore, and only gradually are some portions of it now being shown to rest on an insecure basis, owing to the discovery of new material not accessible to the master.

Professor Taylor's study proposes to show that the story of the Death of the Great Pan either in the form told by Plutarch or in that familiar to non-classical scholars through Heine's book *Ludwig Börne* (xi, p. 196, Hesse edition) is not necessarily connected with vegetation demons and that the current explanation of its growing out of a vegetation ritual cannot be accepted without further evidence. His thesis is that the story is the outcome of man's endeavor, conscious or unconscious, to interpret the voices of the wilderness, forest, or mountain world. Examining all Northern parallels collected largely in Teutonic countries and only to a certain extent in Celtic Europe and the Italian-speaking Tyrol, the author proves that the story is not attached to any particular kind of *Elementargeister*, but to many, if not all of them: vegetation demons, household dwarfs and spirits of the dead, changelings, water sprites, mountain gnomes, fairies, and weird cats. While in some cases a secondary development and "transfer" from one species of spirit to another can be considered as fairly certain, there is no direct evidence whatever that originally the protagonists of the story were vegetation demons in all cases. The tale seems rather to have been independent and could as easily be linked up with vegetation demons as with any other kind of *Elementargeister*.

For the author's own thesis, which may be called the onomatopoeic theory, the most conclusive evidence lies in the localization of the story in regions which easily lend themselves to accustic illusions. *Per se* this theory is likely enough; the voices of nature play a very great part in mythology. Thus many of the forest sprites of Geyer and Afzelius' tales and Russwurm's *Eibofolke* could have originated only in the Swedish forest which extends for miles and miles, a green wilderness and a terror to the stranger who lost his path. The very stillness and solitude of the Arcadian table land created the figure of Pan sleeping at noon day, and the visions of Drusus in the German forests

and of Saint Paul on the desert road to Damascus are very probably due to the same cause.

A few observations and suggestions may be helpful for the appreciation of the facts brought out in the study.

p. 25, n. 16. The names *Balser*, *Baldier* etc. found frequently in Danish versions may not be accidental, but connected with the Old Norse *Balder* known to have been a vegetation demon and to have possessed a localized cult legend as late as the twelfth century.

p. 31, The Tyrolese forest woman, upon taking leave from the peasant, says: "If you had asked me concerning many things, I should have told you much." The failure to ask a question and the disadvantageous consequences arising therefrom remind the reader of the Perceval and Grail legends, which appear likewise to go back to ancient ritual.

p. 40. Translation from I. V. Zingerle, *Sagen aus Tirol*,<sup>2</sup> Innsbruck, 1891, p. 46, No. 70: "Prauss with your crooked horse, tell your maid Sagload, her mother is powder (sic) and is dead." The German word *Pulver* used in this connection is to be translated by "dust"; cf. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1889, VII, c. 2217.

pp. 60 ff. The author points out that in a large and important division of this group of tales the protagonists are cats. Such variants are found in Norway, Denmark, Germany, Bohemia, Brittany, England, and Ireland, and quite a number of versions are very old. It is noteworthy that the most gruesome of these stories were collected in territory either Celtic to this day or with a strong Celtic substratum (cf. especially the variants on pp. 68, 69, 70, and 71). There seems to be some connection between these versions and the role of the monster cat in Celtic hero legend, on which see E. Freymond, *Artus' Kampf mit dem Katzenungetüm. Beiträge zur rom. Philologie*, Festgabe f. Gustav Gröber, Halle, 1899, pp. 311-396.

To the last named variants I can add an eighteenth century version, told by Diebolt in his *Historische Welt* (Zürich, 1717, p. 737) and quoted *in extenso* by Rochholz, *Deutscher Glaube und Brauch im Spiegel der heidnischen Vorzeit*, Berlin, 1867, vol. I, pp. 161-162. It reads as follows:

Michael Holding aus Schwaben hatte das Interim mitschmieden helfen und war dafür vom Pabst mit dem Titel eines Bischofs von Sidon belohnt worden. Während er das Stift Merseburg administrierte und auf einer Reise nach Leipzig begriffen war, traf er auf halbem Wege bei einem Hügel, der noch heutigen Tages Katzenberg heisst, eine ganze Compagnie Katzen an und fragte im Scherze: Ihr Katzen, seid ihr alle beisammen? Keine fehlte, erhielt er zur Antwort, als Bischof Michels Katze. Bei seiner Heimkehr erzählte er den Seinigen den Vorfall, kaum aber dass er ausgeredet hatte, war seine Katze zum Fenster hinausgefahren und ist nicht wieder gesehen worden. Sie soll sein *Spiritus familiaris* gewesen sein.

This is a curious parallel to variant 79, found in the *Zimmersche Chronik*, (ed. Barack), IV, 283.

The work is then not only a most helpful contribution to our knowledge of Northern Folklore, but also a timely warning to all adherents of the ritualist theory that all mythological locks cannot be opened by the same key, a warning which cannot be repeated too often to the students of folklore and religion.

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*ENGLISH AND AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY SINCE 1800: A CRITICAL SURVEY.* By Arthur Kenyon Rogers. New York: Macmillan Co. 1922. Pp. xiv+468.

Professor A. K. Rogers's new book on English and American thought is a most important contribution to philosophy. With a delightful style and a generous understanding of diverse points of view, he has reviewed the currents of thought which have swept across the English-speaking world during the last hundred and twenty-five years. His book is not so much a history as a criticism: it is the subtitle of the book which gives the best indication of his purpose and his accomplishment. In the first paragraph of the preface Professor Rogers asserts that historical matters are secondary (page v). He clearly hopes, by a sympathetic analysis of the motives and weaknesses of recent philosophical publications, to promote an increased tolerance and possibly a wider agreement among subsequent writers in the competing traditions or schools of the present day. As he says himself (page 452): "If a fraction of the effort once were made to enter into the difficulties and the insights of other thinkers that now goes to following out the logical consequences of a single insight and defending it against competitors, philosophers might fairly be expected to discover that logical agreement, like ethical agreement, is less improbable than the particularism of our first and natural instincts might lead us to suppose; since it is in fact to a narrow and exclusive sense of what is valuable, rather than to rational considerations, that this philosophic particularism is most always due."

Professor Rogers's book is divided into eight sections which deal in turn with Scottish realism; the utilitarians; authority and reason in religion (the Oxford movement and the broad-church movement); naturalism and evolution; absolute idealism; personal idealism, panpsychism, and realism; pragmatism; and neo-realism. In every case there are more pages devoted to pointing out the weaknesses of the authors reviewed than to exposition and summary. One might even refer to the book as a history of the inadequacies

of the various schools of thought. The criticism shows an integrity of precise thinking and a humility of spirit which should elicit the admiration of any reader; and distinctions between two different meanings of a term are often made with rare clarity. This type of historical criticism is something which should be attempted more frequently by scholars who have read widely in the literature of philosophy and who have reached the maturity of judgment which Professor Rogers exhibits. Perhaps the most useful contribution which a philosopher can make is an illuminating account of what the movements of thought in its great epochs mean to the contemporary student. Of course such an account will seldom be in all respects satisfactory to any one except the author; for the traditions of the past mean different things to different scholars. Yet such an account, when well done, serves both to clarify the history of previous systems and also to reveal the full significance of the point of view from which the account is written.

Professor Rogers frankly confesses in the preface that his book is propaganda (page v). It is another of the succession of documents in the literature of 'critical realism'. It might be contended that this book is the best place to which a person could turn in order to form an idea of the real import of 'critical realism.' Professor Rogers's epistemological approach is obvious in his statement that the fundamental question for philosophy is the nature of consciousness and its relation to the body (pages 170-171). His answer to this question is often indicated. He contends that the "things which enter into experience are my perceptions and thoughts of things" rather than the external objects themselves (page 401). He claims that we "directly meet reality only in sense perceptions, and that the universe is the extension of this point of immediate contact," that the perception or feeling "is indeed a reality necessary somehow to carry the ideal content which the knowledge function uses," and that "for *knowledge*, the point of contact with the real world is not feeling, but the active forces, external to the organism, with which in feeling we find ourselves in contact" (page 260). He is throughout adversely critical of any theory of perception which supposes the immediate objects of sense-experience to be themselves the usual objects of judgment and of knowledge; and he does not appreciate the strength of the contention of those who would maintain that a supposition of an 'external world,' in his sense of 'external,' is unwarranted.

Hence the various parts of Professor Rogers's book vary greatly in value. Especially able are the sections on the utilitarians, Huxley, Spencer's social philosophy, and the religious ideas of different men. When epistemological problems are being discussed, the idiosyncrasies of critical realism

frequently mar the accounts. Thus Professor Rogers is not at his best in dealing with T. H. Green, F. H. Bradley, and the radical empiricism and behaviorism of William James. In no place can he be called unfair, unless possibly in dealing with Professor R. B. Perry (page 443). And even in dealing with epistemological writers he shows an honesty of scholarship which redeems much of his argument even for those who dissent from his critical realism. For example, Professor Rogers is guilty of utter misunderstanding when he writes that Professor John Dewey lacks interest in the "connection of knowledge with a human knower" and will not recognize the "human reference of thought to reality as such" (page 302); and he is entirely wrong in attributing a psychological meaning to Dewey's use of the term experience, so that Dewey is practically reduced to a subjective idealist who makes the existence of the environment dependent upon living organisms (page 400). Yet just a few pages later Professor Rogers gives one of the best summaries of Professor Dewey's philosophical contribution which has ever been made (page 403): "That ideals are not something to which to flee for spiritual refuge, but militant weapons of reform; that they do not preëxist in a higher world, but are continuous with natural events whose possibilities they express; that they are not ready-made standards, but the creation of active situations; that life does not get its value from remote cosmic reason, but evolves its own values; that good is not abstract and absolute, but plural and concrete; and that not perfection, but the everwidening process of perfecting, constitutes the final goal,—all this is a distinctive point of view which, whether fully defensible or not, is at least straightforward and unambiguous."

Professor Roger's book makes clear to all what some critics of 'critical realism' have been suspecting. Professor Rogers wants a philosophical method which will enable us to succeed in the attempt of "deducing the particular facts of the world" (page 446), and stands opposed to those thinkers who want rather a method of dealing with facts which they find given in experience and hence which they do not consider it dogmatism to assume. Though criticising Herbert Spencer's agnosticism, he gives a very sympathetic and favorable comment upon Spencer's dualistic metaphysics. He stands in the philosophical tradition which goes back to Spencer and still further back to Locke, rather than in the other realistic tradition which goes back to Thomas Reid, the first great critic of the Lockian presuppositions.

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**BRITISH CRITICISMS OF AMERICAN WRITINGS, 1815-1833.** A Contribution to the Study of Anglo-American Literary Relationships. By William B. Cairns (Univ. of Wis. Studies in Language and Literature, No. 14) Madison, 1922. 319 pp.

This monograph is another product of the present-day widespread interest in the study of international literary influences and relationships. Compiled with much painstaking effort from about two hundred and fifty British periodical publications, it furnishes a survey—it can hardly be called a digest—of British opinions on American writings to the end of the first half century<sup>1</sup> of our political independence. As the title suggests, the writer did not confine himself to pure literature, but has chosen to include all publications which tend to be an expression of the national genius.

Professor Cairns quotes (sometimes only in excerpts) the sundry criticisms which one would naturally expect to vary considerably in general attitude and particular tone, coming as they frequently did from periodicals in principle hostile to one another. We must, in fact, expect to find comments no less singular than the works themselves must have seemed to the English reading public. "There was," says the author in his conclusion, "no one spirit which may be succinctly characterized in which Great Britain approached the works of American writers a century ago." Professor Cairns is, furthermore, in a position to vouch for the general intent of British critics to surmount party (Tory) feelings and insular prejudice, and to point out how, nevertheless, a certain bias permeated their critical attitude.

The reviewer, however, was disappointed to find only a coordination of different British opinions, for the greater part of the book is only loosely connected by summarizing and explanatory sentences and paragraphs; he expected more significant facts than those for which the student can henceforth turn to this well indexed guide and reference book. He hoped to discern at least one thought which could be traced through the entire book, and that, he is grateful to say, he detected in a more or less definitely expressed desire for a National American Literature, a literature no longer dominated by the writings of Englishmen. A second perusal of the present study only verified his conclusions. It is strange that the author who on p. 34 remarks "the second paragraph implies the requirement, so often made by foreign critics, that an American book should present chiefly the peculiarities of American life," does not consider this phase of British criticism a subject worthy of a

<sup>1</sup> See the author's *British Criticisms of American Writings, 1783-1815* (Univ. of Wis. Studies in Language and Literature, No. 1).

lengthy discussion, especially in view of the frequent recurrence of similar observations. Only in his conclusions does he dwell upon it more fully. Here he says "It [an eagerness to welcome American writings] also led, in most instances, to an emphasis on distinctive characteristics in American literature. Critics did not let Americans long forget that until a few years before they had been British subjects, and that all their inherited culture was British; but, illogically, they insisted that the new nation should at once produce a wholly novel literature. This led to excessive praise of works which pictured modes of life peculiar to America, or which developed eccentricities of manner, like the poems and tales of Neal; while writers who followed the great traditions of English literature, and who treated subjects that were abstract or common to both hemispheres, were disparaged." Disparagement of colonial writers, i.e., writers who consciously imitated English authors, or depended upon the mother country for themes and coloration, ideation and style, is frequently encountered in criticisms of Irving, Bryant, and many of the minor writers. Cooper, however, though often reproached as an imitator of Scott and Smollett, is proclaimed more national, unique in his sea novels and border tales. Imitation, whether in style or subject matter usually met with sharp criticism, and pleas for independence, as set forth in the *Literary Gazette*, December 9, 1826, in a review of some of Mrs. Brooks' poems, were not uncommon. It reads, "Let there be an Atlantic between their songs as between their shores; let the American bard forget the lilies, roses, and violets of the European Muses; let his lyre be devoted to his own peculiar feelings; let it seek for imagery in its native woods and skies,—and glorious will be its awakening." (p. 176).

It is interesting to note that such appeals for a national American literature appeared in English periodicals only a short time after William Ellery Channing wrote his famous *Remarks on National Literature* (1823) and that at the end of the period covered in our monograph there appeared an article in James Hall's *Western Monthly Magazine* (Jan. 1835) entitled *American Literature—Its Impediments*, an indication that leading men of thought realized that as yet we had little of what could justly be called a national literature. Is it not somewhat strange, however, that it was commonly thought that a national literature could be conjured up at will rather than produced through a growing national consciousness? It was not realized at the time, and, at least to the reviewer's knowledge, never emphasized, that our literature, where it does not deal with political events, with border life, the primeval woods, the vast expanses of prairies, and all natural beauty, must needs be a literature of the future, of activity, of impatient restlessness, that it could never be a poesie of the past, embarrassed with classical allusions. "Only

think," says the *Monthly Review* of April, 1832, speaking of Irving's edition of Bryant's poems, "only think of a writer representing Jupiter as paying a visit to Bunker's Hill (sic.)! or Cupid playing among the groves of Connecticut! or Zephyr breathing over Schenectady!" (p. 190).

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*GRAMMATIK FOON DER YIDISHER SPRACH.* By Z. Reizen, Wilno 1921. Part 1 VI+162 pp.

The author has by his painstaking work not only earned the gratitude of all who are interested in the study of this sadly neglected language, spoken by about nine million Jews, but has laid under obligation the student of modern languages in general.

Yiddish philology, in spite of its extraordinary possibilities is still in an embryonic stage; and it is almost pathetic to think that such a fruitful field has been so little explored. Sporadic attempts to investigate the characteristics of Yiddish, or as it was wont to be called Judeo-German, have been made since the days of Buxtorf. Of the older savants Chrysander, Wagen-seil and Avé-Lallemant have probably made the most important contributions in this respect but their knowledge of spoken Yiddish was altogether too desultory to render the value of their work permanent.

The more recent investigations of Grünbaum, Gerzon and especially Mansch and Saineanu—Jewish philologists—have really laid the foundations of Jewish grammar, but it was reserved for Reizen to supply us thus far with the first systematic survey of Yiddish phonology and orthography. The second part is to deal with the morphology of Yiddish, its syntax, lexicology and prosody.

The author, who is a brother of the well-known Yiddish poet and short story writer, Abraham Reisin, is not only eminently fitted for his task by virtue of his first hand acquaintance with the older as well as the more recent Yiddish literature but also because of his familiarity with the spoken language in all its dialectic forms. This prerequisite of Yiddish philology is enhanced by a supple style, a facility of expression which, considering the absence of a ready terminology in Yiddish, does him credit, and, above all, a sanity of viewpoint. The author's philological training has probably not reached the high standard of specialization required for epoch making works, but he appears to be a linguist of some attainment, and a keen observer besides.

Reizen's grammar begins with an interesting introduction discussing the origin and growth of Yiddish with great insight.

His survey is both comprehensive and to the point. His first chapter deals with the characteristics of the consonants and vowels in Yiddish and their changes under various conditions, the formation of syllables, etc. The second chapter treats of Yiddish orthography in its historical development. The rules that are laid down by the author are more or less revolutionary in that they emphasize the phonetic elements of the words regardless of their Germanic origin. That there is a growing tendency to supplant the transliterated German orthography of Yiddish is evident from the fact that most of the Yiddish periodicals, both here and in other countries, have adopted the reforms in Yiddish orthography called for by a number of Yiddish philologists within the last decade. Some writers have even gone so far as to spell the Hebrew words in Yiddish phonetically, but as Reizen remarks the sense of reverence for the Holy Tongue has been an impediment in the way of this tendency.

It would of course be quite impossible to do justice to a work like a grammar in the compass of a review. Reizen's thoroughness is worthy of mention, even though his treatment is far from being exhaustive. In spite of his generally consistent attitude to follow the spirit of Yiddish, he occasionally lapses into an inexplicable aberration, for instance instead of "oigemiten" he uses the form "oigemeidt." He also fails to distinguish between the adjective and the participle when he writes "kumendig" (including the *n*) as an adjective. The elimination of the *n* in such words occurs universally in the spoken language, but the corrupt influence of journalistic writing has caused the adjectival form to lose its identity in publicistic usage.

The author's unwillingness to recognize that recently naturalized words in Yiddish should not be subjected to the processes that the older words have gone through since their introduction from Middle High German reveals slight traces of pedantry. It is of course true that German words ending in *pf* have dropped the *f* in Yiddish but there seems to be no adequate reason for conforming such a recently adopted word as 'kampf' to the same process. The author to the contrary, most of the Yiddish writers who have not stuck to the original German spelling of the word will continue to drop the *p* instead of the *f*. Reizen claims that there are no other Yiddish words indicating such a substitution but it occurs to me that the word 'gedemft' from the German 'gedämpft' is another instance in which the *f* has been given preference.

There is a certain unscientific streak exhibited in Reizen's exaggerated appraisal of certain men who have won his admiration. He scarcely ever uses the name of well-known Yiddish writers without affixing such adjectives as "great," "world-

famous," etc. In one passage he talks of Sholem Aleichem's "innumerable works" (p. 29). Such a reverent attitude, while praiseworthy in itself, somewhat detracts from the formality and detachment which one might expect to find in a purely scientific work of a more or less abstract nature.

His enumerations of Yiddish *littérateurs* for illustrative purposes show signs of arbitrariness, if not promiscuity; certainly the word poet (dichter) is used by the author in an unusually broad sense to include the names of Kobrin, Libin, Zevin and Opatoshu (p. 34). In the group referred to, it appears that Rosenfeld is the only one to whom the designation is applicable.

Reizen's statement to the effect that the neuter gender is wholly foreign to the Lithuanian dialect should have been qualified in view of the fact that there are several exceptions such as the greetings "Goot-Shabes, goot-woch, goot-yohr, the phrases goot-vort goot leben and beiz leben (especially in a domestic sense) goot-kind (ironically in the sense of *enfant terrible* and beiz-voonder, also in the euphemism "goot-oig" (really meant for evil eye), and the form *dis* (dos) *kind*.

More puzzling still is his confusion of Welsh and Wallachian in associating the adjective "velish" (nissel) with the latter (p. 95). The use of the word "videranand" instead of "vider-shtand" (pp. 137, 159) is entirely strange to the reviewer. Possibly the author has some basis or precedent for it.

We should also take exception to his view that all words derived from the same German source should be written uniformly, that is to say, without any consonantal change in the root (p. 131). There is nothing to warrant a rule like this, and such exaggerated uniformity is contrary to the spirit of any language. Certainly it is more in keeping with popular Yiddish usage—which Reizen is so eager to preserve—to say "gefenkenish" and not "gefengenish" (p. 65 bottom) even though the verb from which the noun is derived happens to be *fangen*. Many instances may be cited of a *lene* changing into a *forte* or an aphonic into a phonic consonant and vice versa, but the following two or three illustrations should prove our point: The word for injury is *shoden*, the phrase for 'tis a pity—a *shod*, yet we say "Es vet ihm nit shaten" (it will do him no harm). Again, the existence of the word *tsoog* signifying a trait, connected with the verb *tsihen*, *getsoigen*, should not hinder us from retaining the older word *tsook* meaning a draught, or the adjective *getsookt* for a flourished handwriting. Similarly, though the word for a goat is *tseeg*, the diminutive as used in the famous passover chant is pronounced *tsikele*; and furthermore to bring forth kids and to keep continually trilling as some cantors do are both expressed by the words *zich tsiklen*.

It is not easy to see too why Reizen in spite of his endeavor

to purge Yiddish of its germanized forms should write *ersheinungen* instead of *dersheinungen* (p. 48), and use the German grammatical terms such as *beivort* and *tseitvort* etc. instead of the more convenient and certainly more universal terminology of the English and Romance languages.

His failure to insert a euphonic *n* with the indefinite article before *enlechn* (p. 48) as well as his employing the dialectic variant *tsikave*, instead of the more widespread *tshikave* seems to be in contravention of his own rules.

Let us note too that the author's explanation of the Jew's preference for the older Germanic forms ending in *m* and preserved in such words as *boidem* (instead of *Boden*) *bezim* (instead of *Besen*) as due to the influence of the so frequently used Hebrew plural form *im* (p. 49)—this explanation is scarcely adequate when we consider that the *om* is preserved in English also in the words *bottom*, *besom* and *bosom*. Whatever influence may have come from familiarity with the Hebrew plural must be confined to the vowel rather than the consonant.

Finally his proposal to introduce diacritical points in the writing and printing of Hebrew words will find little favor in America where such a device has been persistently avoided, naturally because of the tremendous work the typesetters would have been burdened with, if such marks were employed.

Whatever defects Reizen's Grammar of Yiddish may possess, there is no doubt that its author has made a notable contribution to a modern language which is as yet a *terra incognita* to the average philologist. We shall all the more eagerly await the promised second part with the ultimate hope that some day the entire work will become accessible to the English-speaking student. Reizen's grammar of Yiddish, once it is completed, may easily take rank with the numerous similar works in other languages written by recognized authorities, and there is every justification for college libraries especially those with a strong modern language department, to include this work in their collection of grammars.

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*THE LAWS OF THE EARLIEST ENGLISH KINGS.*

Edited and translated by F. L. Attenborough. Cambridge: University Press. 1922. Pp. xii+256.

Among the sources available for the study of Germanic life and thought in the earlier middle ages, perhaps the most important are the laws of the various Germanic peoples. Nearly all the tribes that broke the Roman frontier and found homes within the limits of the Empire found it convenient to have their laws written down in the language of the Roman people, the notable exception being the Angles and Saxons

whose laws have come down to us in an Old English version. These have therefore a distinct value for the student of language as well as for those whose interest lies chiefly in the institutional field. In recent years we have come to depend almost exclusively on Liebermann's edition of these laws, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, published 1903-1916. It would be extremely difficult to improve on Liebermann's work; still, it is a German and not an English edition, and it is also true that Liebermann's translations are not always so clear and precise as one might desire. Mr. F. L. Attenborough in preparing his version of these laws has had these facts in mind, and his work is to be welcomed not only as a convenient manual for English students but also as a possible contribution to our knowledge of the Old English idiom.

Mr. Attenborough disclaims any attempt to compete with his great predecessor; he therefore contents himself with publishing only the most significant manuscript in the case of each individual law. Variant readings are noted in foot notes. The Anglo-Saxon text and the editor's translation are conveniently printed on opposite pages. Where the original has been lost, later Latin translations are used instead; otherwise the Latin versions are not included. The present volume covers all the Old English legislation from the laws of Ethelbert (ca. 604) to the last laws of Ethelstan (ca. 939). It is to be hoped that this will be speedily followed by another carrying the work down to the close of the Saxon period. Forty pages of notes and a carefully prepared analytical index add greatly to the value of the work.

For the student of language the importance of Attenborough's edition lies in the fact that he occasionally disagrees with Liebermann in the interpretation of legal terms. Usually the difference is of little consequence; but in some cases it is fundamental. Thus *drihtinbeag*, which Liebermann translates as *Herrschergeld*, Attenborough understands to be a fee paid not to a ruler but to a personal lord, an interpretation that implies a feudal relationship. He believes that *esne* (in the Kentish Laws) is not synonymous with *þeow*, but means a half-free servant. Similarly *esnewyrhtan* which is rendered *knechtischen Arbeitern* in the *Gesetze*, is translated "hired laborers" in the present version. *Boldgetal*, which the older translator takes to mean county, Attenborough believes to have had a less specific meaning and should be rendered "district." There are many other points of difference involving not only individual words but entire passages. Perhaps one may risk the conclusion that Attenborough seems to have a clearer knowledge of the historical background of Old English legislation than Liebermann had and is therefore more likely to be correct, at least on points that are not purely linguistic.

L. M. LARSON.

**OLD ENGLISH BALLADS, 1553-1625, Mostly from Manuscripts.** Edited by Hyder E. Rollins, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of English, New York University. Cambridge: University Press. 1920. Pp. xxxi+423.

**A PEPYSIAN GARLAND.** Black-Letter Broadside Ballads of the Years 1595-1639, Chiefly from the Collection of Samuel Pepys. Edited by Hyder E. Rollins, Ph.D., New York University. Cambridge: University Press. 1922 Pp. xxxi+491.

The earlier of these two most welcome additions to our store of available material for ballad study contains, as I have pointed out elsewhere (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XXXVI 300ff.), not a little matter that can be reckoned as balladry, under any definition of that elastic word, only doubtfully, but it is of the highest value for the light it throws upon the religious and social mind of England from the days of Mary Tudor to the death of James I. All but twelve of the seventy-five items are drawn from manuscripts, the majority of them from two manuscripts in the British Museum dating respectively from the last quarter of the sixteenth century and the second decade of the seventeenth. Almost all of them, including those from the broadsides, are from unique copies. Of the two major manuscripts the earlier, Sloan MS. 1896, was compiled by some good Protestant probably in the eighth decade of the sixteenth century (the last entry in it is a song 'Made by the Honourable the Earl of Essex, Late Deceased in A. D. 1576'). It contains a number of poems not reprinted by Professor Rollins because they are to be found in other printed collections. Of the twenty-three that he does print, one is the 'good-night' of Mrs. Anne Sanders (whose crime provided the plot for *A Warning for Fair Women*), one is a devotional poem by John Careless, a martyr of Bloody Mary's time, and the rest are religious and moralizing pieces. None of them is narrative, not even Mrs. Sander's 'good-night'; none of them is extant in broadside form, tho some of them are identified by Dr. Rollins with ballad entries in the Stationers' Register; none is directed in the manuscript to be sung to a specific tune. Their standing as ballads is therefore, for the most part, dubious. They are merely brief and simple poems by Elizabethan puritans. The one by John Careless certainly had ballad currency, for it gave name to a ballad tune; and all the rest *may*, of course, have been printed as broadsides. Two are monologs spoken by Death, one is a dialog between Death and Youth, one a dialog between Christ and a sinner, one is a poem on the Day of Judgment. One defends Elizabeth's policy of affording an asylum for persecuted Protestants from the Continent; another arraigns the vices and vanities of the age—drunkenness, lechery, extortion, and

foul language, 'great hose,' 'French caps,' 'pink pumps,' and hats with 'tassels hanging down'—and another bewails the violence and hardships of contemporary life, where 'Abroad the cutlers rule the roast, with frayes in every streate' and 'At home the griefes of carking cares do pinche our wearyed mind.' Eight or nine are poems of the inner life, in which, despite their simplicity of language and temper, a fervid sincerity secures some degree of poetic effect. The other major source of the collection, Additional MS. 15,225, which is given entire except for four poems that are printed elsewhere and which affords twenty-nine of the items, is the work of a pious Catholic compiler about the year 1616, tho many of the poems in it date from the sixteenth century. The entries in this manuscript are somewhat better authenticated as ballads, either by identification with entries in the Stationers' Register or by the naming of a tune in the manuscript, tho most of them are no longer extant in print. Four of them are narrative, two recounting the martyrdom of Catholic priests under James I, one telling the story of the twelfth chapter of Tobit, and one about the faithless retainer who betrayed to death the Duke of Buckingham in 1483; three or four might be classed as satire, one of them giving in lively fashion a Catholic's notion of puritan hypocrisy; one celebrates in jovial fashion the powers of Good Ale, with a saving but incongruous moral at the end. The remainder are either doctrinal and didactic or devotional. The devotional poems are at once more in the folk tone and on a higher level of poetry than those in the Sloan MS. Among them is a very full form of the well-known hymn 'Jerusalem, my Happy Home.' The twelve broadsides reprinted (nearly if not all of them unique copies) range in date from the accession of Mary to the Gunpowder Plot, and may all be described as journalistic, tho only three of them are narrative. Other items from various manuscripts add to the variety and representativeness of the collection. It is the most important contribution to our knowledge of sixteenth and seventeenth century fugitive poetry since the publication of Clark's *Shirburn Ballads* in 1907, and not at all the less valuable for its inclusion of some pieces that may never have circulated in ballad print. As a presentation of popular taste in poetry (to say nothing of popular song) it seems to put the sixteenth century on quite as high a level as the twentieth.

When the Ballad Society rested from its labors there remained only one serious gap in the list of easily accessible material for the study of printed balladry. Two of the three great seventeenth century collections, the Roxburghe and the Bagford ballads, were henceforth available in print, fully not to say garrulously edited, in public and university libraries. The third, made by Samuel Pepys around the nucleus assembled by John Selden a generation before Pepys's time and preserved in

five volumes in the library Pepys bequeathed to Magdalen College, Cambridge, had never been reprinted. The editors of the Roxburghe and Bagford collections drew upon it, to be sure, for illustrative material, and Percy and others, before and since, had printed ballads from it; but there had been no volume devoted primarily to a reissue of the Pepys ballads until Dr. Rollins brought out *A Pepysian Garland*. Not that the work is by any means a complete reissue of the Pepys collection. If it were it would fill several volumes, since, according to Ebsworth's reckoning, there are in the collection 1671 separate ballads.<sup>1</sup> Instead, he has printed seventy-three ballads from Pepys's first volume, none later than 1639 and almost all of them unique and otherwise inaccessible (some six in all have been printed elsewhere in other versions), five from the Wood collection in the Bodleian, and two from other sources. The texts are diplomatically reproduced (tho not in the original black-letter) with selections from the original woodcuts and a bibliographical and historical preface to each ballad. Special attention is given to the tunes. The editor's very thoro acquaintance with the printed balladry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has enabled him in several cases to trace a tune thru various aliases to one that is preserved for us in Chappell or elsewhere. In these prefaces and in the general preface, also, he has added a good deal to our knowledge of the life and work of the professional ballad-makers, Parker (to whom he devoted a special article four years earlier, *Mod. Philology* XVI 113ff.), Brewer, Price, and others. The volume closes with an index of titles, first lines, and tunes, and a glossary (in which last, by the way, the 'tailor's hell,' mentioned in two of the ballads, should have been explained.)

Ballads, in the sense of broadside prints, 'were, in the main, the equivalent of modern newspapers,' as the preface points out. Since the authenticity as ballads, in this sense, of the contents of *A Pepysian Garland* is unquestionable, all of them being from broadside print, it might be worth while to analyze them to see how closely they correspond in function to present-day journalism. Eight of them may be described as political news—the assassination of Henry IV of France, the execution of Raleigh and of John of Barneveldt, the Amboyna massacre, the fall of Rochelle, a naval battle between Spain and Holland, the conclusion of a treaty between Denmark and Sweden, the enactment of a statute against swearing and drunkenness. Ten are reports of marvels, either of recent occurrence—a battle of birds at Cork, a great whale stranded on the Cheshire coast, the

<sup>1</sup> No adequate catalog of the collection, it seems, has ever been made. One is glad to note that Dr. Rollins has the making of such a catalog in contemplation. It would be hard to find any one better fitted, by taste, training, and scholarship, for the undertaking.

miraculous punishment of a corn-hoarder, the survival of eight men accidentally left ashore in Greenland the year before and now 'come all safely from thence in this last Fleet, 1631,' the pig-faced lady 'now to be seene in London'—or recorded in foreign books recently translated into English, as in the case of Shillock's prophecy (from the Italian) or that of the Netherlands countess who was punished for railing at a poor woman's presuming to have two children when she, the countess, had none, by giving birth to three hundred and sixty-five at once. More attractive, then as now, to the journalistic sense (or perhaps easier to come by) were criminal sensations. Some twelve or fourteen of them are of this sort, among them five 'good-nights,' i.e. supposed utterances of the criminal upon the scaffold. Witchcraft, necromancy, bribery, arson, highwaymanry, seduction, torture of apprentices, and murder in divers forms (three deal with the murder of husband by wife in domestic quarrel) are among the themes of the balladists. It all sounds very modern! If the protagonists are in high place, so much the better, of course, as when the royal commissioner of monopolies is convicted of bribery and publicly degraded from knighthood, or when the notorious Dr. Lamb, minion of the Duke of Buckingham, is stoned to death by an incensed London mob. All of these may be put down to the account of news, tho a moral is generally attached. Another group corresponds, more or less, to the editorial column of the modern newspaper. The matter may be political—a tirade against the Pope, a call to English soldiers to try their fortunes in Bohemia under Gustavus Adolphus; or economic and industrial—the formation of a porters' union, the abuse of the apprentice system, the happiness and dignity of the 'gentle craft' of shoemaking; or religious—a prophecy of the Day of Judgment, a general Jeremiad upon the irreligion of the times; but the bulk of them are upon matters of social or private morality—the fate of harlots and 'roaring boys' in Bridewell, where breaking hemp takes the place of breaking stone in the modern Mid-West régime; the ducking of a scold; an old man winning his son's sweetheart away by the lure of wealth, with tragic consequences; the misery of an ill-used wife; a warning (from the wife) to a dissolute and spendthrift husband; the blessings of the married life; the evils of drink; the danger of practical jokes; the immodesty of young women; a raid upon a brothel on the Bank-side; and panoramic views of the morality of the trades and professions, sometimes humorously satirical and sometimes pedestrially solemn. What would be called 'feature story stuff' in modern journalism is represented by the ballad of the Rat-catcher (who is a poisoner and a quack doctor as well), the ballad of the Peddler's Pack, and a number of ballads on the desirability of maids or widows as wives. If we remember the

poet's corner and the importance of the columnist in the modern newspaper we shall find room for nearly all the rest under the general head of journalism. Four or five are 'jigs' of the sort so contemptuously referred to in the Prologue to Marlowe's *Tam-burlaine*, short rimed farces to be acted with dancing as after-pieces to plays. Half a dozen or more, including some already described, might be classed as satire; eight or ten are merely humorous anecdotes with no moral intention; there are two Bible stories (Jonas and the Judgment of Solomon), and one (Hero and Leander) from the classics. What one does not find, whether by reason of editorial selection or because they are lacking in the Pepys collection I do not know, is love songs and pastorals, which bulk so large in the poetry of the age, and devotional lyrics such as characterize the two manuscripts from which Dr. Rollin's preceding volume is chiefly drawn. Just one of the eighty ballads in the book, *The Western Knight*, is related to the ballad of 'popular' tradition, being probably, as the editor suggests, the working over of a traditional ballad. If so, it has suffered a mud-change into something mean and flat; it is in alien company. The glamour of romantic poetry has no kinship with the bread-and-butter daily work of Martin Parker and his kind, who produced the ballads that Pepys collected. Their work is not poetry, as Dr. Rollins very clearly sees; its value lies elsewhere—in the picture of the everyday lives and interests of Londoners three hundred years ago. And it would not be easy to find a more comprehensive, intimate, and lively presentment of those lives and interests than is afforded by *A Pepysian Garland*.

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*SOCIAL LIFE IN THE DAYS OF PIERS PLOWMAN.*

By D. Chadwick. Cambridge: University Press. 1922.  
Pp. xiii, 125.

The Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought (edited by G. C. Coulton) are a comparatively new series undertaken with a view to casting a somewhat clearer light on social and intellectual conditions in England in the later middle ages. In the present instance this result is sought through a careful and detailed study of the materials presented in the *Vision of Piers Plowman*. William Langland (or whoever the author was) wrote his "vision" in the second decade following the Black Death, a frightful visitation the results of which were long felt throughout the entire structure of English society. We have for the same period the more attractive writings of Geoffrey Chaucer, which have long been a favorite source for the social history in the fourteenth century. But with all their excellence

these are scarcely to be compared, as historical documents, to the less elegant verses of *Piers Plowman*, for Chaucer, after all, does not penetrate far below the middle class; of life in the lower strata, where the millions lived and struggled and died, he tells us very little. Langland's work is built on broader lines; in his vision he contemplated all classes, the lower as well as the higher.

Miss Chadwick's work is not in the form of a conventional study of social facts; it is not a discussion of the materials involved and is not much concerned with the interpretation of details. Her plan has been to select and to arrange in an orderly manner the poet's observations and to give what seem to be the poet's views. The materials have been classified under seven heads: the clergy, the government, country life, town life, wealth and poverty, the layman's religion, and the status of women. On most of these topics Miss Chadwick has been able to add very little to the information already available. We know something about the confused state of the government, and the low state of efficiency in the church is thoroughly understood; but subjects like the layman's religion and the status of women have not been investigated with any degree of thoroughness. One should infer from Miss Chadwick's study that *Piers Plowman*, however much he criticizes the church, was not a Lollard but held orthodox beliefs on all essential matters. The author was doubtless pleased to find that the actual status of her sex did not at all agree with the legal status. Though the poet seems to have been a theoretical believer in the merits of the celibate life and the sinful nature of womanhood, "he profited by practical experience and took for his ideal reformer a married man who paid high tribute to his wife by leaving her in charge of his worldly property. This was probably the attitude of the average layman; he acquiesced in the ecclesiastical conventions, but his actions were mainly guided by common sense."

L. M. LARSON

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*EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOR.* By Ben Jonson, Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary by Henry Holland Carter, Ph. D., Professor of English in Carleton College. A Dissertation presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1921. Yale Studies in English, no. LII.

Professor Carter divides his Introduction under the following six headings: Editions of the Text, Date, Stage-History, Influence of the Classics, Extracts from the Critics, Critical Estimate. Under the first of these, he discusses the Quarto

and the Folio,<sup>1</sup> passes on to the later editions, and then, returning to Q and F, undertakes a detailed comparison of them. He studies and classifies the changes undergone by the text of Q in revision more carefully than any previous student of Jonson. His categories number seventeen,<sup>2</sup> but he does not take them too seriously; that is to say, he recognizes that their value lies solely in giving a comprehensive view of the extent and nature of the changes Jonson made in the text of Q. The remarkable superiority of F over Q in the qualities of precision, accuracy, force, and clearness is here fully illustrated.

Professor Carter did not have the opportunity of examining Mr. Percy Simpson's edition of this play, which appeared when his own was passing through the press, and so cannot be expected to discuss the theory advanced in that edition as to the likelihood of the revision of Q taking place about 1612. He agrees, of course, with the accepted conclusion that Q was originally produced in 1598 and is not to be identified with *The comodey of Vmers*, and he leans towards Nicholson's view that the date of revision was probably 1605-6. Here I think he is over-cautious. No doubt, the evidence in favor of Nicholson's view is not conclusive; on the other hand, the objections to it are not so very strong. The distinction Nicholson draws between Brainworm the impromptu and Bobadil the practised liar is one consonant with Jonson's taste and genius. As for the irritating incidental allusions to the reign of Elizabeth, it is quite possible that Jonson overlooked them. We must not proceed on the assumption that Jonson overlooked *nothing*.<sup>3</sup> He was exceptionally careful and thorough in all of his writing, but, after all, he could blunder like another man. Professor Carter does not at this point (p. lxxvii) allow the weight it deserves to the change in oaths which he had himself earlier examined and demonstrated at length.

<sup>1</sup> It may be of interest to note that my own copy of 1616 agrees with the readings of Y given in the list on p. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> P. xxxiv: "(1) localization of scene in England; (2) condensation; (3) expansion; (4) change of abstract expressions to concrete; (5) more direct and simple expressions; (6) less simple expressions; (7) more vigorous or forceful expressions; (8) insertion of words of more specific reference to persons; (9) insertion of qualifying adjectives or adverbs; (10) introduction of figures, and improvement in existing figures; (11) better sentence-structure; (12) readings more appropriate to context; (13) syntactical changes; (14) elision; (15) change from solemn forms; (16) change in oaths; (17) changes without clear reason or improvement."

<sup>3</sup> On p. 394 Professor Carter discusses what he himself regards as a piece of forgetfulness on Jonson's part. If, as Mr. Simpson makes extremely plausible, Jonson did not rewrite the play, but used a copy of Q which he "worked over with manuscript corrections to prepare it for the press," so that "the printer of the Folio had before him a printed copy of the 1601 text interlined with corrections in Jonson's handwriting, and not a playhouse manuscript" (Simpson, xiii f.), there is no difficulty in understanding how these allusions escaped him.

Under the heading of Stage-History, Professor Carter devotes special attention to the Garrick and Dickens revivals; he includes a list of all performances from 1751 on, and gives the names of the actors whenever known. This is an interesting section.

Few will disagree with what our editor has to say about the influence of the classics upon this play, though one might like to have Jonson's essential originality given even more emphasis than it receives. Let us suppose, for instance, a person thoroughly well read in English life and literature in the sixteenth century, but totally ignorant of the classics and equally unacquainted with what is known about Jonson's borrowings from them. Give him the Folio text of *Every Man in his Humor* to read. What in the dialogue, plot, or characters, except an occasional literary allusion, would lead him to think that Jonson had gone outside the field of English life for ideas or material? Jonson has borrowed from the classics, of course, and the list of his borrowings is quite long; but what he borrowed underwent a complete transmutation, and his originality, in the proper sense of the word, is as unquestionable as that of Shakespeare.

Because I feel very strongly the truth of the statement just made, I experience some dissatisfaction when, for example, I read (p. xc): "Young Knowell is a less serious offender than most of the young men of the New Comedy. There, many times, the whole gamut of vices is run through. When stripped of the personal characteristics which render him a typical young Englishman, however, and relegated to a type, his general theory and conduct of life place him with those others whose escapades delighted the audiences of Rome." His 'general theory and conduct of life,' quoth 'a! Strip Young Knowell of his personal and English characteristics, and what is there left? Merely that he is the son of his father, to whom he proves that he is old enough to be trusted with his own fate. There is, in other words, hardly anything left from which his 'general theory and conduct of life' can be collected. As the play stands, his theory and conduct of life are quite unexceptionable. Like Warrington and Pendennis, like the heroes of Lever's earlier novels, Young Knowell and Wellbred are young men with a lively sense of humor, who delight in the eccentricities of character and manners that the town affords. Old Knowell, Kitley, Downright, all devoid of this invaluable sixth sense, cannot understand this taste, and fear that it implies levity of disposition, perhaps something worse. The only persons who understand are Brainworm and Justice Clement, themselves well endowed with a sense of humor. The morals of Young Knowell and Wellbred are perfectly sound, as the Justice points out at the end of the play, and,

indeed, Jonson is from the very beginning careful to reassure the audience on this head. I fear that Professor Carter has not paid sufficient attention to the amphibology in the use of the words "rogues" and "honest men" in the passage from Miss Woodbridge's *Studies in Jonson's Comedy* quoted on p. 398.<sup>4</sup> Only from this point of view can we speak of a 'theory and conduct of life' on the part of Young Knowell, and Jonson needs no New Comedy to instruct him in it. To speak as Professor Carter does in this passage is to neglect what is important and emphasize what is unimportant. Young Knowell is, on the closest possible calculation, third cousin thrice removed to the young man of Latin comedy. A 'less serious offender,' Professor Carter calls him. Pray, in what has he offended?

I had always thought (for that matter I still think) that Jonson was a poet of no small importance, but Professor Carter seems not to be of that opinion. Under the heading 'Critical Estimate,' he says: "We know that even Jonson was a devotee of the Muses, and had a share in the instinctive love for poetry which permeated the atmosphere of his day. One would certainly have divined this from the play in question, particularly in its earlier version. A few stray harbingers of poetry may be seen here, together with the splendid apology for it which he sternly sacrificed in his revision. He who saw in 'poesie' something of the 'blessed, aeternall, and most true deuine,' than whose 'reuerend name nothing can more adorne humanity,' must have been possessed with something of the poet's nature. One would have been tempted to regard this the early tribute to poetry, and the language which conveyed it, as an earnest of possible future poetic achievement. That these early promptings of his inner spirit were not cultivated, but rather allowed, and perhaps encouraged, to wither and decay, Jonson's later history showed." "*Even Jonson . . . possible poetic achievement . . . wither and decay!*" Did Professor Carter, before writing such words as these, stop to take a survey of Jonson's work from the point of view of its poetic character? Are not the masques highly poetical? Is not *The Sad Shepherd* poetical? Are not many pieces in *Epigrams*, *Forest*, *Underwood* poetry? Could *Volpone* have been written by one who was not a poet, or the speeches given to Sir Epicure Mammon in II, ii of *The Alchemist*? Professor Carter does not tell us how he defines poetry; I can frame no definition that does not cover a large amount of Jonson's writing.

<sup>4</sup> Nor is Miss Woodbridge herself altogether clear on this point. Young Knowell and Wellbred belong to the "rogues" as distinguished from the "honest men" *only* if those terms are to taken as purely *technical*, employed for convenience of plot analysis. To give the impression, as Miss Woodbridge certainly does, that they are rogues in any real sense of the word, is most regrettable.

Professor Carter's Introduction is, for all this faultfinding, a sound and workmanlike production, somewhat heavily written, limited to the study of a small number of questions,<sup>6</sup> but displaying in their consideration industry, thoroughness, and accuracy. The same qualities are seen in the reprinting of the texts of Q and F. At least, such slight tests as I have applied yield nothing to his discredit as collator and proof-reader. The list of errata on p. 448 seems at first glance rather long, but few of the errors are of any importance, and the number is not disproportionate, since he is reprinting two texts. This list does not cover misprints in the Introduction (e.g., p. xvii, ll. 5 and 7; lxiii, l. 20, *Gifford* should be *Nicholson*) or Notes (e.g., p. 271, ll. 19-21).

The explanatory notes are copious, and the subjects as a rule well selected. Some, at least, of the notes on the changes made in revision are quite superfluous (e.g., I, v, 68; II, iii, 59), and, if omitted, would have left space for other matters. Their place might well have been supplied by more frequent reference to Jonson's other works. Thus, Jonson begins in this play his well-known practice (cf. I, ii, 85; I, iv, 65; III, v, 51) of making one person in the play comment upon or interpret the character of another for the benefit of the audience, but I do not find that Professor Carter anywhere alludes to the fact. Obviously, no fault can be found with the editor for not including information that could not be had without special examination of books not accessible on this side of the Atlantic; for instance, in his note on the Dedication he could not, in illustration of Jonson's gratitude toward Camden, utilize the inscription in a gift-copy of *Cynthia's Revels* which Mr. Simpson is the first, so far as I know, to bring to light. But he should have noticed the suggestion of Mr. D. Nichol Smith (also referred to by Simpson) that Jonson established the practice of dedicating plays. Nor do I think it merely captious to say that the four notes (Ded. 11; I, i, 18; I, i, 24; Q V, i, 491) on the subject of Jonson's attitude toward poetry hardly set the matter in its proper light. The reader should be

<sup>6</sup> He says in the Preface: "Many inviting topics have perforce been excluded. The genesis of the humor-idea, with Jonson's relation to it, and the extent of his influence upon his contemporaries and followers, are subjects too large for the present investigation, in connection with other necessary tasks." No sensible person, realizing that he had two texts to deal with, will quarrel with this decision. At the same time, I think he should have considered the interesting and important question suggested by the following sentence concerning William Haughton: "His *Englishmen for My Money* is, so far as we can tell, the first regular comedy of realistic London life in the English drama" (Baugh, *William Haughton's Englishmen for My Money*, 1917, 40. Cf. R. Bayne, *Camb. History of Eng. Lit.*, V, 329-330, 331). Did Jonson, then, simply follow another man's lead?

For the 'genesis of the humor-idea,' see the excellent study in Simpson's *Int.*, xxxvi ff.

told, in an edition of *Every Man in his Humor* on this scale, that poetry in Jonson's day was bitterly attacked as harmful, and that these particular passages, as well perhaps as others, are introduced with reference to that fact. Of course, Professor Carter could not give the history of this controversy, beginning as it did in ancient times, but in a few lines he could have noted the important fact of its existence, and given references that would have enabled the student to follow the matter up. Moreover, the language in the second and third of these notes is, it seems to me, unfortunately chosen, for it conveys the impression that Professor Carter thinks Jonson in sympathy with Old Knowell's ideas on poetry.

I mention a few passages in the explanatory notes that need supplementation or correction, though it should be said that, as the Preface is dated 1914, Professor Carter would not care to be held responsible for what has appeared since that year. He should, however, have noted, p. 264, Bang's suggestion, *Engl. St.*, xxxvi, 2, 340f., as to the origin of the name Bobadil. Under I, v, 47, the reader should be told that Jonson's authorship of the extant Additions to *The Spanish Tragedy* is probable, but not incontrovertible. In the note on I, v, 81 we read: "Stubbes, in his *Anatomy of Abuses*, quotes the description of the dress of a young dandy in 1604 by I. M., in his *Father Hubbards Tales*." But Stubbes, whose last edition of the *Anatomy* was in 1595, does not quote from this work; it is Furnivall, in his notes on Stubbes. Moreover, I. M. should be T. M. (same mistake on preceding page). It is not probable that Dame Kitely's phrase, "the new disease," II, iii, 47, is to be appropriated to a particular, diagnostically distinct disease, as Whalley says in the long note that Professor Carter quotes and apparently approves. It is rather to be taken loosely and popularly, cf. Creighton, Traill's *Social England* (illustrated edition), III, 368. Under III, ii, 11, might be noted the present reviewer's suggestion (M. L. N., xxxi, 321) that the jest is an old one (and under their proper headings should be entered the classical bits there mentioned as utilized by Jonson in this play). In explaining the expression, "I might haue been ioyn'd patten," etc., III, v, 8, which has needlessly puzzled commentators, Professor Carter took the wrong path (cf. his Glossary, s. v. patten). Wheatley's suggestion that "*patten* here has its sense of foot-wear" is absurd in itself, and also grammatically impossible (what would Professor Carter do with the word *been*?). His other suggestion, pattern, is better, but open to the same grammatical objection. Cunningham, of course, was on the right track, as can be seen by looking up 'patent' in NED. Note, also, that 'Paten' rhymes with 'Latin' in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, ed. 1621, p. 262. Under V, v, 38, with reference to the lines, *Consules fiunt quotannis*,

etc., it should be observed that they occur, apparently for the first time in print, in Binetus' 1579 edition of Petronius, p. 20, under the heading, *Floridi de Qualitate Vitae*, and that Binetus, p. 17, explains the term *floridi* as follows: *qui loci sunt insignes ex variis auctoribus descripti, qui & aurei dicebantur, sicut floridorum quatuor libri ex Apuleij scriptis excerpti extant hodie*. This fact explains the marginal reference in *Discoveries* which puzzled Schelling in his edition (cf. *Mod. Phil.*, XV, 308).

In conclusion, I might say that the least satisfactory feature of this edition of *Every Man in his Humor* is to be found in what may be called interpretive criticism, that is, in the remarks on the characters and on the play as a work of art. Thus, the treatment in Introduction and Notes of the differences between Q and F lacks the penetration and suggestiveness of Mr. Simpson's much briefer discussion of the same topic. On the other hand, so complete and minute is Professor Carter's comparison of the two versions that it seems to exhaust the subject from the textual point of view; the work is, apparently, done once for all. This fact illustrates what is the most satisfactory feature of the book. Professor Carter has been patient and thorough, industrious and, I think, in the main accurate.

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**GRAMMATIK DES HEUTIGEN ENGLISCH.** Von Dr. G. Wendt, Leiter des Mädchengymnasiums in Hamburg. Heidelberg. Winter. 1922. 24.5 cm., pp. viii, 309. Price, \$1.50.

Professor Wendt, whose *Syntax des heutigen Englisch* has been long and favorably known, has now published a good grammar of present day British English. It is designed especially for teachers and students who have to learn English largely or entirely through the medium of translation. For English-speaking persons, therefore, its chief value will lie in its large and well selected body of examples of practically all constructions heard in Britain to-day. Some, perhaps many, of these have been taken from the contemporary press, and it would have added to the interest and even the value of the book if the sources of at least a part of these quotations could have been given. We realize, of course, that if many such references had been given it would have added to the expense of producing the volume.

We think, too, that it would have added to the usefulness of the volume if the sections had been numbered, for the purpose of reference and cross-reference.

We append a few notes on details; these are by no means exhaustive, but are merely suggestive of the kind of criticism to be passed on the book.

P. 5. The usual past tense of *stink*, we believe, is no longer *stank* but *stunk*.

P. 15, mid. "If you *would have* been led by me" for "If you *had* been led by me" is rarely if ever heard from those who have really learned English.

P. 21, To the list of *Hilfszeitwörter* may be added *turn*. Cf. pp. 185f. In sentence 7 below, "Thackeray is not to *go* unhonoured and unsung," it is worth noting that *go* here has a different sense from what it has in the sentence, "I am afraid I shall *go* blind."

P. 35, mid. In the sentence, "The testator devised the Ardmore estate in trust for his eldest son for life, with remainder to his male issue in fee, *whom failing* to testator's other sons, according to seniority," the absolute phrase seems to be ungrammatical, the correct form being "who failing," with a comma after the participle.

P. 43, top. Is not *dislikes* a commoner form than *dislikings*?

P. 53, top. In sentence 11, "*these* sort" should be branded as bad English.

P. 55. We cannot speak for Britain; but in America the sentence "Has everybody got what *they* want" would not be heard from the most correct speakers.

P. 60, mid. One might add, a forty-foot pole.

P. 68, mid. In sentence 2, "I sent away a better than *him*," the use of *him* should be branded as bad.

P. 86, bot. The article is more often omitted from the Irish county names: "County Mayo."

P. 87, bot. On the contrary, "The White House" *always* has the article.

P. 230, l. 5. After the sentence, ". . . circumstances gave her a wider outlook than almost any of her contemporaries," the author adds, "Man erwartet *to any*." This may be doubted. The tendency would certainly be to give *any* the same construction as *her*.

P. 260, mid. "Men *whom* he thinks are . . ." is certainly bad form in America.

P. 265. "*Like* he did" is slowly creeping into America, but the purists are fighting it bitterly.

The *Wortregister* is very inadequate. The volume is well printed.

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**THE TRAGEDY OF SIR JOHN VAN OLDEN BARNAVELT.** Anonymous Elizabethan Play. Edited from the Manuscript, with Introduction and Notes, by Wilhelmina P. Frijlinck. Amsterdam: H. G. Van Dorssen. 1922. Pp. clx+119.

Dr. Frijlinck's edition of *The Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt* makes readily accessible to students of the Elizabethan drama a play that deserves on historical as well as literary grounds to be better known. In view of its theme, the editing of it by a Dutch scholar and its issuance in Holland have special appropriateness. Dutch students cannot fail to find of interest an English play based upon the fateful struggle of their two illustrious countrymen, John of Barnavelt, Advocate and Seal Keeper of Holland during forty of the most critical years of her history, and Maurice, Prince of Orange and Count of Nassau, a soldier to whose extraordinary military skill was chiefly due the expulsion of the Spaniards from the Seven United Provinces. But English readers, too, especially such as are familiar with Motley's *History of the United Netherlands* and its sequel, *The Life and Death of John of Barneveld*, will be attracted by the theme.

The play has undoubtedly been praised too highly by some. Harmony of tone and consistency in the drawing of the characters are not maintained, and certain scenes are undeniably dull. But against these defects considerable merits are to be balanced. There are scenes of elevated and moving rhetoric, such as Leidenberch's speech before committing suicide and Barnavelt's defense of himself while facing his accusers; children are used most effectively to work upon the sympathies of the audience; and the concluding portion, dealing with the execution, while not taking full advantage of its possibilities, is impressive. If this old play is still of interest to us, we can easily imagine its greater interest for the English of 1619, whose ties with Holland were many and intimate, and who must have been following closely the series of events which had just swept one of Europe's most eminent statesmen from a position of virtually regal power to the scaffold.

One can appreciate the late A. H. Bullen's satisfaction at the discovery of the manuscript of this hitherto unpublished play. In 1883 he printed it in the second volume of his *Collection of Old English Plays*. The following year M. Nijhoff, who thought it would be of interest to his countrymen, republished it at the Hague. Last year Miss Frijlinck issued the play as a University of Amsterdam dissertation.

Dr. Frijlinck follows in general the plan of the more elaborate recent critical editions of plays. Her introduction, which is leisurely even for a doctoral dissertation, deals with such

subjects as the date and history of the play, its sources, its authorship, and its aesthetic and literary value. The text is followed by twenty-five pages of explanatory notes. The volume contains a fine engraving of Barnavelt and a reproduction of a sample of the manuscript. English and American scholars will be grateful to Miss Frijlinck for choosing the English rather than the Dutch language for her introduction and notes.

The sources of the play are given careful study by Dr. Frijlinck. These were chiefly pamphlets in English, issued in 1618 and 1619, the inevitable accompaniment, in that tractarian age, of the trial and execution of so distinguished a citizen as Barnavelt. Bullen and Motley had mentioned some of the pamphlets that might have been used, and Professor Koepfel had indicated certain parallels, but it has remained for Dr. Frijlinck to give the matter of sources a really thorough treatment. She concludes that the picture of Barnavelt in the play is remarkably adequate in view of the scant and prejudiced material on which it was apparently based.

Especially lucid and convincing is Dr. Frijlinck's treatment of authorship. Though the manuscript gives no explicit indication of authorship, scholars are almost unanimous in pronouncing the play, on stylistic grounds, the joint work of Fletcher and Massinger; and there is also pretty general agreement as to the scenes to be assigned to each man. Nevertheless, the question of authorship is not quite removed from the realm of conjecture, and one feels that Dr. Frijlinck would have done well to refer with less finality, throughout her introduction, to the authorship of particular scenes. Dr. Frijlinck believes that the main body of the play "was framed by Massinger, who probably planned the play as a whole, and laid down the lines of the plot and principal features, though a considerable part of it may be assigned to Fletcher."

In the section on the historical value of the play, Dr. Frijlinck discusses at length the departure from historical fact. It is not surprising, she says, that "the dramatists have not succeeded in sifting their material sufficiently to bring out the truth clearly." As a matter of fact, they probably felt under little obligation to sift and test their material. Indeed, as Dr. Frijlinck suggests, any fundamentally different treatment of the subject would have been surprising. Popular sentiment in England, as well as in Holland, at this time made it inevitable that Barnavelt should have been presented in a somewhat unfavorable light, and that Maurice should have been endowed with more justice and nobility than he possessed. The dramatist's chief concern was to produce a popular and dramatically effective play: he was little worried about the accuracy of his matter.

Dr. Frijlinck's notes contain much valuable comment, and some that seems, to the English-speaking reader at least, of little value. That English is not (as I suppose) her native tongue probably accounts for her elucidation of such familiar words and phrases as the following: *'twill take from his pride*, 284; *rest assur'd*, 561; *governd more by your fear then reason*, 579; *too gentle lenitie*, 737; *pluck vp your hart*, 1999; *vnseasonable*, 2147; *vnanswerable proofes*, 2644. To the same cause must be attributed her punctuation throughout the introduction and notes, which is often disconcertingly remote from English usage. But these are minor faults in a scholarly and able piece of work.

Special commendation should be given to Dr. Frijlinck's admirable handling of the text. She has given a faithful reproduction of the manuscript, following consistently the principles laid down by the Malone society. If any guarantee of accuracy were needed, it could be found in the fact that the proof sheets were checked with the manuscript by Dr. W. W. Greg. Dr. Frijlinck has corrected Bullen's readings at a great many points; she has also restored practically all the passages deleted by the censor and scored through to reduce the length of the play for the stage, a labor calling for immense patience. Though her introduction contains much of value, it is probably the furnishing of a definitive text that will make her book most highly prized by students of the Elizabethan drama.

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*A SURVEY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE, 1780-1880.*

By Oliver Elton, Professor of English Literature in the University of Liverpool. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1920. 22 cm. 4 vols.

Professor Elton's work will take its place among the really notable works of its class. One compares it naturally with the work of Hugh Walpole on *The Literature of the Victoria Era* and with the later volumes of *The Cambridge History of English Literature*. With Walker his corresponding volumes correspond rather closely in bulk; the third and fourth volumes, dealing with the period 1830-1880, have 866 pages as compared with Walker's 1067; and there is the same catholicity of tone; emphasis is of course somewhat differently placed, and likes and dislikes vary with the temperaments of the two men. In bulk both Walker and Elton fall far short of the corresponding volumes of the *Cambridge History*, the last four, which have a total of 2583 pages as compared with Elton's 1797. Some readers will prefer Elton's single point of view to the many differing points of view represented in the articles in the *Cam-*

bridge History, which critics have adjudged to be of varying degrees of excellence.

The bibliographical notes in Elton are especially to be commended as on the whole good guides to the leading sources of information. The author is pretty well aware of what has been written in this field; he is careful to state the fact when he has not been able to see a given book. In the four volumes these notes run to 106 pages; the Cambridge History bibliographies for the same period run to 537 pages, but in these, on the other hand, there is somewhat less criticism. Elton supplies two excellent indexes, one for the Georgian and one for the Victorian part.

As regards proportion, we have no serious quarrel with Professor Elton. For example, he gives Wordsworth 51 pages; Byron 48; Scott 64; Hazlitt 21; Carlyle 33; Ruskin 32; Tennyson 32; Browning 36; Swinburne 30; Disraeli 13; Lytton 4; Dickens 27; Meredith 40; Charles Kingsley 8; William Carleton 3. The most serious omission (and this is true also of Walker) is Thomas Hardy, who by 1880 had published half a dozen novels, including *Far from the Madding Crowd* (1874) and *The Return of the Native* (1878). In the case of both literary historians the omission may be and is probably due to the fact that Mr. Hardy is still living; but the fact of the omission is still to be taken into account, since the impress of Thomas Hardy upon his generation must be reckoned with in any final estimate of the literature of the period. If Aubrey De Vere gets a trifle less space than Frederick Locker Lampson, it is easy to note such points; in a general way we believe that it would be a difficult matter to arrange proportions that would meet with more general favor than will those found in these volumes. Elton's method, frankly stated, is to select the best and give extended treatment to as many as his limitations of space will permit of. He speaks of omitting with regret Theobald Wolf Tone and Isaac D'Israeli (ii. 434). Other omissions noted are William H. Ainsworth and G. P. R. James (see iv. 163), Robert Plumer Ward, William Gilbert, Lord Lennox, Florence Marryat, and William Clark Russell.

Professor Elton's tastes are fairly catholic and liberal. It is fair to test him by his attitudes toward Byron and Wordsworth. While admitting that "the taste of the delicate, under the sway of Wordsworth, Tennyson, and their successors, has been to demand from poetry a conscious nobility of thought, or a consummate finish, which Byron does not give," Elton goes on to say that the foreign estimate of Byron's greatness is truer and sounder than the English estimate. Byron the Titan, Byron the satirist (the real, the ultimate Byron), and Byron the liberator all helped to make the composite impression which Continental Europe got of him; he had "a song of his

very own." To Wordsworth Elton, without enthusiasm, endeavors to be fair. It is "fair and necessary to say that sometimes, when he is writing well, and is also making a poetic attack on our deepest feelings, he does not carry us away. He fails to do so, because he is not carried away himself. We do not get this sensation with Milton, lofty and proud as he is; there is the accent of strong and self-forgetful passion in Milton's personal preludes to various books of his epic, as well as perfection of speech." Wordsworth's is the poetry of happiness. "It is not written in high spirits and gallant cheer, like Scott's; nor with gaiety, like Shakespeare's poetical comedy; but it is written in a spirit of happiness, pervaded, like his life, by 'the deep power of joy.' " He is the poet for very good people. His pantheism is only for those who can believe in it. His great "achievement is that he can remain an artist whilst uttering a moral or a philosophical idea. His influence on the English poets is distinct from the pure tradition of romantic lyric"; "nay it is in some sort a complement and counterpoise to that tradition; the ethical gravity, the patriot heroism, of Wordsworth, as well as his concern with the spiritual side of common life, and, on the other hand, with exalted philosophic matter, contrast with the absorption in beauty for its own sake, the frequent indifference to public matters, the life lived in an enchanted self-created world, and the carelessness of metaphysics, which have distinguished many of the romantic poets." It will thus be seen that we have a new and fresh estimate of these poets in the light of recent criticism. And this is true of the book in general.

For Professor Elton's style there can be only words of high praise. In a long work of this kind there is to be expected some sameness; yet the author ingeniously contrives happy variations of form and expression; and one finds many unexpected turns that lend variety and often distinction to the treatment. Of Macaulay, for example, he says, "Yet there Macaulay stands, not to be criticised away, for the instructed reader as well as for the larger public. There is his fabric, with its great shining surface, its solid skilful grandiose architecture, its bold bright colouring, which must be judged, in fairness, from a little distance off; it has a pillar broken, a façade tarnished here and there; but the thing stands." Of Arnold's *Obermann* and *Grande Chartreuse* he says, "Both pieces reveal the solitary-mindedness of the writer, and his disenchanted romanticism. Romance has gone, faith has gone, a new faith has not come, and there is no spiritual resting-place, not even—nay, not at all—in monastic peace. And the lines portraying the work achieved by Christ in the world anticipate the tone of Matthew Arnold's theological prose; and the tolerance, which there also we find, towards the old faith has its root in poetic rather than

intellectual sympathy." Of *The Ring and the Book*: "When all is said, it is one of the best, and not merely one of the strangest, poems of the last century. It is not in the Latin taste; the architecture is too eccentric, the ornament is too profuse and whimsical for that. Our ancestors would have called it a Gothic production. But we must leave Browning his own plan. His true subject is the contrast between Heaven and Hell, with the world's voices clamouring all around them and confounding their borders." His exposition of Ruskin's political economy (iv. 240-1) is admirable. He writes with vigor, original expression, smoothness, sanity.

Our author is duly modest. Speaking, for example, of the literature of travel (ii. 433), he says, "I do not at all profess to have covered this ground." Such frank admissions only tend to increase our confidence in the book as a whole. Professor Elton has done an enormous amount of reading, and one never has occasion to question his competency.

He maintains, too, good proportions between considerations of matter and of manner. He knows that literature is made up both of great ideas and of a great way of putting them. He gives a clear impression of the currents of ideas which streamed through the Georgian and Victorian eras, and he gives many good summaries of the thought of individual writers, for example Browning and Pater.

When Professor Elton comes to sum up his performance, what do we find? What is his matured opinion of the mass of writings he has discussed? First, he notes that no writer of the period won world-significance. This may prove to be true; but only time will tell. We imagine that Dante's name in 1423 was not what it is to-day. The chief quality of the literature as a whole he finds to be its nobility; its chief artistic achievement, "a swift and splendid development of the art of prose." He might have gone on to specify in what departments of writing this development was especially to be found: the novel, which came to a high state of perfection; the essay, which developed numerous varieties; and the strong polemical prose of writers like Ruskin and Huxley. The main tendencies of the period were toward a sounder and healthier realism than had ever obtained before. The tendencies of the present time cannot be described in these terms; and Professor Elton is amply justified in bringing his great work to a close with the year of Endymion and John Inglesant, the year which just preceded that of Carlyle's death. If any giants are to date from the more recent decades, it is yet to be made evident.

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**DAS HEBRÄISCHE UND ARAMÄISCHE ELEMENT IN DER JIDDISCHEN SPRACHE.** Von Dr. S. Birnbaum, Leipzig, Gustav Engel, 1922.

This essay was written in the autumn of 1918 during the short stay of a few weeks in a military hospital, without the aid of any printed material whatever. The author is conscious of the defects inherent in a rapidly composed sketch, but suggests its value as "erster Beitrag für dieses Gebiet." It is not, on the whole, an historical investigation, but "eine Darstellung des lebendigen Systems der Sprache."

The object of this work is the investigation of the Hebrew and of the Aramaic element in the Yiddish dialect. That dialect originated from late middle high and early new high German.

By the Hebrew element he means that part which originated from the Bible, Mishnah, medieval and modern literary and linguistic material, while the Aramaic comprises that which came from the Gemara and the Cabbala.

The spoken and the written word of the present time constitutes the source of the essay, for "Literatur für unser Thema gibt es nicht."

Over half of the essay is devoted to the *Lautlehre*; that, let it be said right here, is the author's chief contribution to the subject. About six pages each are given to syntax and vocabulary, a few to orthography and script, and about a dozen to accidence (Formenlehre).

I am reminded of a combination English Reader-Grammar I once had. It was published in London and intended for foreigners. It aimed to teach them the living, actual English pronunciation by transcribing English words and sentences as actually spoken. Needless to say, only one type of pronunciation or manner of speaking could be, or at least was, recorded. Now, in general, what Dr. Birnbaum tries to do is to transcribe phonetically actual present day usage, chiefly pronunciation. Many of these, under pressure of questioning or of recalling the originals, would not be conceded the value of a norm, except for the fleeting speech of the transitory moment, for transient colloquialism only, and would even then be retired in favor of the "correct" pronunciation, if the originals be called up. Similar instances abound not only in other dialects, but in other languages as well. Now, if we desire to photograph the fugitive sound of the moment spoken without care by the "unlearned (?)," by "the people," to see dialectal momentary forms, we may do so, provided we keep constantly in mind its fluid and temporary nature, and avoid giving it excessive interpretation and a fixedness or permanency not inherent in it, nor meant by it, nor even claimed for it. Similar investigations, to record the actual spoken word, say in German or English, might prove enlightening.

Dr. B. makes the innovation of using the word *jiddisch* in the title and in the text; he means *jüdisch-deutsch*. The latter is the customary designation in German and also in the dialect under discussion, in which it is pronounced in dialect form (*jiddisch-dajtsch*), so that the word *jiddisch* is itself a familiar form >*jüdisch*. To make his meaning clear, the author himself is compelled to forego his innovation and refer to the dialect as *Jüdischdeutsch*, as shown in the note on page 5. It is almost superfluous to point out that a pronunciation like *dajtsch* for *deutsch* is of course found in other, purely German, dialects.

On the basis of vocalism, Dr. B. differentiates between what he terms the two principal dialects, 1) the *u*-dialect, and 2) the *o*-dialect. The *u*-dialect has two divisions, 1) the *ai*-idiom, and 2) the *äi*-idiom. The *ai*-idiom is spoken in Poland, western Galicia, and Carpatho-Russia; the *äi*-dialect in eastern Galicia, Bukovina, southwestern Russia, Ukrainia, Roumania, and Transylvania. The *o*-dialect is spoken in northwestern Russia, Lithuania, Livonia (Latvia) (*Lettland*), Esthonia, and White Russia. Dr. B. claims that the *u*-dialect is spoken by three times as many persons as the *o*-dialect; he does not acquaint us with the source of this estimate, nor how he arrived at his figures. Hence, the figures must stand as a guess. Nor is the reviewer in a position to say how far his statement on the geographical distribution of the different dialects corresponds to the facts.

Some of the phonetic symbols that Dr. B. uses for transcription, have no meaning for and are not understood by the reader, unless he is familiar with Sweet-Sievers' system of phonetic notation. Therefore, to make it all clear, Dr. B. should have inserted an explanation of that system with sufficient illustrations added. In extenuation, it may be recalled that the author had no literary material whatever at his disposal at the time he wrote the essay.

The transfer of the dynamic accent from the ultima to the penult was one of the chief factors in the phonetic development (p. 17 ff.). Among others, causes of sound changes were: change of position of articulation, both in place and time, assimilation, regressive and progressive, dissimilation, and alteration of the quantity of vowels. A summary table of vowel development may be found on pages 30-31.

In the table of the present day orthography (p. 8), Dr. B. designates the five letters having a separate form at the end of the word as *geschlossene* (*mem*), or *lange* (*cadik*, for example). In Hungary, I am told, these are known as *Ende cadik*, etc.

The reviewer is assured that Moravian and Hungarian Jews pronounce Cholem as *öj*, and Schurek as *ü*. Dr. B. does not mention that. He seems to know best the *u*-dialect; this is

reflected in his essay in several ways and he cites in that pronunciation. Now if we consider this öj (Cholem) and ü (Schurek) as intermediate between the original and the present day pronunciation, we may understand and explain, on the one hand, the ej (Cholem) of the o-dialect, and on the other, the i (Schurek) of the u-dialect; as i > ü, Bicher for Bücher, e > ö, Techter for Töchter is quite common in German in the people's mouth. The Schwöbm, Schwoabm (Schwabens), as they are called, a German colony settled probably over a century ago in the vicinity of Budapest, Hungary, say Pitter > Pütter > Bütter > Butter. Cholem, then, from o over ö(j), would become ej in the o-dialect; and Schurek, from u over ü become i in the u-dialect.

Parallels for a large number of the pronunciations discussed by Dr. B. could be found in dialects of the German language. As regards the constructions, parallels may be had from, or the identical forms found in, Middle High German literature.

The tables of vowels on pages 13 to 16 probably need revision. The last word in the fourth line from the bottom on page 14 is a misprint. "Vokalbildung" (p. 32, second line from bottom) is miswritten, it should be "Verbalbildung."

The suffix of the diminutive -l is, to me, the German -le (-lein), as seen more clearly from the imminutive (eine Verstärkung und eine zärtliche Verkleinerungsform, apparently so named by Gerzon), which is formed by the suffix -ali, to me the German -le (pp. 41 f.). One paragraph on the adjective (p. 41) is not quite clear.

's kommen (h)erein die Gäst(e) (p. 45) would seem to be a German construction, and this word order can be duplicated from German poetry. Just like the word *azind*, mentioned in the same paragraph, is the German *jetzund*: *azind* > *atzünd* > *atzund* > *jetzund*. And to the whole paragraph on *Wortstellung* it may be remarked that the word order predicate-subject may be German, as that word order may be found in other German dialects, and partly in colloquial and familiar German.

On page 48, in the sixth line from the bottom, two words are omitted from the transcription. To my mind, the position of the attributive adjective after the noun, *sie seht das Kind, das schlaffe* (*sie sieht das kranke Kind*), is rather a German influence. It may be added that *schlaff* in the sense of *krank* (supposedly *weil schlaff aussehend*) may be a survival of older German usage, as it is very likely that there are a number of other like survivals. It would take a special investigation to uncover that. The pronoun form *enk*, for example, which is to be compared with the corresponding dual form in Gothic.

That the Hebrew-Aramaic element comprises one fourth of the vocabulary (p. 53) appears to be a distinct overestimate, and the appraisal of the German element probably an under-

Reference is made by Dr. B. to the *dictionary* by Spivak-Bloomgarden, published by Yehoash, New York, 1911; to a complete bibliography of philological literature on *Jüdisch-deutsch* up to the year 1912 by Ber Burochow in the philological yearbook Pinkes, published by B. A. Kletzkin, Vilna, 5673, 1913; to the author's *Praktische Grammatik* der jiddischen Sprache, Wien und Leipzig, A. Hartleben's Verlag, 1915, published 1918; and finally to Gerzon, *Die jüdisch-deutsche Sprache*.

The material presented by Dr. B. is scarcely enough to draw general conclusions from it. Here and there, Dr. B. sets up his frame and rules with insufficient illustrations, with a few examples, and sometimes only with one. A few of the rules and illustrations are not convincing.

The sound phenomena in pronunciation recorded by Dr. B. are neither new, nor typical of or peculiar to the dialect discussed only. These, or the like, can be found in practically every spoken idiom. Let us call up a few examples from English that readily occur to anyone: Hahrye (how are you), hahjedo (contraction), hahdiedo (i for u) (how do you do), women, busy, douncha (assimilation and contraction) (don't you), gonna (going to), wanna (want to), diincha (didn't you), ahl (I'll), sahr (sour), hahs (house), ya (you), et (it), this'n (this one), tellm (tell him, them), I saw 'em (him), teller (tell her), part e that (of that), look utt at (at that), would uv (have), he saw muh book (my), gime (give me). Other examples could easily be added.

Dr. B. keeps to his theme throughout, there is no digression. He must be given credit for his contribution especially to the *Lautehre*, and also for the conception and execution of the work, for his originality. He is a pioneer, as far as the reviewer knows.

The essay is printed on a poor grade of paper, indicative of the present economic plight of post-bellum Germany.

A. KOLLER.



## SCHILLER'S PHILOSOPHISCHE BRIEFE

### A NEW INTERPRETATION

It has always seemed strange to me that Schiller's "Philosophische Briefe," the most remarkable and complete document of his early philosophical thinking, both as to contents and form, should have received but scanty attention and recognition on the part of his biographers and interpreters. Although W. von Humboldt in his masterly and as yet unexcelled essay on Schiller, prefacing their printed correspondence, nearly a century ago pointed out that it was one of the poet's chief characteristics to maintain his intellectual independence against the possible ascendancy of any great mind with whom he came in contact, and that, furthermore, the ideas expressed in his best philosophical endeavors such as the treatises "Über Anmut und Würde" and the "Briefe über ästhetische Erziehung" were contained in his writings preceding his acquaintance with Kant's Philosophy, nevertheless Schiller has persistently been classified as a disciple or apostle of Kant whose doctrines he had successfully proclaimed in prose and poetry. Even the professional philosophers among his critics, such as Kuno Fischer, E. Cassirer and E. Kühnemann fail to recognize the anticipatory character of our letters; indeed Kühnemann, with customary flippancy, dismisses them as an enthusiastic "Sermon." Others, like Walzel, take pleasure in registering traces of Ferguson, Leibniz, Spinoza, and especially of Shaftesbury, Walzel's indispensable patron, and in storing Schiller's system of thought away with the label "eclectic," despite the poet's assurance that he had not been a student of any school of philosophy and had read few philosophical writings.

There is only one interpreter of note who does full justice to the importance of Schiller's Phil. Briefe: Friedrich Ueberweg, the author of the well known History of Philosophy, in his book "Schiller als Historiker und Philosoph." A minute analysis of the contents of the letters and a careful comparison of these contents with their alleged sources impel Ueberweg to recognize the inherent value and originality of Schiller's thoughts. Speaking at the same time of certain defects in Schiller's methods

of reasoning and in the arrangement of his arguments he says: "Diese Mängel sind indess nicht von der Bedeutung, dass wir der Theosophie in ihrer Durchführung den wissenschaftlichen Charakter völlig absprechen müssten, sie können denselben nur beschränken, nicht aufheben. Ihrem Inhalt nach reiht sich die Theosophie den grossen philosophischen Systemen der Neuzeit als ein wesentlich gleichartiges, obschon weniger durchgebildetes Erzeugnis an."

It was Ueberweg, moreover, who first laid stress on the personal note in the *Phil. Briefe*, an element which gives them the character of a confession, and it is from this point of view that we must proceed to arrive at a true appreciation of our document.

An explanation of the fact that Schiller calls the essay within the letters, which contains the essentials of his philosophy, 'Theosophie' has hitherto not been attempted. How fervently he had embraced the Christian faith in his youth may be seen from one of the earliest of his poems preserved to us, as well as from letters addressed to his sister and to fellow-students in the Academy, and we can well imagine, therefore, the painful religious struggles resulting from his subsequent acquaintance with the skepticism of contemporary philosophy. There is in Schiller's reports which, as a young medical student, he had to make to the duke, the description of the case of a fellow-student suffering from melancholia and religious hypochondria, produced by the conflict between fanatic religious conceptions and skeptical doubts, a case which resembles the poet's own. There seems to have been a period in Schiller's development in which he was afflicted with the same hypochondria, the disease of the time, to which the diaries of Gellert, Haller and Lavater bear evidence no less than Goethe's Tasso and certain passages in Lessing's and Herder's writings. Thus we find Schiller filled with forebodings of an early death and with the desire to die. He complains of "inner desolation" and utter despondency, and even sees in his poetical talent the great misfortune of his life. While weaker souls frequently succumbed to this disease, Schiller's native soundness of mind soon overcame the morbid emotions, without sacrificing the rights of genuine feeling. "Skepticismus und Freidenkerei," he says in the "Vorerinnerung" to the letters, "sind die Fieberparoxysmen des mensch-

lichen Geistes, und müssen durch eben die unnatürliche Erschütterung, die sie in gut organisirten Seelen verursachen, zuletzt die Gesundheit befestigen helfen." No better proof of this unimpaired vigour of mind than the two poems "Hymne an den Unendlichen" and "Die Grösse der Welt." These poems are documents, moreover, which show how the young poet, conscious of his awakening genius, tried to get into immediate touch with the Infinite, independent of the church. It is in the light of this attempt that Schiller's Theosophie must be viewed. True to the theistic spirit of German rationalism as distinguished from the extremes of skepticism and materialism which characterize the rationalistic development in France, the poet offers us the "creed of his reason," at which he arrives by the means of philosophical argumentation. As the nature of German rationalism was determined essentially by the systems of Leibniz and his disciple and popularizer, Wolff, we are not surprised to find traces of Leibniz in Schiller's philosophical creed, though there is no evidence that the poet had made a study of the great philosopher. In the Theosophie, too, he boldly approaches, as he does in the two poems just mentioned, the infinite and discovers in love the all-powerful magnet of the spiritual world, the scale upon which we may ascend to Godlikeness.

It is not the object of this paper to present a full analysis of Schiller's philosophical system, contained in the Theosophie, or of his method of procedure. Only a few of the fundamental ideas by which Schiller tries to solve the central philosophical problem of the time: the relation of mind and matter, or of mind and nature, may be mentioned here.

The Theosophie consists of five sections, seemingly disconnected and yet closely interwoven: Die Welt and das denkende Wesen, Idee, Liebe, Aufopferung, Gott. The first section starts with the thesis, "The world is an idea of God." This divine idea having taken the form of reality, it is the vocation of every thinking being to reconstruct the divine prototype from the given phenomena. Hence the reflex of the divine spirit is to be recognized everywhere in nature. Everything within or without me is but an hieroglyphic of a power similar to me. In fact every condition of the human soul has a corresponding image in nature, and not only artists and poets, but also the most abstract thinkers have drawn from this rich storehouse.

In the next section, entitled "Idee," Schiller develops the thought that all spirits are attracted by perfection toward which they strive in order to reach the highest and freest exertion of their natural powers and faculties. The sight and contemplation of the beautiful, the true and the good is equivalent to a momentary attainment of these qualities. *Wir selbst werden das empfundens Object.* It is upon this fundamental assumption that Schiller bases the entire structure of his system. "I am convinced," he says, "that in the happy moment of conceiving the ideal the artist, the philosopher and the poet are themselves the great and good men whom they are depicting. The delight which we take in truth, beauty and virtue finally dissolves itself into the consciousness of our own ennoblement and enrichment. Every perfection which I perceive, therefore, becomes my own, I rejoice in it because it is my own, and I desire to obtain it because I love myself. And because I love myself I desire the happiness of all men." While Schiller thus bases the attainment of the highest ethical value upon egotism, the gratification of the latter means at the same time its annulment.

With the definition: the desire for the happiness of others we call good will, Schiller finds the transition to the next section entitled love. "Love," he says, "is the most beautiful phenomenon in the animate creation, the all-powerful magnet in the world of spirits, the source of devotion and of the most sublime virtue—love is the reflex of this singular power, the magnet, the attraction of all that is excellent, based upon the momentary exchange of personality, a mutual exchange of our beings." "Wenn ich hasse, so nehme ich mir etwas; wenn ich liebe, so werde ich um das reicher, was ich liebe. Menschenhass ist ein verlängerter Selbstmord. Egoismus, die höchste Armut eines Wesens."

"There are moments in our life when we are disposed to press to our heart every flower and every distant star, every insect and every noble spirit,—an embracing of the whole of nature as if she were our beloved one. A man who has succeeded in gleaming all beauty, greatness and excellence in nature, and in finding the all-embracing unity in this variety, has already attained Godlikeness. If every man loved all men, each single man would possess the world."

Schiller was, of course, fully aware that the contemporary philosophy of egotism, represented especially by French

thinkers, stood in direct opposition to his sublime conception of love. Hence his strong avowal of his belief in the reality of unselfish love, a confession which contains the key to his own aspirations.

Egotism, he realizes with deep metaphysical intuition, leads to moral and social atomism, the frightful malady of our own time. A spirit, he warns us, who loves only himself, is a floating atom in an infinite empty space. Love, on the other hand, reaches its consummation in self-sacrifice of which he treats in the next section, entitled "Aufopferung."

A sacrifice made with the expectation of a future reward is after all egotism, though of the noblest kind, because it excludes the idea of love. With Lessing he holds that there must be a virtue that suffices without the belief in immortality and is ready to make the sacrifice even in the face of annihilation. "Egoismus und Liebe scheiden die Menschen in zwei höchst unähnliche Geschlechter, deren Grenzen nie ineinander fliessen. Egoismus errichtet seinen Mittelpunkt in sich selber, Liebe pflanzt ihn ausserhalb ihrer in die Achse des ewigen Ganzen. Liebe zielt nach Einheit. Egoismus ist Einsamkeit." Self-sacrifice as the most sublime manifestation of love finds its perfect embodiment in the genius who is ready to lay down his life, because he knows that the truth which he proclaims and which will benefit mankind for centuries to come, will be believed only if he seals it with his death. A man who has thus approached Godlikeness does not need the award of a future life.

The title 'Theosophie' which Schiller gave his philosophical creed finds its ultimate explanation in the last section of the treatise entitled God. If, as is asserted in the first section, the universe is an idea of God translated into reality, all perfections of the universe must exist collectively in God. God and nature are two magnitudes which are absolutely equal. The entire sum of harmonious activity existing in the divine entity appears as separated by infinite grades and measures in nature, the counterpart of this entity. Nature is—if the metaphor be permitted—the deity divided into infinitesimal parts.

"Wie sich im prismatischen Glase ein weisser Lichtstreif in sieben dunklere Strahlen spaltet, hat sich das göttliche Ich in zahllose empfindende Substanzen gebrochen. Wie sieben dunklere Strahlen in einen hellen Lichtstreifen wieder zusam-

menschmelzen, würde aus der Vereinigung aller dieser Substanzen ein göttliches Wesen hervorgehen. Die vorhandene Form des Naturgebändes ist das optische Glas und alle Tätigkeiten der Geister nur ein unendliches Farbenspiel jenes einfachen göttlichen Strahles. Gefiele es der Allmacht dereinst, dieses Prism zu zerschlagen, so stürzte der Damm zwischen ihr und der Welt ein, alle Geister würden in einem Unendlichen untergehen, alle Accorde in einer Harmonie in einanderfließen, all Bäche in einem Ocean aufhören.

Die Anziehung der Elemente brachte die körperliche Form der Natur zu Stande. Die Anziehung der Geister ins Unendliche vervielfältigt und fortgesetzt, müsste endlich zur Aufhebung jener Trennung führen, oder (darf ich es aussprechen, Raphael?) Gott *hervorbringen*. Eine solche Anziehung ist die Liebe."

Gott hervorbringen does not mean here to produce or to create God as if he had not existed before—an interpretation as ridiculous as absurd. What Schiller has in mind becomes clear from his previous discussion of love. If love is described there as the attractive power of all that is excellent, and as the only way to our inner enrichment and perfection, it is now designated as the scale upon which we ascend to Godlikeness. This ascension to Godlikeness corresponds vice versa to the diffraction of the divine Ego into numberless feeling substances caused by the same power of love:

Freundlos war der grosse Weltenmeister,  
Fühlte Mangel, darum schuf er Geister,  
Sel'ge Spiegel seiner Seligkeit.

With a bold stroke Schiller applies the law of gravitation, the discovery of which had caused an immense sensation, to the spiritual world, as he does also in several of his early poems, especially in the poem 'Freundschaft':

Sphären lehrt es, Sklaven eines Zaumes,  
Um das Herz des grossen Weltenraumes  
Labyrinthenbahnen ziehn;  
Geister in umarmenden Systemen  
Nach der grossen Geistersonne strömen,  
Wie zum Meere Bäche fliehn.

The significance of Schiller's sublime vision of how the single spirits, moved by the attraction of love, may unite with the

universal spirit, the ultimate source of all love and life—the significance of this vision for our own time with its discord, selfishness and hatred, I need not discuss.

That Schiller's "philosophical creed" showed the traces of youthful prematurity and the extravagance of his storm and stress period, and needed the correction of criticism its author himself felt. He found the best possible critic in his friend Körner, a profound student and admirer of Kant, who, under the fictitious name of Raphael, is the recipient of the *Philos. Briefe*, and the author of the third, as well as of the last and most important of the letters. Not a productive philosopher himself, Körner nevertheless had the deepest insight into the intellectual movements of his time, and soon recognized in Schiller one of the chosen leaders whom he felt himself obliged to win over to Kant's epochmaking critical idealism. Hence he dismisses Schiller's system, in which he sees but another form of antiquated philosophical dogmatism, as a sort of philosophical jugglery, adverts to the limitations of human knowledge and the necessity of a careful study of the theory of cognition, and finally reminds the poet that his mission lies in the exercise of his creative faculty.

Körner in his criticism overlooks, however, that it is not the physical but the moral universe which is the chief subject of Schiller's speculations; that the attainment of knowledge in the Kantian sense is not Schiller's purpose, and that there is a knowledge in which the heart has no less a share than the head.

Again it is Ueberweg among Schiller's critics who recognized, though somewhat reluctantly, the latter fact. He says: "Neben dem Lessing'schen und dem Kant'schen Typus des Philosophirens, stehen andere, die nicht minder echt sind. Darf nach Kopf und Herz unterschieden werden, so ist nicht zu leugnen, dass bei Schiller der Wahrheitsdrang mehr das letztere erfüllte, und in diesem Betracht käme er an die Lessing'sche Seite zu stehen; wenn aber doch der Schiller'sche Typus als ein vom Lessing'schen so sehr verschiedener erscheint, so ist dies darin begründet, dass der philos. Gedanke das Herz und Gemüt in mehr als einer Weise ergreifen kann, bald mehr in der Form suchender Sehnsucht, bald mehr in der Form gläubiger Befriedigung und Begeisterung. Blieb Lessing ein Suchender, so stand Schiller eine Zeitlang in der befriedigten Hingabe an

einen bestimmten Gedankeninhalt, doch nicht ohne zuvor durch den Zweifel hindurchgegangen zu sein, um später wiederum mit neu auftauchenden Zweifeln in den neuen Kampf einzugehen."

It is at this very point where it is possible to see how Schiller, despite his long and profound study of the Kantian system, to which Körner converted him, retained the basic character of his *Weltanschauung* as exhibited in the *Philosophische Briefe*. While Schiller recognized Kant's extraordinary achievement in the realm of abstract ideas by which he had established the priority of the mind to nature, he was aware that reality, the storehouse of the poet's imagination, was disregarded in this system. Nor could he be convinced that the intuitive powers of the genius should have less access to truth than was accorded to abstract thinking. Hence the emphasis which he places upon the sensibility, the *Empfindungsvermögen*. "Der Weg zum Kopf muss durch das Herz geöffnet werden. Ausbildung des *Empfindungsvermögens* ist darum das dringendere Bedürfnis der Zeit," he exclaims in the '*Aesthetische Briefe*.' He rejoices in the discovery of traces of feeling in Kant. "Wer den Verfasser nur als einen grossen Denker bewundern gelernt hat, wird sich freuen hier auf eine Spur seines Herzens zu stossen und sich durch seine Entdeckung von dieses Mannes hohem philosophischen Beruf (*welcher schlechterdings beide Eigenschaften verbunden fordert*) zu überzeugen."

The unity of thinking and feeling, of heart and head, which Schiller postulates in the period of his full maturity and which already guided him, though less consciously, when he wrote his *Theosophie*, finds its most concise expression in the distich "Schöne Individualität":

Einig sollst du zwar sein, doch eines nicht dem Ganzen,  
Durch die Vernunft bist du eins, einig mit ihm durch das Herz.  
Stimme des Ganzen ist deine Vernunft, dein Herz bist du selber;  
Wol dir, wenn die Vernunft immer im Herzen dir wohnt.

By making the distinction between *Eins* und *Einig*, he eliminates the submerging of the individual in God, which the attraction of the spirits in the *Theosophie* seems to suggest, and at the same time he reiterates his admonition at the close of the *Theosophie*: "Lasst uns Vortrefflichkeit einsehen, so wird sie unser" with the line: "Wol dir, wenn die Vernunft immer in Herzen dir wohnt." Still more pronounced appears the

required concord of thinking and feeling in the distich "Das eigene Ideal" which has for its subject the theme treated in the section entitled 'God' in the Theosophie:

Allen gehört was du denkst, dein eigen ist nur was du fühlst.  
Soll er dein Eigentum sein, *fühle* der Gott, den du *denkst*.

Schiller's procedure in approaching truth was so new that philosophers, accustomed to deal in abstractions only, found difficulty in following him. Thus Fichte, the representative of the strict 'system' in Philosophy, confesses: "wenn die Einheit, welche in Schillers Gefühl herrscht, in sein System kommt, was allein von ihm abhängt, ist von kleinem andern Kopfe so viel, ja von ihm schlechterdings eine neue Epoche zu erwarten." At the same time he complains that "Schiller's philos. Schriften darum so anstrengten und ermüdeten, dass sie die Einbildungskraft zwingen zu denken."

Few of Schiller's contemporaries had an understanding, such as W. von Humboldt had, of the psychological problem presented by the singular blend of the philosophical and poetic faculties in Schiller's genius. When Schiller, after several years of intensive philosophical study, returned to poetic activity Humboldt wrote to him: "Ich bin begierig zu sehen, wie Sie den Uebergang von der Metaphysik zur Poesie gemacht haben. Das wunderbare Phänomen, dass ihrem Kopfe beide Richtungen in einem so eminenten Grade eigentümlich sind, ist an sich leicht zu fassen und gibt bei genauer Untersuchung gewiss nicht geringe Aufschlüsse über die innere Verwandtschaft des dichterischen und des philosophischen Genies. Beide so verschiedene Richtungen entspringen aus *einer* Quelle in Ihnen, und das Charakteristische Ihres Geistes ist es gerade, dass er beide besitzt, aber auch schlechterdings nicht Eine allein besitzen könnte. Wo ich sonst etwas Aehnliches kenne, ist es der Dichter, der philosophirt oder der Philosoph, der dichtet. In Ihnen ist es schlechterdings Eins, darum ist aber freilich Ihre Poesie und Ihre Philosophie etwas anderes, als was man gewöhnlich antrifft. Man könnte sagen, dass in beiden mehr und eine höhere Wahrheit sei, als wofür man gewöhnlich Sinn hat. Was den Dichter und Philosophen sonst so gänzlich von einander trennt, der grosse Unterschied zwischen der Wahrheit der Wirklichkeit, der vollständigen Individualität und der Wahrheit der Idee, der einfachen Notwendigkeit: dieser Unter-

schied ist gleichsam für Sie aufgehoben, und ich kann es mir nicht anders als aus einer solchen Fülle der geistigen Kraft erklären, dass dieselbe vom Mangel an Wesenheit in der Wirklichkeit zur Idee und von der Armut der Idee zur Wirklichkeit zurückgetrieben wird."

It seemed indeed as if the two opposite poles of German idealism, the great exponents of which were Kant and Goethe, had reached the state of equilibrium in Schiller's personality, and this state of equilibrium was present in Schiller's later philosophical writings, as Humboldt also pointed out, no less than it was in his Theosophie.

Körner was right when he predicted that no other system would so deeply take root again in Schiller's soul as had the Theosophie, the system which satisfied the needs of the poet's heart. Nevertheless, Schiller plunged bravely into the study of Kant's philosophy, only to discover, however, that abstract thinking would not solve the problem which as a poet concerned him most of all. We possess of the time when, after he had fathomed the system of the great master, he returned to poetic productivity, three poems which give us a remarkable insight into his innermost experiences during his philosophical studies: 'Das verschleierte Bild von Sais,' 'Einem jungen Freunde als er sich dem Studium der Weltweisheit widmen wollte,' and 'Die Poesie des Lebens.' In the deeply symbolic 'Verschleierte Bild zu Sais' a young student of philosophy, thirsting for knowledge and defying the divine command and the cautionings of his conscience, lifts the veil that conceals the goddess of truth and pays for his bold deed by slowly dying with grief. In the second poem Schiller directly warns the novice against the serious dangers of philosophical knowledge and commends the twilight of childhood. The most significant of the three poems, however, is the third, the 'Poesie des Lebens.' In the introductory lines we again meet the uncompromising truthseeker, who, like the youth in the 'Verschleierte Bild' will be satisfied by nothing less than the sight of the absolute, the naked truth. Doubtless these lines express the thought with which Schiller bravely entered the study of the critical philosophy, while the rest of the poem reflects the feeling that overcame him during the critical operation, when he saw the rose-colored veil of dream fall from the pale face of life: a sort of inner petrification.

I consider it one of Schiller's greatest and most heroic deeds that, in the face of his own early death, he repudiated the nihilistic results to which abstract thinking had led him with inexorable force, and that he turned to the deeper and more comprehensive conception of truth of his youth. This he did by the penetrating inquiry into the nature and function of the illusion (Schein) contained in the 'Aesthetische Briefe' and later in the preface to the 'Braut von Messina.' "Die Menschheit hat ihre Würde verloren, aber die Kunst hat sie gerettet und aufbewahrt in bedeutenden Steinen; die Wahrheit lebt in der Täuschung fort, und aus dem Nachbild wird das Urbild wieder hergestellt werden," he says in the 'Aesthetische Briefe,' and in the preface to the 'Braut von Messina,' he elucidates this seemingly paradoxical assertion by the words: "Die wahre Kunst kann sich nicht bloss mit dem Schein der Wahrheit begnügen, auf der Wahrheit selbst, auf dem festen und tiefen Grunde der Natur errichtet sie ihr ideales Gebäude." And again: "Bloss der Kunst des Ideals ist es verliehen, oder vielmehr es ist ihr aufgegeben, diesen Geist des Alls (the ultimate source of nature and spirit) zu ergreifen und in einer körperlichen Form zu binden. Sie kann dadurch wahrer sein als alle Wirklichkeit und realer als alle Erfahrung."

Having learned by painful experience that the absolute, naked truth demanded by philosophy is not attainable to man and that the beautiful world of illusion, in the last analysis, is a reflection of the divine spirit he may well have recalled the passage "Gott" in the Theosophie, when he now wrote the significant lines:

Wohne, du ewiglich Eines, dort bei dem "ewiglich Einen"!  
Farbe, du wechselnde, komm freundlich zum Menschen herab.

It has as yet not been noticed that Schiller's Theosophie contains a number of passages whose content of thought show a striking resemblance to certain portions of Goethe's Faust, characterized by special philosophic profundity, a fact of which Schiller was, of course, unaware. Not only do we find Schiller's idea of 'Self-sacrifice' expressed in the significant lines:

Und was der ganzen Menschheit zugeteilt ist,  
Will ich in meinem Innern selbst geniessen,  
Mit meinem Geist das Höchste und Tiefste greifen,  
Ihr Wol und Weh auf meinen Busen häufen,  
Und so mein eigen Selbst zu ihrem Selbst erweitern—

not only are we reminded of Schiller's "Embracing of the whole of nature" in Faust's famous prayer to the Earth spirit, but, above all, do we feel the remarkable inner relationship of the two documents in the striving of the two extraordinary minds to wring from the deity its innermost secrets and to attain Godlikeness. If I may be permitted, therefore, to call, with all due reservations, the 'Theosophie' Schiller's Faust, I am not unmindful of the vital difference in the two productions and their authors. Faust-Goethe's wrestling with God is, in the last analysis, individualistic, if not egoistic, while Schiller, in the same supreme effort never loses sight of his fellowmen, in fact considers the attainment of the final goal of Godlikeness possible only in community with his fellowmen. What he wrote to Körner during the early days of their friendship remained the loadstar of his entire life: "Verbrüderung der Geister ist der unfehlbarste Schlüssel zur Wahrheit, einzeln können wir nichts." It is not through titanic defiance that the author of the 'Theosophie' strives to become like God, nor is it his aim "schaffend Götterleben zu geniessen" like Faust, but it is through love, die Anziehung der Geister, that he wishes to ascend to the deity.

Summing up the philosophical results of the Theosophie, he says: "Seid vollkommen, wie eurer Vater im Himmel vollkommen ist, sagt der Stifter unseres Glaubens. Die schwache Menschheit erblasste bei diesem Gebote, darum erklärte er sich deutlicher: liebet euch unter einander." Such all-embracing universal love presupposes, however, a belief in the innate greatness of the soul, that is one of the essential characteristics of Schiller as well as of German idealism since Klopstock.

No better proof for the fact that the lofty ethical character of Schiller's philosophy remained in its roots the same after the study of Kant, than the distich "Güte und Grösse."

Nur zwei Tugenden gibts. O wären sie immer vereinigt!  
Immer die Güte auch gross, immer die Grösse auch gut.

JULIUS GOEBEL

## THE REPUTATION OF THE 'METAPHYSICAL POETS' DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

### I

The opinions of later ages concerning the works of literary men who in their own times have achieved considerable popularity are always an interesting field of study, for they form a valuable index to the growth of taste and critical theory. A comparison of the attitudes of the earlier seventeenth century and of the Restoration towards the group of so-called 'Metaphysical Poets' (comprising, as its chief members, Donne, Cowley, Cleveland, Carew, Herbert, Crashaw, Vaughan, and Quarles<sup>1</sup>) will show how long traditional ideas will persist and how slowly, yet steadily, new ones will make their way. Investigation will also reveal that for virtually all readers and critics of the time except Dryden—and for him only dimly—a 'Metaphysical' school of poets did not exist, either by that name or by any other.<sup>2</sup> For this reason a study of the reputation of the Metaphysicals during the seventeenth century may naturally be broken up into a study of individuals rather than of a group, especially since the criticisms and allusions themselves were

<sup>1</sup> These are the poets who have been most frequently named as members of the group, altho certain of them are definitely excluded by some critics. Other poets, such as Lord Herbert of Cherbury and Henry King, might be added.

<sup>2</sup> Dryden of course was, unconsciously, responsible for originating the term, altho Samuel Johnson must assume the doubtful honor of popularizing it. See my article, 'The Term "Metaphysical Poets" before Johnson,' *M. L. N.*, XXX-VII (1922), 11-17.

The sources from which all seventeenth century poetry developed were themselves widely dispersed in both material and style; and altho critics with logical and systematic minds have distinguished three main groups of early seventeenth century poets, these three—the Classicists, the Spenserians, and the Metaphysicals—sprang from the same roots and their writings were frequently contaminated by one another. Medievalism, classicism, scholasticism, Petrarchism, concettism, Euphuism—all these and many others may be found at times and in varying degrees in almost any of the poets before the Restoration. Any classifying critic must therefore base his organization upon the stress and proportion of these various qualities in the 'schools' which he may distinguish. There was no definite genealogical tree which produced a family of Metaphysical poets.

more or less isolated and (again with the exception of Dryden and one or two others) were also usually made by persons with practically no critical principles or standards of judgment. As time advanced, a perception of certain common qualities in the work of these poets—qualities which to some extent warranted considering them as a body—increased, but the idea did not have much currency until the eighteenth century and after. The seventeenth century was still too near to get the necessary perspective.

## II

Before the Restoration, the history of Donne's reputation may be briefly condensed as follows: The first important expression of opinion is to be found in Ben Jonson's conversations with Drummond of Hawthornden (1618), in which the former went on record as esteeming Donne "the first poet in the world in some things," as asserting that "Done, for not keeping of accent, deserved hanging,"<sup>3</sup> and as stating that "Done, . . . for not being understood, would perish."<sup>4</sup> Next, Carew's elegy (1633), upon Donne, one of his masters (Jonson himself being the other), contains a sympathetic and very valuable account of what Carew thought Donne had tried to do for English poetry:

Thou hast . . . open'd Us a Mine  
Of rich and pregnant phansie, drawne a line  
Of masculine expression . . .  
But thou art gone, and thy strict lawes will be  
Too hard for Libertines in Poetry.  
They will repeale the goodly exil'd traine  
Of gods and goddesses, which in thy just raigne  
Were banish'd nobler Poems, now, with these  
The silenc'd tales o' th' Metamorphoses  
Shall stuffe their lines, and swell the windy Page,  
Till Verse refin'd by thee, in this last Age,  
Turn ballad rime, Or those old Idolls bee  
Ador'd againe, with new apostasie . . .<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> This passage, apparently the first registered criticism of Donne's versification, touches on a phase of his reputation which I have treated at some length in 'The Reputation of John Donne as Metrist,' *Sewanee Review*, XXX (1922), 1-12, and which I shall therefore omit here.

<sup>4</sup> See *Notes of Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden* (London, 1842), *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> See Grierson's ed. of Donne (Oxford, 1912), I, 378-80.

To Carew's mind, then, Donne was a reformer in both subject matter and style, as well as a conscious innovator in versification. Finally, the last important material on Donne before 1660 occurs in Walton's 'Life' (1640). Here, altho showing by his emphasis on Donne's religious career that Donne, like several more of the Metaphysicals, was known to many people for other reasons than his poetry, Walton singled out for prominent treatment his "sharp wit and high fancy" and "his choice metaphors," which show "that both nature and all the arts joined to assist him with their utmost skill."<sup>6</sup> These same 'conceits' thus stressed by Walton still compose the chief characteristic of the Metaphysical style to the superficial reader.<sup>7</sup>

The statement made above concerning the phases of Donne's reputation is borne out by the first of the Restoration biographical collections, Bishop Thomas Fuller's *Worthies* (1662), which failed entirely to mention Donne's poetry, altho styling him "one of excellent wit."<sup>8</sup> The only mention of Donne in Pepys, too, was concerned with his entering "into orders."<sup>9</sup>

John Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, written during the period 1669-96, altho displaying no literary or critical power, still mentioned Donne several times as a poet as well as the Dean of St. Paul's.<sup>10</sup> Edward Phillips, however, was more specific in his *Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum* (1675), where he combined the views of Jonson and Walton on Donne:

*John Donne . . . accomplished himself with the politer kind of Learning . . . ; and frequented good company, to which the sharpness of his wit, and gaiety of fancy, rendered him not a little grateful: in which state of life he composed his more brisk and youthful poems, which are rather commended for the height of fancy and acuteness of the conceit, than for the smoothness of the verse . . . . and as of an eminent poet he became a much more*

<sup>6</sup> Walton, *The Lives of Donne, Wotton, Hooker, Herbert, and Sanderson* (Boston and Cambridge, 1832), I, 78.

<sup>7</sup> Walton's *Lives* were of course very popular all thru the Restoration and were frequently reprinted. Walton also alluded to Donne in his *Complient Angler* (London, 1653; Facsimile, 1889), p. 184. Other pre-Restoration references to Donne may be found in Cowley's 1656 preface (Grosart's ed., Edinburgh, 1881), I, cxxviii, and in H. M[oseley's] 'To the Reader' (1659), in Suckling's *Works* (London and N. Y., 1910), p. 269.

<sup>8</sup> Fuller, *Hist. of the Worthies of Engl.* (London, 1860), II, 381-2.

<sup>9</sup> See entry for May 28, 1668, *Diary and Corres.* (London, 1882-3), III, 452.

<sup>10</sup> Aubrey, *Brief Lives, chiefly of Contemporaries* (Oxford, 1898), I, 59, 68, 307, 308, 313, 418; II, 14, 50, n. 4.

eminent Preacher, so he rather improved than relinquished his poetical fancy, only converting it from human and worldly to divine and heavenly subjects.<sup>11</sup>

The next of the biographers, William Winstanley, produced two hack compilations, *England's Worthies* (1684) and *The Lives of the Most Famous English Poets* (1687). In the first of these, all the space devoted to Donne's poetry in an eleven page life was one sentence taken from Walton, without acknowledgment; the account also mentioned Donne's prose work on suicide, *Biathanatos*.<sup>12</sup> In the second collection the passage was merely a mosaic based on Walton and Phillips, but in it Winstanley did manage to strike off the phrase, "This pleasant Poet, painful Preacher, and pious Person," and to quote from Donne's 'Hymn to God the Father'.<sup>13</sup>

Two other well-known biographical works containing material on the Metaphysicals appeared in the last decade of the century. Langbaine's *Dramatick Poets* (1691) held a reference to Donne's Latin verses on *Volpone*, but no criticism.<sup>14</sup> The *Athenae Oxonienses* (1691-2 ff.) and the *Fasti* assembled by the antiquarian Anthony à Wood also contained several references to Donne, but only one of even the slightest importance. In this, Wood told how Donne, "a person sometimes noted for his divinity, knowledge in several languages and other learning, . . . continued there [Lincoln's Inn] two years in exercising his poetical faculty." Altho Wood then went on

<sup>11</sup> Phillips, *Theat. Poet.* (Geneva, 1824), II, 2-3.

<sup>12</sup> Winstanley, *Worthies* (London, 1684), pp. 386-7.

<sup>13</sup> Winstanley, *Lives* (London, 1687), pp. 117-21. For other references about this time to Donne as preacher, poet, and wit, see the *Worthies*, pp. 371, 400; the 'Advertizement' to Oldham's *Works* (London, 1684), p. a2/b; Temple's 'Upon the Gardens of Epicurus' (1685), *Works* (Edinburgh, 1754), II, 214; and 'Preface' to second part of Waller's *Poems* (1690), in Fenton's ed. (London, 1744), p. 289. Sir Thomas Pope Blount quoted this passage (attributed to Atterbury), with others by earlier biographers of Donne, in his 'Characters and Censures,' *De Re Poetica* (London, 1694), pp. 67-69. Sir John Evelyn, in an undated letter to Lord Spencer, had mentioned Donne and Bacon as almost the only Englishmen to publish any "tolerable" familiar epistles, altho Evelyn's wife (May 21, 1668) had written that Donne "falls short in his letters of the praises some give him" (Evelyn's *Diary and Corres.*, London, 1881, III, 294; IV, 10). Evelyn also saw a medal of Donne among the ecclesiastics in the Earl of Clarendon's collection (*ib.*, Aug. 12, 1689, III, 301); on the other hand, Clarendon's medal of Cowley was placed among the poets.

<sup>14</sup> Langbaine, *Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (Oxford, 1691), pp. 297-8.

to give a rather complete account of Donne's writings in both verse and prose, he said nothing of critical value.<sup>15</sup> Again, however, the emphasis and proportion are typical of the Restoration estimate of Donne. The statements of nearly all of these biographers, moreover, must be considered of importance not so much because of the critical authority and principles of the writers themselves as because of the reading public they came from and also served. As Dr. Johnson said of Langbaine, Borrichius, and Rapin, it will not be easily imagined that they had accurately read all they criticized, but such performances are still useful since they commonly echo "the voice of fame and transmit the general suffrage of mankind when they have no particular motive to suppress it."<sup>16</sup>

One of the few writers to remember Donne's love poetry was William Walsh, whose attack on the verses of Donne, Cowley, Waller, and Suckling in his *Letters and Poems, Amorous and Gallant* (1692), provoked Charles Gildon's 'Essay at a Vindication of the Love-Verses of Cowley and Waller' (1694).<sup>17</sup> Walsh allowed Donne to have the most "copious fancy" possible and the greatest "reach of wit," but for some unknown reason could not imagine him, or any of the others, "to have been a very great lover."

For the general reader, then, the tradition of Donne's reputation as a poet with great wit and learning, but with much harshness, was continued thruout the seventeenth century. Few of these later readers, however, perceived much intensity of poetic feeling. Donne was also widely (perhaps more widely) known as a conspicuous figure in the church. But on the whole his influence and popularity were both constantly diminishing. These conclusions are borne out by his bibliography.<sup>18</sup> Donne's poems were practically all printed posthumously, altho a few scattering ones were brought out during his lifetime. Between 1633 and 1660 six editions of his com-

<sup>15</sup> Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* (London, 1813-20), II, 502-5.

<sup>16</sup> Johnson, *Rambler*, No. 93, Feb. 5, 1751.

<sup>17</sup> Walsh, 'Preface,' in Chalmers, *Works of the English Poets* (London, 1810), VIII, 404; Gildon, 'Vindication,' in Durham, *Crit. Essays of the XVIIIth Cent.* (New Haven, 1915), pp. 3-13. Gildon did not treat Donne.

<sup>18</sup> These and all following bibliographical data are based upon the catalogs of the British Museum, the *Term Catalogues*, the bibliographies in the *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.*, and the various modern editions of the individual poets.

plete poetical works appeared, in addition to two of his *Juvenilia*. On the other hand, only one complete edition appeared during the Restoration—in 1669. The satires, however, were brought out in 1662.<sup>19</sup>

Abraham Cowley was unquestionably the most popular of the poets here to be discussed, especially during the Restoration, altho Cleveland might perhaps dispute the position with him in the middle of the century. For this reason, and also on account of the peculiarities of his poetry, he deserves more complete treatment than can be accorded here.<sup>20</sup> It must suffice to sketch, in summary, the fortunes of the different classes of his work. The general references to this work, unattached to any particular class, were overwhelmingly appreciative during the Restoration. More specifically, the Latin poetry and Anacreontics were also always praised, as were, with a few exceptions, the Pindarics. The *Mistress* and some of the other lyrics, because of their over-abundant wit, were the first works to be attacked with much vigor, but even they found defenders. The epic  *Davideis*  was enjoyed and admired by most readers. The plays were not widely read, but were always mentioned favorably, and were acted at several different times. The essays and prose—remarkable to state—received little attention at first. By the end of the century, however, some general criticism had set in, centering, as in the case of Donne, upon wit and versification.

John Cleveland, like Cowley, was famous as a Loyalist as well as a poet. For instance, a letter of November 10, 1655, sending him from Newark to Yarmouth for trial after his capture, stated that "Mr. Cleveland is a person of great abilities, and so able to do the greater disservice."<sup>21</sup> Regarding his poetical attainments and style, no better one of his admirers can be summoned than Fuller, who eulogized them thus:

A general artist, pure Latinist, exquisite orator, and (which was his masterpiece) eminent poet. His epithets were pregnant with metaphors, carrying

<sup>19</sup> There were various editions of his sermons, miscellaneous prose, Walton's 'Life', etc., during both periods, but of these no account is taken here.

<sup>20</sup> For an extensive analysis of this topic, see my article on 'The Reputation of Abraham Cowley (1660-1800),' *P. M. L. A.*, XXXVIII (1923), 589-641.

<sup>21</sup> Thurloe, *State Papers* (London, 1742), IV, 184-5.

in them a difficult plainness, difficult at the hearing, plain at the considering thereof. His lofty fancy may seem to stride from the top of one mountain to the top of another, so making to itself a constant level and champaign of continued elevations.

Such who have *Clevelandized*, endeavouring to imitate his masculine style, could never go beyond the hermaphrodite, still betraying the weaker sex in their deficient conceits. Some distinguish between the vein and strain of poetry, making the former to flow with facility, the latter pressed with pains, and forced with industry. Master Cleveland's poems do partake of both, and are not to be less valued by the reader, because most studied by the writer thereof.<sup>22</sup>

This was the way in which a man like Fuller, who prided himself on his own wit, was spurred to emulation by the peculiar wit of Cleveland. But he apparently saw no relation between it and the wit of Donne, for instance, or of Cowley.

On the other side stood the much more discriminating class of critics like Andrew Marvell, who wrote his 'Loyal Scot. By Cleveland's Ghost' as a satire on the 'Rebel Scot,' one of Cleveland's own most noted satires. Elysium had had a most favorable and desirable effect on the poet:

Much had he cured the tumour of his vein,  
He judg'd more clearly now and saw more plain;  
For those soft airs had tempered every thought,  
Since of wise Lethe he had drunk a draught . . . .<sup>23</sup>

Evelyn, too, in a letter of June 20, 1665, concerning the improvement of the English tongue, used Cleveland's vocabulary as an instance of affectation and of expressions in vogue only in the university.<sup>24</sup> David Lloyd, author of two biographical collections, similarly asserted, but in commendation, that Cleveland owed "the heaving of his natural fancy, by choicest elegancies in Greek and Latin, more elegantly Englished, (an exercise he improved much by,) to Mr. Vines, there school-master."<sup>25</sup> Lloyd's account of Cleveland in his *State-Worthies* (1666) had been based almost entirely on Fuller,<sup>26</sup> but his account in the later *Memoirs* added even to Fuller:

<sup>22</sup> Fuller, *op. cit.*, II, 240-1.

<sup>23</sup> Marvell, *Poems* (London and N. Y., 1898), pp. 126-32.

<sup>24</sup> Evelyn, *op. cit.*, III, 161.

<sup>25</sup> Lloyd, *Memoirs of . . . Those . . . That Suffered . . . for the Protestant Religion* (London, 1668), p. 617; quoted by *New and General Biog. Dict.* (London, 1784), III, 468, [B].

<sup>26</sup> Lloyd, *State-Worthies* (London, 1766), II, 594 ff.

He was a general Artist, and a universal Scholar, that had the patience to squeeze all the proper Learning that had any coherence with it into each fancy, which ran like the soul it dwelled in in a minute, through the whole Circle both of Sciences and Languages, by the strength of an exercised memory that conned out of books all it read; Mr. Cleveland reckoned himself to know just as much as he remembered, his fancy in his elaborate Pieces of Poetry, wherein he excelled, summing whole books into a Metaphor, and whole Metaphors into an Epithete . . . .<sup>27</sup>

Again, in its stress on learning, thought, and figures, Lloyd's description of Cleveland's style has a Metaphysical application, but Lloyd, too, failed to relate Cleveland to any of his predecessors or contemporaries.

Edward Phillips, however, dared to raise a dissenting voice to such verdicts as Lloyd's, for he wrote ironically as follows:

*John Cleveland*, a notable high-soaring witty loyalist of Cambridge, whose verses in the time of the Civil War begun to be in great request both for their wit and zeal to the King's cause . . . . In fine, so great a man hath *Cleveland* been in the estimation of the generality, in regard his conceits were out of the common road, and wittily far-fetched, that grave men in outward appearance have not spared in my hearing to affirm him the best of English poets: and let them think so still, who ever please, provided it be made no article of faith.<sup>28</sup>

It was against irony of this kind—perhaps partly inspired by political animosity—that Bishop Lake and Samuel Drake, editors of *Clevelandi Vindiciae* (1677), directed their shafts, which contrasted the unfair treatment of Cleveland with that of Randolph and Cowley and charged jealousy to those who would not allow him the reputation of wit and fancy at all, because they could not equal him.<sup>29</sup>

Aubrey, in 1679-80, did not commit himself farther than to say that in college Cleveland "was more taken notice of for his being an eminent disputant, then a good poet".<sup>30</sup> Winstanley, however, followed the older tradition. He first exclaimed: "*Dons and Cleavelands Poems, how have they whipt and pedantized the other Locusts of Poetry?*" thus a true Diamond is to be esteemed above heaps of *Bristol-Stones*.<sup>31</sup> Then he went on

<sup>27</sup> *Memoirs*, p. 617; quoted by Berdan, ed. of Cleveland (N. Y., 1903), p. 55.

<sup>28</sup> Phillips, *op. cit.*, II, 26-27.

<sup>29</sup> Berdan, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

<sup>30</sup> Aubrey, *op. cit.*, I, 174.

<sup>31</sup> Winstanley, *Worthies*, p. a.

to describe "This eminent person, the Wit of our Age" by borrowing virtually all of his ideas from Fuller, and by ending his account with the verses of Edward Martin and of "Mr. A. B.," which praised Cleveland's satires and his "close-wrought sense."<sup>32</sup> In his second collection he expanded the same ideas and gave, for a "taste of the Loftiness of his stile," a passage from 'Smectymnuus.'<sup>33</sup>

In spite of some rather bitter attacks by the discriminating, Cleveland thus preserved much of his fame among the biographers thru the century. Indeed, Wood in 1691-2 called him the "most noted poet of his time" in describing his burial in 1658, and found no fault with the public verdict.<sup>34</sup> Cleveland's activities as a Royalist had recommended him to some people as a man of affairs, and condemned him with others of opposite sympathies. He was best known as a popular satirist. From the beginning of the Restoration, however, his intricate, twisted wit had established him with the better critics as a sort of proverb in bad poetry.

Bibliographical facts again follow the course of reputation. About twenty complete or partial editions of Cleveland had appeared before 1668,<sup>35</sup> the year of Bishop Sprat's edition and famous life of Cowley. After 1668, editions of Cleveland's works came out in 1677, 1687, and 1699; editions of the poems alone in 1669; and of single poems in 1694 and 1699.

The reputation of Thomas Carew, all of whose works reflected his courtier's training and career, underwent somewhat different modifications. In 1637 his fellow Cavalier, Suckling, had written thus in his 'Session of the Poets':

Tom Carew was next, but he had a fault  
That would not well stand with a laureat;  
His muse was hide-bound, and th'issue of's brain  
Was seldom brought forth but with trouble and pain.

All that were present there did agree,  
A laureat muse should be easy and free,

<sup>32</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 577-83. Other quotations from Cleveland may be found on pp. 425, 436-7, 463.

<sup>33</sup> *Lives*, pp. 172-9.

<sup>34</sup> Wood, *Ath. Oxon.*, III, 454. For other references, see III, 622; IV, 131.

<sup>35</sup> For a more extended discussion, see Berdan's ed., Appendixes C and D; also Saintsbury, *Minor Poets of Caroline Period* (Oxford, 1921), III, 6 ff.

Yet sure 'twas not that, but 'twas thought that, his grace  
Consider'd, he was well he had a cup-bearer's place.<sup>36</sup>

Suckling's doggerel here, however, did not represent later opinion—and probably only a part of contemporary opinion. Lord Herbert, speaking of events in 1619, but writing about 1643, made use of the common phrase to describe Carew: "that excellent wit, the King's Carver."<sup>37</sup>

Lord Clarendon, about 1668, produced a character sketch of the friend of his youth, Carew, which was approved by the verdict of many later writers. Carew, wrote Clarendon in part,

was a person of pleasant and facetious wit, and made many poems, (especially in the amorous way), which for the sharpness of the fancy, and the elegancy of the language in which that fancy was spread, were at least equal, if not superior to any of that time.<sup>38</sup>

It was the commendation of Edward Phillips, however, which was destined to be copied by many later writers. According to Phillips,

*Thomas Carew* . . . was reckoned among the chiefest of his time for delicacy of wit and poetic fancy; by the strength of which his extant Poems still maintain their fame amidst the curious of the present age.<sup>39</sup>

Winstanley, in 1686, reproduced the passage almost verbatim,<sup>40</sup> and Wood did the same thing, adding a few words about Carew's masque, *Coelum Britannicum*, to a conventional account of his life as a favorite courtier.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, Carew's verse was so highly esteemed by those who knew it (altho they were not many) that Phillips, in seeking a way to praise the "charming sweetness" of Edmund Waller, could do no more than say that Waller was "not inferior to *Carew* himself."<sup>42</sup> The publisher of Waller's poems in 1690, however, followed only halfheartedly in this path, asserting that Waller

<sup>36</sup> Suckling, *Works* (London and N. Y., 1910), pp. 10-11.

<sup>37</sup> Edward Herbert, of Cherbury, *Autobiography* (ed. S. Lee, London, 1866), pp. 190, 198. The original reads "Thomas Caage," but Lee conjectures "Carew" on the facts.

<sup>38</sup> Clarendon, *Life*, etc. (Oxford, 1827), I, 40-41; first publ., 1759.

<sup>39</sup> Phillips, *op. cit.*, II, 14.

<sup>40</sup> Winstanley, *Lives*, pp. 169-70.

<sup>41</sup> Wood, *Ath. Oxon.*, II, 657-8.

<sup>42</sup> Phillips, *op. cit.*, II, 31.

first polished the English tongue, but confessing that Suckling and Carew "wrote some few things smoothly enough: but . . . all they did in this kind was not very considerable."<sup>43</sup> Blount copied this passage in 1694.<sup>44</sup>

Aubrey did no more than to show a knowledge of Carew by quoting from him.<sup>45</sup> Langbaine, however, probably because Carew's masque-writing brought him into his field of dramatic history, apparently knew him well. He listed *Coelum Britannicum* in his *Momus Triumphans* (1688),<sup>46</sup> and three years later composed a life, which told how Carew's "several Poems, Songs, and Sonnets . . . are received with good Esteem by the Wits of this Age." He also printed Suckling's verses, but took their author to task for hasty judgment, and suggested substituting Davenant's stanzas in their place:

*Not but thy Verses are as smooth and high  
As Glory, Love, and Wine from Wit can raise;  
But now the Devil take such Destiny!  
What should commend them, turns to their dispraise.*

*Thy Wits chief Virtue, is become its Vice;  
For every Beauty thou hast rais'd so high,  
That now course Faces carry such a Price,  
As must undo a Lover that would buy.*<sup>47</sup>

Charles Gildon's continuation of Langbaine in 1699, finally, mentioned Carew's biography, poems, and masque, but gave no criticism.<sup>48</sup>

Carew thus achieved part of his reputation from his courtier's life and part from his masque; but, most of all, his cleverness of wit and his pleasant versification made him a favorite lyricist with the "curious." The relative smallness of this group, however, is attested by the fact that, altho three editions

<sup>43</sup> 'Pref.' to second part of Waller's *Poems*, ed. cit., p. 288.

<sup>44</sup> Blount, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-4.

<sup>45</sup> Aubrey, *op. cit.*, I, 34.

<sup>46</sup> Langbaine, *Momus Triumphans* (London, 1688), p. 4a.

<sup>47</sup> Langbaine, *Dram. Poets*, pp. 43-44. Other references to Carew may be found on pp. 108, 111, 314, 363, 414.

<sup>48</sup> Gildon, *Lives and Chars. of the Engl. Dram. Poets* (London, 1699), pp. 14-15. Gildon also wrote concerning Cowley (pp. 27-28) that "The works of this admirable Author are eminent enough to the Ingenious, so needless to be here characteriz'd." He also gave a short biographical and bibliographical sketch of Quarles (p. 114). Both men had written plays.

of Carew's works came out before 1660, only one came out during the Restoration—*Poems, Songs, and Sonnets; together with a Masque* (1671). But seemingly no critic, in spite of Carew's elegy on Donne, thought of associating one with the other as scholar and master.

Altho Nicholas Ferrar did not publish George Herbert's *Temple* until shortly after the latter's death in 1633, Herbert's reputation as a religious poet was ready and waiting for him. In 1634, for instance, a translator of Herbert's 'Church Militant' into Latin described his source as the "fountains" of "the illustrious Herbertain Muse."<sup>49</sup> It was the piety, however, which was always emphasized, rather than the poetry, or the style. Herbert's brother, Lord Herbert, indeed, said not one specific word about his brother as a poet, altho he mentioned his academic attainments, his position as public orator at Cambridge,<sup>50</sup> and his "English works"—"rare in their kind"—which were yet extant.<sup>51</sup> The chief attention, however, was devoted to his "most holy and exemplary" life. In the same way, Dean Barnabas Oley, in recommending Herbert's prose *Priest to the Temple* in 1671, pleaded earnestly that the "*Compleat Clergyman*" imitate "*The Holy Mr. George Herbert*" in every respect,<sup>52</sup> and in 1691-2 Wood wrote about "the pious Mr. George Herbert" and about the delight King Charles I took in reading his "*Divine Poems*."<sup>53</sup>

Herbert's name was mentioned more frequently than any other during the seventeenth century in connection with the rest of the Metaphysical poets—but not on account of any common Metaphysical characteristics. It was the spiritual and the divine, found in almost all writers of the age, which formed the bond between them. The two other chief Metaphysical religious poets, Crashaw and Vaughan, made direct

<sup>49</sup> James Leeke, letter to Sir John Cooke; quoted in Grosart's ed. of Herbert (London, 1874), II, xxiv.

<sup>50</sup> Many people seemingly knew Herbert for this reason alone; see John Hacket (d. 1670), *Scrinia Reserata: A Memorial . . . to . . . John Williams, D. D.* (London, 1693), p. 175; Plume, *Life of Bishop Hacket* (London, 1675), p. v., quoted in Grosart's Herbert, I, xliii-iv; Aubrey, *op. cit.*, I, 76; etc.

<sup>51</sup> Lord Herbert, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>52</sup> Oley, 'The Publisher to the Christian Reader,' in Herbert's *Priest to the Temple* (London, 1671).

<sup>53</sup> Wood, *Ath. Oxon.*, IV, 824; III, 99.

acknowledgment of Herbert's influence in this sphere. The writer of the anonymous 'Preface to the Reader' in Crashaw's *Steps to the Temple* (1648) introduced his theory of the proper function of poetry by exclaiming: "*Here's Herbert's second, but equal, who hath retriev'd Poetry of late, and return'd it up to its Primitive use; Let it bound back to Heavens Gates, whence it came.*"<sup>54</sup> Vaughan, too, in his own preface to *Silex Scintillans* (1654), after speaking of the purity and piety of true poetry in contrast to most of that which was being written, went on:

The first, that with any effectual success attempted a *diversion* of this foul and overflowing *stream*, was the blessed man, Mr. *George Herbert*, whose holy *life* and *verse* gained many pious *Converts*, (of whom I am the least) and gave the first check to a most flourishing and admired *wit* of his time.<sup>55</sup>

In a commendatory poem of 1652, the minor poet Pestil contrasted the "prince of wits, illustrious *Dunne*, Who rapt earth round with Love, and was its sun" with the "inter-tissu'd *Wit* and *Holiness*" in the loves of Herbert and Sandys.<sup>56</sup> Fuller, too, ten years later, emphasized Herbert's piety, making only one comment on his poetry: "But his 'Church' (that inimitable piece of poetry) may out-last this in structure."<sup>57</sup>

Isaac Walton and his friends, however, perhaps give the best single body of such opinion. In his first 'Life', that of Donne, Walton had already indicated his later line of treatment, in alluding to Donne's friend, "that man of primitive piety, Mr. George Herbert," and his book.<sup>57</sup> Walton developed this idea in his life of Herbert in 1670, telling how when at college Herbert resolved that his "poor abilities in poetry shall be all and ever consecrated to God's glory," and how, of that

<sup>54</sup> 'Pref.,' *Steps to the Temple* (London, 1670), n.p.

<sup>55</sup> Vaughan, in *Silex Scintillans* (Oxford, 1914), p. 391. This and the foregoing seem to be two of the earliest statements of the superiority of divine over secular poetry. They precede even Cowley's claim, in explanation of his  *Davideis* in 1656, to be the first to choose such a subject (as, for an epic writer, he apparently was). The most widely known statements of the doctrine, however, were not made until the appearance of Blackmore's poems on Arthur (1695 and 1697), Dennis's *Grounds of Criticism in Poetry* (1704), Isaac Watts's *Poems* in 1712, and Addison's *Spectator*, No. 453 (1712). See also R. S. Crane, 'John Husbands,' *M. L. N.*, XXXVII (1922), 28-29.

<sup>56</sup> Pestil, in Saintsbury, *op. cit.*, I, 328.

<sup>57</sup> Fuller, *op. cit.*, III, 550.

<sup>57</sup> Walton, *Lives*, I, 82.

"excellent book," the *Temple*, "there have been more than twenty thousand . . . sold since the first impression."<sup>58</sup> Dean Duport, of Peterborough, who, as Walton tells us,<sup>59</sup> collected and printed many of Herbert's early verses, described the combination of "the wit and the divine in Donne" and of "the poet and the priest, In Herbert's sainted form."<sup>60</sup> Dr. Samuel Woodford wondered what might have been done by Herbert with David's harp, now unfortunately translated to the skies—"Herbert, who did its chords distinctly know, More perfectly than any child of verse below."<sup>61</sup> Finally, Charles Cotton praised Walton's work, speaking of "reverend Donne," "the whole world's beloved Donne," and "soft Herbert," who, "with a soul composed of harmonies, Like a sweet swan, he warbles as he dies His Maker's praise, and his own obsequies."<sup>62</sup>

And so it continued with only a slight diminishment up to the end of the century. Herbert's admirers and imitators were almost legion. Among them may be placed Dr. Bryan, whose *Dwelling with God* appeared in 1670;<sup>63</sup> Samuel Speed, whose 'Prison Piety' was dated 1677;<sup>64</sup> "I. B.," who in 1681 attempted to change many of the poems to fit the meter of the psalm tunes;<sup>65</sup> Archbishop Leighton (d.1684), whose works contain many reminiscences of Herbert, and whose copy of Herbert is well annotated;<sup>66</sup> and John Dunton, the first of whose many quotations from Herbert, and especially from 'The Church Porch,' was made in 1699.<sup>67</sup> Dunton was also very possibly the author of a recommendation of good religious reading for a young lady; this recommendation appeared in his *Athenian Mercury* for October 4, 1693, and included "*David's Psalms, Sandys' and Woodford's Versions, Lloyd's Canticles, Cowley's*

<sup>58</sup> *Ib.*, II, 149, 211, etc.

<sup>59</sup> *Ib.*, II, 155.

<sup>60</sup> Quoted in A. Young's 'Live of Walton,' *Lives*, I, xxxi-ii. .

<sup>61</sup> Woodford, *ib.*, II, 131.

<sup>62</sup> Cotton, *ib.*, I, 10-13.

<sup>63</sup> Bryan, described by Crosart in his ed. of Herbert, II, cxii.

<sup>64</sup> Speed, *ib.*, II, lxvi-viii.

<sup>65</sup> "I. B.," mss.; described by Crosart, II, xxv-vi.

<sup>66</sup> Leighton, *ib.*, II, cxxxii-vii.

<sup>67</sup> Dunton, 'Conversation in Ireland,' *Life and Errors* (London, 1705), II,

Davideis, *Sir J. Davis's Nosce Teipsum*, *Herbert's* and *Crashaw's* Poems, *Milton's* Paradises, and (if you have Patience) *Wesley's* Life of Christ."

Very few readers, however, paid any critical attention to Herbert's style, or if they did they used the term 'wit' in its broadest and loosest senses. Edward Phillips, it is true, characterized Herbert's wit as "florid," but he did not explain his epithet, quickly passing on to his author's career and his "so generally known and approved poems, entitled *The Temple*."<sup>68</sup> Winstanley, as usual, copied the passage.<sup>69</sup> Richard Baxter, in 1681, summed up the religious attitude of a very large section of the Restoration public when he defended his preference of Herbert to Cowley thus:

But I must confess, after all, that, next the Scripture Poems, there are none so savoury to me as Mr. GEORGE HERBERT'S. I know that Cowley and others far excel HERBERT in wit and accurate composure; but . . . HERBERT speaks to God like a man that really believeth in God, and whose business in the world is most with God: heart-work and heaven-work make up his book.<sup>70</sup>

Among a group famed for their piety, then, Herbert stood out as the chief, both in his life and in his writings. His life, in fact, many times overshadowed his writings, and was sometimes instrumental in recommending his prose to notice. In his poetry, most readers perceived nothing but his devotion; two or three others, however, discovered his "florid" wit without voicing any decided objection to it. There can, indeed, be no dispute about Herbert's popularity. An "eighth" edition of *The Temple* was published in 1660 (altho two issues of a "seventh" had appeared about 1656), and others followed in 1667, 1674, 1679, and 1695. A collection of *Select Hymns* was also based on these in 1697.

Herbert's self-styled disciple, Crashaw, was far less widely known. To some people he merely represented apostasy from the Church of England. Dr. John Bargrave, however, wrote a short, but sympathetic, account of Crashaw's conversion and treatment at Rome.<sup>71</sup> Prynne, on the other hand, let his

<sup>68</sup> Phillips, *op. cit.*, II, 24-25.

<sup>69</sup> Winstanley, *Lives*, pp. 160-1.

<sup>70</sup> Baxter, 'Pref.' to *Poetical Fragments*; quoted by Grosart, II, cx.

<sup>71</sup> Bargrave, *Pope Alex. the Seventh and the College of Cardinals* (Camden Soc., 1867), p. 37.

hatred of Crashaw as a renegade color his critical as well as his moral and theological views, for in 1653 he made "the poor small poet Crashaw" out to be a sycophant, now "conversing with himself in verse, and admiring the birth of his own braine," and railing "satirically and bitterly at true religion in verse . . . ." <sup>72</sup>

It was always Crashaw the religious poet who was admired or blamed (altho usually the blame was represented merely by silence); his secular works were seldom mentioned. Clement Barksdale, in 1651, had drawn his own inspiration from Herbert and Crashaw:

When unto Herbert's Temple I ascend  
By Crashaw's Steps, I do resolve to mend  
My lighter verse, and my low notes to raise,  
And in high accent sing my Maker's praise. <sup>73</sup>

Phillips briefly called Crashaw "a devout pourer forth of his divine raptures and meditations, in smooth and pathetic verse," and listed the three parts of his poems, *Steps to the Temple*, *The Delights of the Muses*, and *Carmen Deo Nostro*. <sup>74</sup> Winstanley in 1684 incidentally described Crashaw as "the second *Herbert* of our late Times," <sup>75</sup> and in 1686 stole once more from Phillips. The poems of this "devout Poet, the Darling of the *Muses*," he went on,

consist of three parts the first entituled, *Steps to the Temple*, being for the most part Epigrams upon several passages of the New Testament, charming the ear with a holy Rapture. The Second part, *The delights of the Muses*, or Poems upon several occasions, both English and Latin; such rich pregnant Fancies as shewed his Breast to be filled with *Phoebean* Fire. The third and last part *Carmen Deo nostro*, being hymns and other sacred Poems . . . , all of which bespeak him,

The learned Author of Immortal Strains. <sup>76</sup>

Wood's account, lastly, is somewhat more interesting than usual. After telling how Crashaw had been befriended by Cowley,

<sup>72</sup> Pryne, *Legenda Lignea*, p. cxxxviii; quoted by Grosart in his ed. of Crashaw (London, 1872 3), II, l-li.

<sup>73</sup> Barksdale, 'Nympha Libethris'; quoted by Grosart, II, lxxv.

<sup>74</sup> Phillips, *op. cit.*, II, 23-24.

<sup>75</sup> Winstanley, *Worthies*, p. 373.

<sup>76</sup> Winstanley, *Lives*, pp. 161-2.

Wood gave the following pretty narration of the former's poetry:

Before he left England he wrote certain poems, which were entit. *Steps to the Temple*, because in the temple of God, under his wing, he led his life, in St. Mary's church near to Peter house before-mention'd. . . . like a primitive saint, he offer'd more prayers in the night, than others usually offer in the day . . . . To the said *Steps* are joined other poems entit. *The Delights of the Muses*, wherein are several Latin poems; which tho' of a more humane mixture, yet they are sweet, as they are innocent. He hath also written *Carmen Deo nostro*, being hymns and other sacred poems, addressed to the countess of Denbigh.<sup>77</sup>

To summarize—to some Anglican readers Crashaw was thus notorious because of his conversion to Roman Catholicism. He was not so widely known as Herbert, altho often linked with him, but was usually praised for his religious fervor, his wit, and his smoothness. The decrease in public interest is again manifest in editions put forth. The Latin Epigrams, etc., appeared in 1634, 1670, and 1682; the poems in 1646, 1648, 1652, and 1670. The break during the Restoration speaks for itself.

The history of Vaughan's reputation during this period is even shorter than that of Carew's. Most of it, indeed, is contained in commendatory poems placed before his works by his admirers in the circle of 'Orinda.' Dr. Thomas Powell (d. 1660) praised Vaughan as

a young  
Tyrtaeus too, whose sweet persuasive Song  
Can lead our *Spirits* any way, and move  
To all *Adventures*: either *War* or *Love* . . . .<sup>78</sup>

'Orinda' herself (d. 1664) wrote a long poem in couplets 'To Mr. Henry Vaughan the Silurist,' which first flattered his *Amoret*,

Where thou the best of Unions dost dispense  
Truth cloath'd in Wit, and Love in Innocence . . . ,

but then went on to state that it was his "sacred Muse" which "we admire almost t'Idolatrie."<sup>79</sup> Other eulogies prefixed to *Thalia Rediviva* (1678) were by "N. W. Jes. Coll. Oxon.,"

<sup>77</sup> Wood, *Fasti*, in *Ath. Oxon.*, IV, 5.

<sup>78</sup> Powell, in Vaughan's *Works* (ed. cit.), II, 598.

<sup>79</sup> Mrs. K. Phillips, *ib.*, II, 597-8.

which spoke of the "vast America" of Vaughan's wit, and by "I. W.," with many allusions and comparisons, but considerable vagueness.<sup>80</sup>

Outside of these friendly glorifications, Vaughan seems to have been practically passed over even in his own day (he died in 1695). Aubrey wrote: "There are two Vaughans, twinnes, both very ingeniose and writers. One writt a poeme called *Olor Iscanus* (Henry Vaughan, the first-borne), and another book of Divine Meditations."<sup>81</sup> Phillips simply itemized "Henry Vaughan, sirnamed *Silurist* . . . ; the author of certain English poems, which came forth, anno 1658, under the title of *Olor Iscanus*."<sup>82</sup> Wood mentioned Vaughan several times, usually as either "the Silurist" or "*Olor Iscanus*."<sup>83</sup> Finally, he left the most complete extant account in his notes, which were published in 1721: "Henry Vaughan, called the *Silurist*, . . . followed the pleasant paths of poetry and philology, became noted for his ingenuity, and published several specimens thereof, of which his *Olor Iscanus* was most valued." After concluding Vaughan's biography, Wood then listed most of his works, verse and prose.<sup>84</sup>

Vaughan's following is likewise illustrated by the paucity of editions. His poems were collected in 1678 by his friends, in spite of the practical failure of his earlier volumes, and were published as *Thalia Rediviva*. The *Olor Iscanus*, however, seems to have been reprinted in 1679. That is about all that is heard of Vaughan until the end of the next century.

Francis Quarles is included in this group both because his highly popular religious verse frequently contained Metaphysical characteristics, and also because his very well-known 'shaped' verses and emblems represent another phase of the Metaphysical tendency to seek 'similarity in difference' in the most unexpected and surprising ways.<sup>85</sup> Again, however,

<sup>80</sup> *Ib.*, II, 599-600, 600-2.

<sup>81</sup> Aubrey, *op. cit.*, II, 268-9.

<sup>82</sup> Phillips, *op. cit.*, II, 30.

<sup>83</sup> Wood, *Ath. Oxon.*, III, 70, 508, 1066; IV, 62, 714.

<sup>84</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 425-6.

<sup>85</sup> Herbert laid himself open to attack on the same score, and received some of it in the next century. One of the few passages during the seventeenth century which might be construed as referring to Herbert as a writer of 'shaped'

a simple summary must suffice.<sup>86</sup> Quarles produced prolifically all thru his life, and his work continued to sell in the same proportion until long after his death, in the face of strongly ironical criticism by Phillips and others. His name, however, like that of Cleveland, soon became a synonym for bad poetry to the literati, but, as Phillips put it, he himself persisted in remaining "the darling of our plebeian judgments" until almost the end of the century.<sup>87</sup> As Pomfret said in 1699, "To please every one, would be a new thing; and to write so as to please nobody, would be as new: for even Quarles and Withers have their admirers."<sup>88</sup>

In general, then, it may be said that the poets now called 'Metaphysical' were still well-known during the Restoration, but that they had critics as well as admirers. Practically none of the readers considered so far, either critical or admiring, were, however, conscious of such a thing as a 'Metaphysical' school or taste as something different from other schools or tastes. The reason is that these readers still shared this taste. The only important exception to the generalization is Dryden.

### III

The name of Dryden has been consciously excluded from the foregoing discussion, for it is possible, by following the development of his criticisms and allusions alone, to trace the slowly growing reaction of the age to Metaphysical poetry and at the same time to see with what hesitation even he advanced the new ideas. Dryden represents much more precisely than the contemporary biographers and minor writers the true spirit of the period in its strivings to reach logical and safe conclusions and in its waverings on the road; for he usually did not simply

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verses is that in Hobbes's 'Answer to Davenant' (1650), in which Hobbes sneers at the "needlesse difficulty" of the man who "contrived Verses into the formes of an Organ, a Hatchet, an Egg, an Altar, and a paire of Wings" (Spingarn, *Crit. Essays of Seventeenth Cent.*, Oxford, 1908, II, 57). In *Underwoods*, No. 62, however, Ben Jonson had attacked the same practice, which came from the minor Greeks.

<sup>86</sup> For a more complete treatment of Quarles's reputation during the Restoration and after, see my article on 'The Literary Legend of Francis Quarles,' in *Mod. Phil.*, XX (1923).

<sup>87</sup> Phillips, *op. cit.*, II, 25-26.

<sup>88</sup> Pomfret, in Chalmers, VIII, 305.

like or dislike, but he did his best to find a reason for what he liked or disliked. Moreover, Dryden was responsible for yoking Cowley with Donne as another writer who "affects the metaphysics," and so became involuntarily the christener of a 'school' whose existence he only vaguely realized. It must be remembered, too, that much of Dryden's own early work, such as the 'Stanzas on Cromwell,' was greatly influenced by the style of the Metaphysicals.

Certain of the Metaphysicals, however, Dryden apparently did not know at all, or at least he did not comment on them. These poets were Carew, and the religious writers, Crashaw, Vaughan, and, probably, Herbert. His only reference to Herbert is merely an inferential one in *Mac Flecknoe* (1682), where he advised Shadwell to settle in "acrostic land," in which he might "wings display and altars raise, And torture one poor word ten thousand ways."<sup>89</sup> Whether or not Dryden had Herbert's 'shaped' verses of 'Easter Wings' and 'The Altar' in mind, it is at least certain that he committed himself against all such artificial devices, whether handled by Herbert or Quarles or Shadwell.

Quarles he seems to have mentioned only once—slightly, in 1697: "Rhyme is certainly a constraint even to the best poets, and those who make it with most ease; though perhaps I have as little reason to complain of that hardship as any man, excepting Quarles and Withers."<sup>90</sup>

It is in connection with the remainder of the Metaphysicals, however, that Dryden's ideas are really valuable. One man in whose defense he from the beginning could say nothing, was Cleveland. In the essay on 'Dramatic Poesy' (1668), he had defined the style of an unnamed bad poet as depending often on "a catachresis or Clevelandism, wresting and torturing a word into another meaning." Later in the same essay he expanded the same idea, comparing Cleveland's satires with Donne's to the former's great discomfiture:

The not observing this rule [obtruding a new word on one's readers] is that which the world has blamed in our satyrst, Cleveland: to express a thing hard and unnaturally, is his new way of elocution. 'Tis true, no poet but may sometimes use a catachresis: Virgil does it—. . . But to do this always, and

<sup>89</sup> Dryden, *Poet. Works* (Boston and N. Y., 1908), p. 137.

<sup>90</sup> Dryden, 'Ded. of *Aeneis*,' *Dram. Essays* (ed. Ker, Oxford, 1900), II, 220-1.

never be able to write a line without it, though it may be admired by some few pedants, will not pass upon those who know that wit is best conveyed to us in the most easy language; and is most to be admired when a great thought comes dressed in words so commonly received, that it is understood by the meanest apprehensions . . . : but we cannot read a verse of Cleveland's without making a face at it, as if every word were a pill to swallow: he gives us many times a hard nut to break our teeth, without a kernel for our pains. So that there is this difference betwixt his *Satires* and doctor Donne's; that the one gives us deep thoughts in common language, though rough cadence; the other gives us common thoughts in abstruse words . . . .<sup>91</sup>

The comparison with Donne indicates that Dryden at least detected a superficial similarity in their style, altho he did not press the point.

In the same essay, in comparing modern and ancient epic and lyric writers, Dryden characterized three of the chief contemporary poets: ". . . nothing so even, sweet, and flowing as Mr. Waller; nothing so majestic, so correct, as Sir John Denham; nothing so elevated, so copious, and full of spirit as Mr. Cowley. . . ."<sup>92</sup> In this early opinion on Cowley, Dryden omitted the important quality of wit, but in 1671 he reverted to the subject, quoting Cowley ("who had a greater portion of it than any man I know") on superfluity of wit, and citing Fletcher, Shakespeare, and Ovid as "predecessors" who had indulged in such a waste.<sup>93</sup> In 1672, he stated that Cowley's authority was "almost sacred" to him,<sup>94</sup> and in 1676 spoke of his "better master Cowley."<sup>95</sup> In 1677 he betrayed the attack which some were making on Cowley's odes and  *Davideis*  by defending them and their images and their "so excellent" author,<sup>96</sup> and in 1680 he wrote at length concerning Cowley's method of translating from foreign languages by "imitation": "A genius so elevated and unconfined as Mr. Cowley's was but necessary to make Pindar speak English. . . ."<sup>97</sup> In 1683, he wrote in a begging letter to Rochester that "'Tis enough for one age to have neglected Mr. Cowley and sterv'd Mr. Butler."<sup>98</sup>

<sup>91</sup> *Ib.*, I, 31, 52.

<sup>92</sup> *Ib.*, I, 35.

<sup>93</sup> 'Pref.' to *An Evening's Love*, *ib.*, I, 139-40.

<sup>94</sup> 'Of Heroic Plays,' *ib.*, I, 154.

<sup>95</sup> 'Ded. to *Aurengzebe*,' *Works* (ed. Scott and Saintsbury), V, 194.

<sup>96</sup> 'Heroic Poetry and Poetic Licence,' *Dram. Essays*, I, 184-8.

<sup>97</sup> 'Pref.' to transl. of Ovid's *Epistles*, *ib.*, I, 239-40.

<sup>98</sup> Letter to Rochester, *Works*, XVIII, 104.

In 1685 he again analyzed the Pindarics of "our admired Cowley," pointing out that "somewhat of a finer turn and more lyrical verse, is yet wanting," but still maintaining that "As for the soul of it, which consists in the warmth and vigour of fancy, the masterly figures, and the copiousness of imagination, he has excelled all others in this kind."<sup>99</sup>

Dryden's most important ideas, however, were not expressed until the last decade of the century, when signs of a reaction against all the members of the group, usually as individuals, but sometimes in pairs, were showing themselves in many quarters. The year before penning his influential passage about Donne and "metaphysics," Dryden had styled Donne "the greatest wit, tho' not the greatest poet of our nation."<sup>100</sup> In the fulsome praise of his dedication to Dorset the next year, he continued:

Donne alone, of all our countrymen, had your talent; but was not happy enough to arrive at your versification; and were he translated into numbers, and English, he would yet be wanting in the dignity of expression . . . You equal Donne in the variety, multiplicity, and choice of thoughts; you excel him in the manner and the words. I read you both with the same admiration, but not with the same delight. He affects the metaphysics, not only in his satires, but in his amorous verses, where nature only should reign . . . <sup>101</sup>

Farther on in the same essay, he spoke of the influence of Horace on Donne, and ended by saying, "I may safely say it of this present age, that if we are not so great wits as Donne, yet certainly we are better poets."<sup>102</sup> Nevertheless, even here to a perspicacious reader Dryden's critical spirit cannot entirely conceal his admiration for Donne. New ideas of 'nature,' 'wit,' and 'smoothness' were making their way; and Dryden was in the vanguard of the new movement—Donne's style was out of fashion.

Included in this same condemnation was Cowley, who "copied [Donne] to a fault" in his "speculations of philosophy"—"so great a one, in my opinion, that it throws his *Mistress*

<sup>99</sup> 'Pref.' to *Sylva*, *Dram. Essays*, I, 263, 267. On p. 269 he adds: "What I have said is the general opinion of the best judges, and in a manner has been forced from me, by seeing a noble sort of poetry so happily restored by one man, and so grossly copied by almost all the rest."

<sup>100</sup> 'Ded. of *Eleanora*,' *Poet. Works*, p. 270.

<sup>101</sup> 'Original and Progress of Satire,' *Dram. Essays*, II, 19.

<sup>102</sup> *Ib.*, p. 102.

infinitely below his Pindarics and latter compositions, which are undoubtedly the best of his poems, and the most correct."<sup>103</sup> Thus Dryden even at this time did not go so far as Mulgrave had gone in 1682, in his exposition of the ode:

Cowley might boast to have perform'd this part,  
Had he with Nature joyn'd the rules of Art;  
But ill expression gives too great Allay  
To that rich Fancy which can ne're decay.<sup>104</sup>

In no case, however, did a writer blame Cowley without modifying his opinion in some way; and generally each man had his own modification, which differed from that of the others. The Restoration period was certainly not at unity with itself.

In Dryden's same essay also occurred one of his two most famous passages on Cowley, wherein he described his own conversion from the "puerilities" and the "points of wit" in "the darling of my youth, the famous Cowley," caused by a conversation "about twenty years ago" "with that noble wit of Scotland, Sir George Mackenzie."<sup>105</sup> Yet even this criticism may be discounted considerably when one recalls the various comments Dryden had made on Cowley within those twenty years, and the ones he was still to make. Indeed, in the next year, replying to a letter from John Dennis, which told how the latter had deserted Suckling, Cowley, Denham, and Waller for Dryden himself,<sup>106</sup> he again spoke of the introduction of the Pindaric by "our famous Mr. Cowley," but suggested that Dennis try to perfect it and give it its proper regular form.<sup>107</sup> Indeed, as late as 1697 Dryden insisted that "'tis the utmost of my ambition to be thought" the "equal" of Denham, Waller, and Cowley in translation, or not to be much "inferior" to them.<sup>108</sup> As late as 1700, the year of his death, Dryden modestly stated that he dared "not advance his opinion [of Chaucer]

<sup>103</sup> *Ib.*, p. 19.

<sup>104</sup> Mulgrave, 'Essay upon Poetry,' in Spingarn, II, 289.

<sup>105</sup> Dryden, *op. cit.*, II, 108-9. Mackenzie, too (d. 1691), had mentioned his own reading of Cowley and "*Don*, into whose Mysteries Few pry" ('*Caelia's Country-House and Closet*,' *Works*, Edin., 1716, I, 17).

<sup>106</sup> Dennis, Mar. 3, 1694, Dryden's *Works*, XVIII, 113-14.

<sup>107</sup> Dryden to Dennis, *ib.*, XVIII, 117-18. For a further discussion of the form of Cowley's Pindarics, see my note, 'The Relation of Cowley's "Pindarics" to Pindar's Odes,' in *Mod. Phil.*, XIX (1921), 107-9.

<sup>108</sup> 'Ded.' of the *Aeneis*, *Dram. Essays*, II, 222.

against so great an author" as Cowley.<sup>109</sup> And clearly, even on Dryden's death, his contemporaries did not feel that there was anything incompatible in associating his name with Cowley's. For example, Alexander Oldys in 1700 pictured Dryden as being welcomed in heaven by

our English Abraham,  
(In heaven the second of that name,  
Cowley, as glorious there as sacred here in fame) . . .

and went on to compare Dryden's ability with that of preceding poets, among whom were two other Metaphysicals:

Herbert nor Crashaw, though on earth divine,  
So sweetly could their numbers join!<sup>110</sup>

The last opinion which Dryden expressed concerning any of the Metaphysicals came in 1700. Altho, without much doubt, Dryden had Cowley in mind when he wrote, nevertheless the fact that no names are used will justify the student in applying the criticism in general to all the writers in this style of poetry:

One of our late great poets is sunk in his reputation, because he could never forgive any conceit which came in his way; but swept like a drag-net, great and small . . . All this proceeded not from any want of knowledge, but of judgment. Neither did he want that in discerning the beauties and faults of other poets, but only indulged himself in the luxury of writing; and perhaps knew it was a fault, but hoped the reader would not find it. For this reason, though he must always be thought a great poet, he is no longer esteemed a good writer . . . ; for, as my last Lord Rochester said, though somewhat profanely, *Not being of God, he could not stand*.<sup>111</sup>

#### IV

And is not this distinction between a "great poet" and a "good writer," with the preference given to the "good writer," typical of much of the Neo-Classical attitude toward literature?

<sup>109</sup> 'Pref.' to *Fables, ib.*, II, 264-5.

<sup>110</sup> Oldys, Dryden's *Works*, XVIII, 249, 251.

<sup>111</sup> 'Pref.' to *Fables, Dram. Essays*, II, 258. With this criticism it is interesting to compare the following words of Cowley himself in the notes to stanza 6 of his Pindaric ode to Hobbes. Cowley has used the conceit of fire and snow existing together on Mount Aetna, in imitation of Claudian: "Where, methinks, is somewhat of that which *Seneca* objects to *Ovid*, *Nesciuit quod bene cessit relinquere*. When he met with a Fancy that pleas'd him, he would not find in his heart to quit, or ever have done with it."

To be sure, Dryden was far from representing the entire Restoration public,<sup>113</sup> but he did at least embody the best in the 'new movement'; and it was not until the end of the next century that the emphasis began to swing back generally to the "great poet," and that the Metaphysicals returned to much public favor.

The reason for the seventeenth century reaction lies in the development of new and fresh poetical tastes, based on new conceptions of style, wit, etc. So long as the terms 'wit' and 'conceit' connoted primarily 'intellect' and 'imagination,' respectively, the Metaphysicals were admired, for they possessed both of these qualities. When the terms began to mean the power of perceiving similarity in difference (as Hobbes and Locke defined 'wit'), and 'fancy' or 'ingenuity' (as 'conceit' came to denote), the same poets were still almost universally praised, because they possessed these qualities in a superlative degree also. But when, toward the end of the century, the emphasis began to shift from 'wit' to 'judgment' and 'reason,' and the device of the technical 'conceit' had become outworn in poetry, to be superseded by the 'turn,' the Metaphysicals commenced to suffer likewise.

The general failure of the age (with the possible exception of a few of the more astute men like Dryden) to recognize anything peculiarly distinctive in the style of the Metaphysicals when compared with other poets of their time is proved by the type of its criticisms of the latter. Jonson had 'wit' and 'learning'; and Donne had 'wit' and 'learning.' These properties were sufficient recommendation to most readers without distinguishing any variations in quality, extent, or use. It was only when English taste became foreign to such poetry that a more detached viewpoint enabled readers to perceive the

<sup>113</sup> For instance, an anonymous writer of 'A Description of Mr. D—n's Funeral,' in 1700 (p. 8 of a separate tract bound up with the B. M. copy of *Luctus Britannici*), wrote venomously:

A Crowd of Fools attend him to the Grave,  
A Crowd so nauseous, so profusely lewd,  
With all the Vices of the Times endu'd,  
That Cowley's Marble wept to see the Throng,  
Old Chaucer laugh'd at their unpolish'd Song,  
And Spencer thought he once again had seen  
The Imps attending of his *Fairy Queen*.

essential differences in the types. This condition obtained in a considerably more marked degree during the age of Addison and Pope, and it is there that the student must look for the development of the ideas suggested by Dryden and for the slow widening of the conception of a Metaphysical 'school.'<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>118</sup>See my forthcoming article, "The Reputation of the 'Metaphysical Poets' during the Age of Pope," *Philological Quarterly*. An article on "The Reputation of the 'Metaphysical Poets' during the Age of Johnson and the Romantic Revival" will appear shortly in *Studies in Philology*.

## THE STUDY OF PLACE-NAMES, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NORWAY

1. In general.
2. The beginnings of the study in Norway.
3. O. Rygh's *Norske Gaardnavne*.
4. Fundamental principles of place-name study.
5. Classification of place-names.
6. The distribution of suffixal themes of Norwegian compound names.

1. Interest in the study of place-names has never been so great among scholars as at the present time. The large number of publications on the subject appearing annually; the completion of O. Rygh's monumental collection for Norway in 1919, and the appearance of the first part of a similar undertaking, but on a still more elaborate scale, in Sweden in 1906-1915; and, further, the launching of a like undertaking in Denmark, the first volume of which series has recently been issued; finally the proposals presented before the British Academy in 1921, looking toward a detailed and systematic investigation of the place-names of Great Britain, are some of the evidences of this interest.<sup>1</sup> And it is right and proper that there should be this growth of interest. The study of place-names, more than any other discipline perhaps, links together those major lines of study that concern themselves with the past of peoples or nations, and is capable of being an aid to them all. The philologist has long ago recognized the importance of the names of persons and places in the study of the problems in which he is engaged. The ethnologist is obliged to carefully consider every bit of evidence offered by the names of places and tribes in

<sup>1</sup> In all these countries there had, of course, been numerous special studies, on types of names or on certain districts, published before the inauguration of these series; this is true also of Scotland, Germany, France, and Holland.

The growth of interest in the North is further seen in the fact that a journal devoted exclusively to the subject has been published since 1913; *Namn och Bygd. Tidskrift för nordisk Ortnamnsvforskning*. Edited by Jöran Sahlgren, Upsala, and associated editors from the other Scandinavian countries and Finland. It is a quarterly.

ancient times. The archaeologist can give us the evidences of the presence of man in certain places and in certain periods of time, but he recognizes in the place-names a possible important tool for tracing more in detail the course of settlements than can be done through archaeological finds. The historian who wishes to trace the past of a people or a region back to a time before the beginnings of recorded history and literature turns to archaeology and the ancient names of places as the two subjects that then must be consulted. The student of social and institutional beginnings will often do well to glean carefully the information that may be gotten from early place-names, as to the conditions, the activities, and the life, of a people when the names originated.

And the contact is as definite in some other directions, as mythology, comparative religion, folklore. I can take the space here to cite only one or two examples of these things. The investigations of the place-names of Shetland has shown that Norsemen first visited and settled Shetland as much as 100 years before the beginnings of the Viking Age proper. Again: some years ago the Norwegian government offered a prize for the most important contribution to the study of Norwegian history. The prize was awarded for an investigation on *Hedenske Kultminder i norske Stedsnavne*,<sup>2</sup> which on the basis of an examination of the place-names showed the extent and distribution of cults, holy places, and temples, in Norway in the periods of the formation of settlements, in a way that makes the study epoch-making. Further, it has long been known that the Scandinavian settlements in northwestern England were Norwegian, while those of central England up to and including the East Riding of Yorkshire were prevailingly Danish; some years ago it was shown by the evidence of the place- and personal names that the Norse settlements in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and northern Lancashire, were, in large part at least, an extension into northwestern England of the Norse settlements in the Celtic West, particularly in Ireland. Or, to take an example from a small area, it is known that the West Riding of Yorkshire differs somewhat from East Yorkshire, in that the two dominant racial factors are here the Anglian and the Norse. Now it is known that the armies of William the Conqueror com-

<sup>2</sup> The author was Professor Magnus Olsen of Christiania University.

pletely devastated western Yorkshire in the year 1067; so utterly devastated was the region that when the Domesday Survey was made in 1086 western Yorkshire farms are commonly described in the record as 'laid waste,' or left out altogether, (which latter procedure indicates that there was no one living on them at all). Recently an investigation into the place-names of southwestern Yorkshire establishes the fact that this so devastated region was afterwards re-settled by Norsemen from Westmoreland and Cumberland.<sup>3</sup>

It has been the good fortune of the work in Norway that from the first the investigations have been in the hands of those who have recognized broadly the connection of the study of place-names with other fields of research. It is an interesting fact that the Editor of the *Norske Gaardnavne*, O. Rygh, was an archaeologist; associated with him, on the Committee that did the work of which the *Gaardnavne* was the outgrowth, was Sophus Bugge, Professor of Old Norse and Indo-European Philology in Christiania University, and Provost J. Fritzner, author of the great Old Norse dictionary. In Sweden, however, the Editor-in-Chief is a philologist, Adolf Noreen; co-operating with him is the Royal Committee on Place-Names.<sup>4</sup> And similarly in Denmark: the Committee on Place-Names which was appointed by the Ministry of Culture in July, 1910, had as its Chairman, General Louis le Maire, Chief of the topographical division of the General Staff; and the committee included, further, specialists in various lines; later, when the work was definitely started, the directing of it was placed in the hands of Prof. Marius Kristensen. It is by the cooperation of specialists in this way that it has been possible in the Scandinavian North to establish and maintain the work on a firm foundation of sound methods and a broad outlook upon the subject dealt with. I shall now give a brief survey of the beginnings of these studies in Norway.

2. *The beginnings of the study in Norway.* Interest in and sporadic efforts to explain the place-names of the country may in Norway, as in the other Scandinavian countries, be traced

<sup>3</sup> The works are particularly those of F. W. Moorman: *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, Leeds, 1910, and A. Goodall: *Place-Names of Southwest Yorkshire*. Cambridge, 1914.

<sup>4</sup> *Kungliga Ortnamnskommittén*.

well back into the 18th century. I shall not, however, be able to take note of these here. The first important attempt to interpret Norwegian place-names was that which P. A. Munch embodied as the introduction to his *Historisk-geographisk Beskrivelse over Kongeriget Norge (Noregsveldi) i Middelalderen*, which was published at Moss in 1849. The main part of this work is a description of the tribal, political, military, legal, and ecclesiastical, divisions of Norway in the XII-XIVth centuries and before, together with an account of the location and the names of its lakes, rivers, islands, and mountains, and its cities and provinces; in connection with the last he gives lists of the farmsteads that are mentioned in the mediaeval historical literature, these in the Old Norse and the modern form. It may here be mentioned that these lists are especially extensive for the fylker<sup>5</sup> of southern Norway, as Oslo, pp. 164-168, Vestfold, pp. 174-179. In his Introduction Munch speaks of the general character of the names, then he discusses certain formations which he regards as very old. He finds, first, that there is a class of *Urnavne (Qrnesfni)*,<sup>6</sup> which are of very great age, many of them going back to the time when the country was first settled. These "usually designate a local peculiarity, as a plain, a hill, a bank, a bog, an isthmus, a coast, a slope, a valley, an island, etc., and appear either uncompounded or in combination with other words, which designate certain special circumstances about them, as e.g., height, color, breadth, etc." . . . "Those names which designate a farm-stead, a place, (Sted), a clearing (Rud), a 'seat' (Sæde), a dividing of land (Thvet), a cultivation, etc., belong to a later class of names, which indicate a denser population and a dividing up of the available tilled soil. . . . Of the older class no name probably is more original or more directly a survival from primitive times than the frequent *vin*, genitive *vinjar*."<sup>7</sup> He then identifies this name, or ending in names, with the Gothic *winja*, 'grazing-land,'

<sup>5</sup> That is, 'tribes,' or tribal groups. I shall generally use the term, 'Province.' The official designation, which until recently was *Amt*, as in Denmark, is now again *Fylke*; in Sweden it is *Län*.

<sup>6</sup> Fritzner, *örnafn*, n., and *örnesfni*, 'Navn som en Ting har faaet af noget,' i.e., 'local names.' Hægstad-Torp: *örnafn*, *örnesfni*.

<sup>7</sup> Translated here from page X. The identity of *vin*, with OE. *wynn*, and OHG, *wunna*, is pointed out.

and defines it, too, as meaning 'grazing land.' The names in *vin* he refers to a time when cattle-grazing was the principal means of subsistence. Next in order come the names in *heimr*, 'dwelling-place.' The change to names of this type he interprets as a change from cattle-grazing to a mode of life with fixed homes. That *heimr* comes second in the order he finds evidenced in the frequent interchange of *vin* and *heimr* in the same names, as *Þoptyn* (*Þoptvin*) and *Þoptheimer*, or *Skersvin* and *Skersheimr*. A little farther on he formulates this point more exactly as follows: "This change from *vin* to *heimr*, is, as said above, no doubt significant with reference to transition from a rather nomadic life, or at any rate not a definitely fixed stay in a place, but one of only temporary stay in a place, to a mode of life with permanently settled homes." To a younger class of names he relegates those which point to actual cultivation of the soil and to buildings; here he lists the words: *hús*, *þorp*, *tún*, *kot*, *slofa*, *bær* (*býr*), *ból*, *bæle*, *bú*, *þuþt*, *akr*, *garðr*, *teigr*, *þveitr*, *ruð* (*rjóðr*), *setr*, *staðr*, *eng*, *vangr*, and some others. As evidence of the later date of these he instances their prevailing composition with personal names, and the fact that they are often combined even with other place-names.<sup>8</sup>

Munch no doubt realized the difficulty about referring the *vin*-names clear back to a nomadic period, and his statement of it, quoted above, seems to put these in a transitional period, in which there was a combination of nomadic life and settled homes. Munch did not see that a great many of these names in *vin* must, however, be much later even than such a transitional period, as shown by the character of the first component parts. But his view that these names as a class belong to the oldest names still holds, as well as the view that *heimr* comes next.

A great step forward and of fundamental importance for the study were the investigations carried on by K. Rygh in southern Helgeland in 1868; the results of these were published in an article entitled "Bemerkninger om Stedsnavne i den søndre Del af Helgeland," published in *Norsk Historisk Tidsskrift*, I, pp. 53-135. In this, he makes a critical examination of the whole body of names of dwelling-places and many of the nature names for the area chosen; he deals with them from the point of view

<sup>8</sup> In *Det norske Folks Historie*, I, especially pages 116-120, Munch deals more fully with certain suffixes, as *þorp*, *bær*, *tún*, and *staðr*.

of formation, as regards first and second component part of compound names, and their relative age as regards simple and compound names. And he, furthermore, attempts to trace the beginnings and the progress of settlements in southern Helgeland; and, finally he gives an absolute chronology for certain classes of names. Withal it is a rather remarkable achievement, considering how little had been done before, how limited the material at hand. Rygh's investigation of the names of a limited area with which he was himself thoroughly familiar was, it seems to me, the first in every way scientific examination of Norwegian place-names; and it laid a firm foundation for all later study. I shall indicate here some of the principal matters in his investigation, those by which, especially, the knowledge of the subject was furthered.

He first observes that the place-names reveal the areas of ancient settlement in South Helgeland to have been merely the coast districts and the lower parts of some of the valleys; a conclusion which he finds conforms in every way with the results of archaeological studies. He notes that there are no names that tell of pagan religious worship; the name *Hov* appears only one single time, but there are none of the many compounds of it that are found farther south, or even farther north in Helgeland where god-and cult-names are more often met with (in Langø, Gimsø, Fjeldø). Regarding other kinds of names Rygh says, "Those words that designate the commonest local-formations (*vik, fjord, nes, berg, dal*, etc.), have, no doubt, been those most often employed in the earliest period; but since these have been preserved as common nouns in the later language, and hence are used also in later name-formations, one cannot from their appearance or absence in itself gain information about the question of age (although the different way in which they are used may give such information)."<sup>9</sup> He then makes the significant observation that "those stems in names which more specifically define the relation of the people to the land that they took possession of, changed for a large part in the course of time, and several of them point each to its age." Here, with Munch, he places *vin* and *heim* first, and he dates these names (contrary to Munch) in the Early Iron Age. As we see Rygh does not refer the names in *vin* back to a nomadic period; but he thinks they

<sup>9</sup> L.c. page 86.

are from a period in which cattle-grazing was in a higher measure than later the chief means of support; the names could not have referred to dairies, for they are found too numerous together in some places, as Voss. He shows further that names in *vin* and *heimr* are not found in regions, that were not cleared and settled until the Christian Middle Age (as in Østerdalen, north of Elvrum, or as in Røros). Further the almost complete absence of names in *heimr* in the Norse colonies in the British West, peopled from regions in Norway where these names are especially numerous, leads him to the conclusion in regard to the endings *heimr*, that its use was completed before the Viking Age. Next in order after *heimr* Rygh puts *setr*, then *staðir*; *vist* is also regarded as belonging to the oldest names. Old are also the names compounded with names of gods. Finally he holds that, as a class, uncompounded names are older than compound names, something that is also now the accepted view; youngest are the names with the suffixal definite article. I should not omit to say that Rygh also showed that the river and island names in southern Helgeland uniformly bear an ancient stamp, and he calls attention to this as true for such nature names also throughout Norway.<sup>10</sup> Also regarding the kinds of combinations employed he has seen that *heimr* is not combined with personal names, (this method being in general later), but usually with characterizing terms, as mostly *sól*, then *fors*, *sær*, *berg*, *upp*, *meðal*, *hár*, etc. It is, further, also shown that *bær* and *staðir* are compounded with *hús*, both evidently designating a complex of houses; on the other hand *heimr* is not compounded with *hús*, but with *tún* and *lopt*, etc. *Setr* precedes *staðir*; it is found often in Orkney and Shetland, but not in Iceland.

Through his great work on Norwegian place-names and the methods and principles of that work O. Rygh is generally accredited with being the founder of the scientific study of place-names in the North. By the law of June 6th, 1863, a general revision of the Registry of property for the whole country had been ordered. It was known that the old Registry was full of errors in the writing of the names of the estates; as the work on this revision progressed it became the plan to correct all these

<sup>10</sup> There follows then, pp. 4-34, a critical examination of a considerable body of names of estates in Inderøyen Parish, and in Ytterøyen, pp. 34-43, and Rissen, pp. 43-59.

errors and inconsistencies. In 1878 a committee was appointed by Royal resolution to revise the names in the Registry; this committee consisted of Sophus Bugge, Oluf Rygh, and Johan Fritzner. "This committee found it necessary to gather a large amount of material of information about the individual names in order to be able to carry out their duties as satisfactorily as time and other circumstances permitted," says O. Rygh<sup>11</sup> in speaking of this, and they at once proceeded with this task. It fell to Rygh's lot to bear a good deal of the burden of this laborious task, and the materials were kept at his house. He therefore had a better opportunity than anyone else to familiarize himself with the character of the vast body of place-names as it grew constantly under their hands. The first result of this was an article entitled "Oplysninger til trondhjemske Gaardnavne" printed in *Det kongelige norske Videnskabs Selskabs Skrifter*, 1883, pp. 1-63. Here he considered the question of the age of the names in *-vin*, *-heimr*, *-setr*, and *-staðir* (p. 3). Regarding the first he thinks, as K. Rygh, that they are earliest, but they are about of the same age, except that those in *-heimr* continued in use a little later. Much younger are those in *-setr*; this ending was no longer used when Iceland was settled, but had still been used when Shetland was settled. Last of the four is *-staðir*; names so compounded flourished especially in the Viking Age. In the Introduction to his *Norske Gaardnavne*, pp. 9-10, he then formulates the matter as follows: "Among the old names there are, as is known, a large number of compound ones, which as a last part have a word which has been used a great deal in compound names throughout the whole country or in large sections of it. With regard to several of these components it is already now possible to show in various ways, that they have been used only in a limited period of time, and further also it can be shown just about when this was. It is thus seen, that *vin* and *heimr* had ceased to be used in place-names at about the beginning of the Viking Age, i.e., at least two hundred years before the introduction of Christianity,—that *staðir*, *land*, *setr*, did not come into use before toward the Viking Age, but maintained themselves into the Christian period, and that *ruð* belongs wholly to

<sup>11</sup> P. VII of "Forord" to *Norske Gaardnavne*.

the latter, and probably hardly reaches as far back as to its beginning." In the discussion of the principal stems Rygh indicates that certain stems combine often with *vin* and *heimr*; these are: *alfr*, *biarg*, *eið*, *horr*, *nes*, *sandr*, *stafr*, *sund*.

3. Rygh's *Norske Gaardnavne*. It is an exceedingly interesting thing to read in Rygh's "Forord" how *Norske Gaardnavne* came to be written and to see what the ideas and deliberations were that led to giving the form to the work in which it finally was published. We have seen above how the Committee began gathering the needed material. And we read about this in Rygh's Introduction. "This material was of two kinds. First it was necessary to gather together all the forms of names recorded in the writings from the time before the great linguistic change at the close of the Middle Ages,—everything that might be considered to have any importance for the scientific examination of the names. Then it became necessary to get reliable information about how each and every name is now pronounced in the place where it belongs."<sup>13</sup> And the Committee soon realized that this pronunciation must be made the basis for the corrected writings of names, if they were to find practical usable written forms. All this work took until 1886. In the fall of 1887 the printing of the new Survey began; it was finished in 1892.

Then Rygh continues: "During the printing I began to think that it would be desirable if this material now gathered, and which in several respects was valuable, could be made accessible also to others than the members of the Commission." And as the mass of material was in his hands, for the most part as annotations to his own copy of the old Survey (of 1723), it fell to him to undertake the arrangement of the material. His plan became to arrange the parts for each province separately; and as each volume for the successive province was completed it was deposited in the Government Archives; and he adds modestly 'where they have been used quite a bit.' But fortunately these volumes were not destined to remain in Ms. It had not been Rygh's thought that they could be printed; but in 1896 eight members of the Storting then in session (Hægstad, Schanche, Bohn, G. Knudsen, Glestad, Refsdal, Wexelsen, and Konow), submitted a motion for an appropria-

<sup>13</sup> L.c., page VII.

tion to print this work, and this was recommended by the Budget Committee on the 9th of July, 1896. The Commission pointed out that "the information is of interest for well-nigh every estate in the country, besides also being of great importance for the national linguistic studies," and they recommended its printing. They further conferred with Professor O. Rygh, as to whether he would undertake the editorial work, which he agreed to do; finally they recommended that the publication should include explanations of the meanings of the different names. On the 26th of March, 1897 an appropriation was made, with the further proviso that as much more as was needed be used in the budget term 1897-1898. The plan was then worked out by Professor Rygh, aided by Professor Gustav Storm and J. B. Halvorsen; this plan was printed in *Storthings Proposition*, 1897, I, *Hovedpost*, IV, pp. 45-49.

It was further decided that as the work was to be made accessible to a larger public each volume of the several provinces was to be complete in itself, so that it could be used independently of the rest of the series, and sold separately; but that the arrangement should be such as to make it useful also for those who wished to use it for scientific purposes, and for others who might wish to get some information about a place. An introductory volume was to contain such general information about the names, and explanations of the principal component stems, and the grammatical forms of the names, the purpose of which was once for all to give material, which otherwise would have to be repeated for each volume. This introductory part appeared in 1898, and Vol. I, dealing with The Province of Smaalenene, had been issued in 1897. As to the scope of the work it may be added that in its plan it is limited to names of parishes and dwelling-steads; other names are considered only in so far as they throw light on these. There have been issued XVII vols., the last being North Bergenhus (as Vol. XII). The volume for Finmarken remains to be prepared. In addition to O. Rygh the editors have been K. Rygh, A. Kjær, Hj. Falk, A. B. Larsen, and Magnus Olsen.

It was evidently O. Rygh's intention to publish in a separate volume an exhaustive study of Norwegian place-names when the collections of the *Norske Gaardnaerne* should have been completed. But Rygh did not live to do this work; he died

in 1899, having finished the volumes for three provinces and half of the 4th. In the *Norske Gaardnavne* Rygh left a monument of the greatest national importance; as a classification of the place-names of a country it stands as a model of scientific method in such work, and it has served extensively elsewhere in similar work. Scholars in the other Scandinavian countries have been the first to accord it the distinction of the foundation work for the North (as Jöran Sahlgren, in *Namn och Bygd*, 1919, p. 86, and Axel Olrik and Marius Kristensen in *Danske Studier*, 1911, p. 15). And its method has more and more come to be followed in English-Scottish investigations, of recent years, as in the works of Baddeley, Mossman and Goodall, but particularly, Mawer and Ekwall.<sup>13</sup>

4. *The fundamental principles of place-name study.* In the study of place-names in Norway certain cardinal principles are acknowledged by all investigators in the interpretation of material of this kind. Some of these ideas we find clearly understood from the days of Munch; others grew into shape under the hands of the two Ryghs; the emphasis upon some has been especially strong in recent years. I think these ideas can be formulated into seven principles, as follows: 1. The first requisite is the completest possible listing of early forms, from Middle Age documents of all kinds. 1600 may be set down as the lower date; there must often be uncertainty about the etymological side of discussions of names for which there are no recorded forms as early as 1600. Already P. A. Munch recognized the necessity of having each name in the oldest available forms. 2. Next in importance is an exact transcription of the correct local pronunciation in the settlement where the name is taken from, as an indispensable means for determining the original form and meaning of the name. No scholar in Norway, nor anywhere in the North, would think of venturing upon the interpretation without definite information about how it is pronounced on the spot. 3. Any attempt to explain a name must always take into account the topography of the

<sup>13</sup> To some extent already in the work of W. W. Skeat, and the principles he advocated, as in his *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire*, 1901, more so in recent years, as Allen Mawer's *The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham*, Cambridge, 1920. See also especially Professor Mawer's *English Place-Name Study*, British Academy, 1921.

place for which it stands. For this one may in the first place use topographical maps and detail charts on a large scale, or also photographs where available; but it will often be necessary to get first hand information about peculiarities in the situation which gave rise to the name; (this by personal visit to the region, as where the area studied is a small one, or by the assistance of persons who are intimately acquainted with the region in the case of treatment of large areas to all parts of which personal visits would be impossible). 4. Historical information about a place, where such is available, should be considered in connection with the consideration of the meaning of the name. In some cases the actual circumstances or event that led to the naming of the place is told in some document, or there is other evidence, as early ownership, local tradition, etc., that will point to the source of the name.<sup>14</sup> Ordinarily historical information of this kind is not available; for names of places have not as a rule arisen spontaneously out of some event, they have grown up slowly, and are usually the result of a long development and selection out of several original names for the same place. But we have in the Book of Settlement of Iceland a very special example of many instances of names of places that go back to a particular happening; similar may have been the origin of many of the hundred thousand farm-names in Norway. 5. The place-names of any one locality cannot be interpreted in isolation; they must be studied comparatively, that is as a part of the nomenclature of the whole country. 6. The delimitation of the material must be along definite and clear-cut lines. For there necessarily must be very definite limits set, the material is so vast. But here it must be emphasized that while one limits the investigation to a particular class of names, as habitation names, it must be recognized that names pass from one class into another, and no one class can be dealt with profitably except in relation to the names of other

<sup>14</sup> An interesting example is the name *Kongshofmark* which replaced the earlier name *Eggeskal* in Finmarken. The owner Foged Lidemark rechristened it so, using for the second part, the last element of his wife's maiden name *Bernhoff*, with *Kongs* as prefix, and *-mark* from his own name as suffix. See Helland's *Norges Land og Folk*, XX, 3, p. 218. Another instance, of how the home of a certain *Ove*, in Hundslund Parish, Aarhus Amt, Denmark, changed in three generations to the name *Rusland*, is told in *Namn och Bygd*, 1916, p. 176.

classes. In particular it is to be emphasized that names that have disappeared, are no longer used in the particular localities, may be linguistically and historically of equal importance with those that have been preserved. A study of names in any region or of the names of a certain type that considers only early names still in use may from the linguistic standpoint be a neglect of some of the most significant evidence of the problem investigated, and can from the archaeological and historical point of view also only lead to unreliable or fragmentary results.

In addition to these six principles I would add a seventh namely, that any attempt at an explanation of a name must stand the test of the laws of sound-change, as they are known to have operated in the dialect of the locality in which the name in question belongs. Names and the elements of names are words, and subject to the changes which the general body of the words of the language or the dialect have undergone. While the court of final appeal in the explanation of a name is therefore the trained philologist, he in turn must recognize that the explanation of place-names is no mere etymological exercise. The etymologist needs always to bear in mind that the material he is engaged in trying to explain is also historical in its nature, and it may sometimes be necessary to consult both the archaeologist and the geologist.<sup>15</sup> It should finally be added that the emphasis upon the present dialectal pronunciation of the name in the locality obviously may not be equally applicable to all languages. It is of very great importance in the Scandinavian countries<sup>16</sup> where the languages of

<sup>15</sup> An example involving the date of a name: the name *Sexe* in Ullensvang, Hardanger is etymologically clearly *saxin-*, hence originally meant 'dagger, knife, or scissor.' In Finmarkén there is a fjord called *Saksfjorden*, at the mouth of which there is a farmstead; this is just such a situation as might give rise to the name *Sexe* for this home. Now in Hardanger the situation of the house seems to be somewhat similar, i.e., in the delta formed by the two arms of a small river. It is clearly then the idea 'scissor' that gave rise to the name not the idea 'knife': but if scissors first came into use ca. 400 B. C. in Norway, we have a definite upward limit for the age of this place (at any rate its name).

<sup>16</sup> How important it is is excellently shown in the case of the name *Killingrud*, in Vaaler, Solør, for which I refer the reader to an article by Alexander Bugge in *Bygd og Bonde*, 1922, pp. 91-93. Rygh explains the name as from *Kerlinguruð*, 'skrivende sig fra en Tid da en Enke eiede Gaarden.' But in the local dialect the Old Norse word *Kerling* is pronounced *kjerring*, never *kjelling*,

to-day are historically developed there from the very beginnings of Indo-European speech in those regions; and also for Holland and Germany this is true in general. Here in Scandinavia we have a body of names explainable in its entirety or nearly so, as Scandinavian linguistic material. The race domiciled there at present is the same as that inhabiting these regions in the Stone Age and in the Bronze Age; there has been no check or interruption by other races of the regular racial and linguistic development. In England and Scotland the case is, in a way, much more complicated. Here Anglo-Saxon origins go back to 476 A.D. and no farther; in addition to this native English material one has to deal with Celtic, Roman, French and Scandinavian factors, and in general a very mixed speech. Furthermore, in England dialectal speech has in many places almost disappeared, so that it is quite unsafe to use the local pronunciation as a guide at all. And that brings us to the question of spelling-pronunciations and the influence of standard speech upon the local forms of names. Investigators have found that in Norway, even more so than in Sweden, it is often difficult to secure true dialectal pronunciations. Dialect speakers are often unconsciously influenced by what they know to be the correct literary form, and the investigator will be given this form or one in part an approach to it, as the way they pronounce the name. He will always have to be on his guard against this; never to record a pronunciation as pure dialectal speech before he has tested it out rigidly and made sure that what he is recording is a genuine form and not a false one.<sup>17</sup>

5. *The classification of place-names.* I shall speak of these very briefly. The Norwegian classification is into *Bostedsnavn*, *Kulturnavn*, and *Naturnavn*. This is a clear and convenient grouping; I have elsewhere used this under the English terms *Habitation names*, *Culture names*, and *Nature names*. Habitation names include only those of inhabited places: dwellings, farmsteads (in the numerous varieties of words used), hamlets, villages, cities, parishes, townships, neighborhoods; here also

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hence Rygh's explanation is erroneous, because he this time neglected to take sufficient note of the local pronunciation. Bugge shows that the first part of the name comes from *kedel*, modern *kæl*, and that the name goes back to a feature of ancient iron industry in the locality.

<sup>17</sup> This is spoken of by Rygh, p. X of 'Forord.'

to be included, of course regional names and names of countries. The culture-names are those designating fields, parts of tilled areas, grazing lands, etc., on the one hand, names connected with agriculture; and on the other, those connected with communications, and special activities, hence roads, bridges, landing-places, fishing-places, dams, mills, dairies, burial-places, play-grounds, etc. The third class consists of all kinds of topographical names, hills, mountains, rivers, brooks, bays, lakes, etc., and literally hundreds of special words for formations in nature. This is, of course, the largest class, and the investigation of it, even in the North, has hardly yet begun. The classification adopted by the Swedish Committee is merely into *Territoriella namn*, and *Naturnamn* (Territorial-names and Nature-names). The Danish grouping is into: *Navne paa enkelte Beboelser* (our habitation names); *Naturnavne*; *Navne paa Møller, og Broer og lignende*; and *Vangnavne*, which includes fields, meadows, etc. This four-fold division corresponds to that followed in some treatises on English names, as Lindkvist's into *Habitation names*, *Cultivation names*, *Communication names*, and *Nature names*. English writers often also employ the names *Minor names*, *Field-names*, and *Landmark-names*; Sedgfield classified into: *Nature-names*, and those connected with *land under settlement*, which again corresponds to the Swedish grouping. The three-fold division seems adequate and simple enough to be conveniently followed.

Names may also be grouped in reference to their formation; here we will then have the two classes of: 1, those of one word or element, and 2, those made up of two elements, the so-called compound names. The first as in *Aas* or *Aasen*; the second as in *Bergerud*. Names of a larger number of elements are rarely old.<sup>18</sup>

6. *Distribution of the main suffixal themes in Norwegian place-names.* I shall here offer a table, to illustrate the distribution of eighteen of the principal themes in the place-names of Norway. This table has been made up from the indexes in Rygh's *Norske Gaardnavne*; but I have omitted from the count all the names that are there indicated, by a question mark,

<sup>18</sup> They are often found in the northernmost parts of Norway, and sometimes in the later settled portions of eastern Norway. In England even old names are often of three parts.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE MAIN SUFFIXAL THEMES IN NORWEGIAN PLACE-NAMES

	vin	heim	land	set	stad	teitil	by	bøyle	tun	dal	ang	vang	torp	gard	aker	koll	rud	bu
Østfold	49	47	20	2	161	38	186	27	3	105	1	2	63	64	15	36	588	16
Akershus	159	78	11	29	200		126	17	7	82		4	6	42	16	21	528	11
Vestfold	39	72	36		115	27	38	2		64		1	2	23	25	31	350	6
Hedemarken	59	32	5	82	153		82	32	2	90		34	18	159	14	18	379	4
Buskerud	71	72	40	58	113	128	1	6	6	99		1	1	169	27	11	500	11
S. Opland	78	73	18	42	148	4	66	16		69		6	1	55	21	10	291	1
N. Opland	35	46	9	14	94		22	3		81		4		79	1		83	3
Telemarken	31	36	127	18	46	95	82	4	2	209	3	1		60	13	53	183	16
Øst-Agder		6	166		60	48	16			40	2			6	5	16	11	7
Vest-Agder	7	13	451	5	76	12	23		1	157	2		1	10	12	7		13
Rogaland	15	67	372		63	42	61		5	110	8	4		7	4	1	4	2
Hordaland	89	86	275	17	61	108	65	2	36	231	20	3		35	13		1	1
Sogn og Fjordane	55	89	84	86	85	2	55	2	33	169	9	3		33	16		1	2
Møre	31	67	26	169	98		90	1	2	133	4	1		78	3	5	1	1
S. Trondhjem	29	53	24	130	136				1	141	2	12		64	13		6	6
N. Trondhjem	57	74	24	75	177				5	89	5	4		51	6		5	5
Nordland	2	7	74	47	81		23	2	2	147	10			64	5	2	3	1
Troms		7	19		16				1	55	7	1		36	1	4	2	

material not yet available

Finmarken

as uncertain. The numbers here given, therefore, are for most of the suffixes somewhat smaller, often much smaller, than the numbers sometimes given for the total occurrences of this or that suffix in Norway. The preparation of this table has been quite a task; but it seemed to me of considerable interest and of some real value to have such a tabulation. I shall not comment much upon the distribution; for the five first themes the distribution has often been discussed. Observe the area of the ancient two first themes; and that of *land* and *set*, next in age. The chronological order for the rest cannot be given definitely; but *stad* belongs especially to the Viking Age;<sup>19</sup> those next listed are from that same general period, latest are *holt* and *rud*. Those in *-rud* belong to the period after 1000 and continued in use down to recent times. *Rud*, from Old Norse *ruð*, means 'a clearing'; the distribution of these names is over the ancient great forest-tracts of Eastern Norway, which was cleared for cultivation in the Middle Age period, after ca. 1000, especially 11th-14th centuries. The *vin-*, *heim-*, *land-*, and *set-names* are found mainly in the south and the west of this region.<sup>20</sup> In the table *by* and *bø* are considered together; under *bøle* is included also *bol*. In Finmarken compound names show the endings: *-bugt*, *-fjord*, *-engen*, *-botn*, *-bakken*, *-nes*, *-holm*, *-vaag* and *-vik*, especially often.

There are in all 362 different final themes in Norwegian place-names (some of these are of uncertain origin, however). A great many of these are represented only by scattered occurrences, or even by an isolated local example. But in addition to the eighteen themes of the table, there are some 40 that are used extensively, some of them in all parts of Norway. The most common are the following nine: ON. *haugr* (794 examples), *bakki* (738 examples), and *áss*, *berg*, *hlið*, *nes*, *vik*, *vøllr*, and *øy*; these are found almost everywhere, but it may be noted that compounds in *-haugr* are not found in Nordland. Next in importance in the extent and distribution of occurrence

<sup>19</sup> As long ago shown by O. Rygh. On others see also quotation from Rygh, above p. 7.

<sup>20</sup> For names in *-heim*, *-land*, and *-rud*, there is a new contribution now by A. Bugge, *Aarskrift*, 1919, pp. 1-46, of *Historielaget for Telemark og Grenland*, according to which these endings continued in use in names of cotter's-places long after the age to which they actually belong.

are the following: *-broti*, *-háls*, *-mýrr*, *-mór*, *-gerði*, *-botn*, *-hagi*, *-heiðr*, *-stiqðull*, *-teigr*, *-jorð*, *-vággr*, *-bugt*, *-vatn*, and *fjorð*. The last five, however, are numerous only in the northern provinces. Then there are many that are prominent in a small area, but are not, or but little, used elsewhere. Such are *auðn* and *lykkia* in the two Trondhjem provinces; *lykkia* also in Møre; *bæk* in Ostfold and Akershus; *stofa* in North Opland and Møre; *sund* in Møre; *kjarr* in East Agder; *mørk* in Nordland; *svið* in South Opland, and also in North Trondhjem; *holmr* in Hordaland, Sogn og Fjordane, and Møre; *fjall* and *ver* in Nordland; *dqkk* in Buskerud; and *elfr* in Troms. Isolated occurrence of a stem may be due to various causes; but where a stem gains some prominence as a name-forming element in a larger area, as along the coast, or in the long eastern valleys, or over highlands where there is evidence of ancient lines of communications, such distribution shows the courses of settlement in ancient and early Middle-Age times.

GEORGE T. FLOM

November 25, 1923.

# HERDER'S CONCEPTION OF MILIEU

## THE YOUTHFUL HERDER

### I

#### A. INTRODUCTORY

To attribute to environment<sup>1</sup> a diversity of action, of varying degrees, upon humankind, is a human heritage from ancient biblical times. The belief in its influence is as old as the beginnings of human thought itself. Its long tradition seems unbroken and is apparently continuous in the course of ages to our very own.

We find Greek thinkers<sup>2</sup> at least from Hippocrates on, if not before, giving it clear and crystallized expression. Its Greek form filters down through the Renaissance to modern times. An Arabic philosopher of history, Ibn Khaldūn,<sup>3</sup> applies it in the fourteenth century to the history of the Arabic peoples. It is revived in Western Europe in the sixteenth century by the Frenchman Bodin<sup>4</sup> who, the first among modern writers, makes it a subject for detailed investigation. Bodin plants the study of environment in France so firmly and establishes it so successfully that it has since become indigenous to France; it has been continued by French writers to our own day.<sup>5</sup> It is taken up by a number of philosophers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>6</sup>

From France it spreads, particularly in the eighteenth century, to England and Germany, where Herder<sup>7</sup> becomes its chief champion.

Essentially an autodidact, with all the virtues and some of the shortcomings of a self-taught man, Herder early in life

<sup>1</sup> See my book entitled *The Theory of Environment. An Outline of the History of the Idea of Milieu, and its Present Status*. Part I. George Banta Publishing Company, Menasha, Wisconsin, 1918.—On the title-page of that book, the words "Part I" should not precede the sub-title, but follow it.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *The Theory of Environment*, pp. 8 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 12 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 15 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 93 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 21 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 94.

came under the spell and fruitful teaching of two keen minds in possession of no mean scholarship, namely, those of Hamann and Kant. As both of these men were advocates of the theory of environment a brief sketch may be in place here to acquaint the reader with the general development of this theory in the period immediately preceding Herder.

Among its first great popularizers in eighteenth century France, the two best known and the ones that had extraordinary and perhaps the widest influence, are Montesquieu and Buffon, the latter in natural, the former in human history.

*De l'esprit des lois*, the book that so many have talked about and so few have read, appeared in 1748. Its famous author, Montesquieu, by his discussion of the action of the climate<sup>8</sup> on men in the widely quoted—at least by title if not in substance—Books fourteen to eighteen of the *Spirit of Laws*, effected a general diffusion of that theory, as well as won educated Europe over to the acceptance of it.

According to him, climate and soil affect the history of peoples. The temper of the mind and the passions of the heart are extremely different in different climates. The climate influences the habitual disposition of the bodies and therefore the characters of men; likewise, it influences men's minds, morals, and manners. Laws should be in relation to the climate of each country; they should correct the bad effects of the climate, and encourage or accord with its good effects. Cold and heat have an action on the fibers and nerves of the body, consequently also on man's sensibility; a number of secondary influences follow from both of these.

The climate is responsible for the establishment of civil slavery, it favors domestic slavery; and political servitude depends no less on the nature of the climate than that which is civil and domestic.

Montesquieu deals principally with the primary and the secondary effects of heat and cold as factors of the climate.

One of his favorite but false ideas is that the climate in hot countries promotes despotism, in cold ones, on the other hand, liberty.

<sup>8</sup> In the eighteenth century, climate was a much more general term than it is today.

The inhabitants of islands are more inclined toward and have a higher relish for liberty than those of the continent.

The temperance of the Orientals is due to the fact that the climate does not require, nay, it forbids strong spirituous drinks.

If in cold climates men have a certain vigor of body and mind, in hot climates the great heat enervates their strength and courage. This influences their character, mental qualities and political conditions. The northern Chinese are more courageous than those in the south.

The climate, geographical situation, configuration of the earth, and other physical factors bear a definite relation to the form of government.

Asia has no temperate zone, as the places situated in a very cold climate directly touch on those which are exceedingly hot. In Europe, on the other hand, the temperate zone is very extensive.

This brings about the fact that in Asia the strong nations are opposed to the weak, whereas in Europe that is not so. This is the great reason, he believes, of the weakness of Asia, and of the strength of Europe; of the liberty of Europe, and of the slavery of Asia; a cause, he says, "that I do not recollect ever to have seen remarked."

Fertility and barrenness of the soil produce the difference between the peoples of low-lying countries and those of mountainous regions. From the nature of the soil certain results follow on manner of living, character, and liberty and mode of government.<sup>9</sup>

Nature and the climate rule almost alone over the savages.<sup>10</sup> It is Montesquieu's strongest general claim, that the empire of the climate is the first, the most powerful, of all empires.<sup>11</sup>

In 1749, the year after the publication of the *Spirit of Laws*, Buffon's great work *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière* began to appear;<sup>12</sup> an encyclopedic work which created a very great sensation.

<sup>9</sup> *De l'esprit des lois*, livres XIV-XVIII.

<sup>10</sup> *Livre XIX*, chap. 4.

<sup>11</sup> *Livre XIX*, chap. 14.

<sup>12</sup> Paris, 1749 ff.; the first three volumes were published in 1749. His celebrated *Histoire naturelle de l'homme* was described in the past century as the first ethnology.

Buffon assumes a plasticity and a far-reaching adaptability of the human organism to climatic conditions. He relates variety in the animal kingdom to the climate. The size, strength, and character of animals are brought in close connection with hot and cold climates. The variety of animals increases with their geographical distribution.

The influence of climate on men, in comparison with that on animals, is slight. The color of men's skin is due to the climate. Its action on animals is stronger; they are bound to their environment. In the fifth volume of the *Natural History*, in the chapter on the lion, Buffon says: "In the human species, the influence of climate is marked only by rather slight varieties because this species is one, and is very distinctly separated from all other species: man, white in Europe, black in Africa, yellow in Asia, red in America, is only the same man tinged by the coloring of the climate (*le même homme teint de la couleur du climat*). His nature adapts itself to all situations; under the heat (*les feux*) of the south, among the ices of the north, he lives, he multiplies, he is found scattered everywhere and for so long a time that he does not seem to be fond of any particular climate. Among the animals, on the contrary, the influence of the climate is stronger. Not only are the varieties in each species more numerous and more marked than in the human species, but even the differences of the species appear to depend on the different climates; some can propagate themselves only in warm countries, other animals can subsist only in cold climates. The lion never inhabited the regions of the north; the reindeer has never been found in the countries of the south; and perhaps there is no animal the species of which should be, like that of man, generally scattered over the whole surface of the earth; each animal has its native land, its natural home, in which each is confined by physical necessity; each is the creature of the earth which it inhabits (*chacun est fils de la terre qu'il habite*), and it is in this sense that we must say that such animal is originary of such and such climate."

In the fourth volume, in the famous chapter on varieties of men ("Variétés dans l'espèce humaine"), Buffon indicates three causes that have produced the different varieties of human beings. These are: the climate, food, and customs (*Le climat, la nourriture, les mœurs*). In the same chapter,

he treats of the problem of changes of form in the human body at the north pole brought about by the cold.

In a discussion of the Nubian negroes, an observation reported to him by the traveler Bruce which he considers of the highest importance, to the effect that there were negroes only on the coasts, that is on the low-lying lands of Africa, and that in the interior of that part of the world the men were white, even under the equator, proves to him that in general the coloration of men depends entirely upon the influence and the heat of the climate and that the black color is as fortuitous in the human species as the tawny, the yellow, or the red.

In Germany, Kant became one of the first promulgators of the theory of climate; and Buffon, along with Montesquieu were his chief sources. As the first teacher<sup>13</sup> of physical geography at a German university, he has won for himself a prominent position<sup>14</sup> in the history of physical geography.

Very early in his university career, in the summer semester of 1756, he started to give a course of lectures on *Physische Geographie*, which he offered at least forty times, the last time in the summer semester of 1796.

Sixteen years later, in the winter of 1772-1773, Kant began to deliver his lectures on *Anthropologie* which he continued every winter to 1795-1796, when he read them for the last time.

These two sets of lectures, anthropology in the winter semester and physical geography in the summer semester, were the most frequented of all of his lectures. They were attended by a mixed audience, by persons of varying ages and different occupations, such was their attractiveness and popularity.

Herder who heard Kant's lectures on physical geography in the years 1762-1764 and was inspired and enraptured by them, gives in his *Humanitätsbriefe* (in the seventy-ninth letter, sixth collection) enthusiastic testimony of their influence.

<sup>13</sup> It is true that in Göttingen, A. Fr. Büsching announced for the winter semester of 1754-1755 a two hour course of lectures on geography, but that was to deal principally with the political geography of Europe. See Adickes, *Untersuchungen zu Kants physischer Geographie*.

<sup>14</sup> We will not enter here into the controversy on the various estimates of Kant as a geographer, engaged in by a number of German scholars.

In 1802, at Kant's own request, Rink published Kant's *Physische Geographie*, partly from lecture-notes (*Nachschriften*) by students.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to the *Physische Geographie*,<sup>16</sup> two sketches concern us here, namely, Kant's *Entwurf und Ankündigung eines Collegii der physischen Geographie*, 1757, and Kant's *Nachricht von der Einrichtung seiner Vorlesungen in dem Winterhalbenjahre von 1765-1766*.

Of his *Anthropologie*, only some chapters of its second part ("Die anthropologische Charakteristik") would interest us. But it came too late for Herder, seven or eight years after Herder left Königsberg.

In the *Entwurf eines Collegii* (1757), the announcement and plan of his course, Kant designates Varenius, Buffon, and Lulof as his first sources. We also meet with Buffon's name in his *Physische Geographie*, where he also makes repeated mention of Montesquieu. The latter's influence on Kant is further confirmed by our finding in Herder's lecture-notes on Kant's physical geography Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws* mentioned.

Clearly under the influence of Montesquieu, Kant, in the Introduction to his physical geography says that physical geography is not only the basis of history, but also of all other possible geographies; that here pertain 1) *moral* geography in which one speaks of the different customs and characters of men, according to the various regions; 2) *political* geography which must be based entirely upon physical geography, just as the laws have relation to the nature of the soil and of the inhabitants; 3) *mercantile* geography;<sup>17</sup> and finally 4) *theological* geography, concerning which also the most necessary information will have to be given, as the different religions undergo for

<sup>15</sup> A critical examination of Rink's edition of the *Physische Geographie*, as well as of several "Nachschriften" of the same by students in their *Kolleghefte* has recently been undertaken by Erich Adickes in his *Untersuchungen zu Kants physischer Geographie*, Tübingen, 1911. 344 pp.

<sup>16</sup> The *Physische Geographie* may be found in Hartenstein's edition of *Kants Werke* (1838), in volume nine. In the edition of Kant's works by the Prussian Academy, the *Physische Geographie* is to be edited by P. Gedan; that volume, the ninth, is still outstanding; at any rate, no news of its publication has as yet reached us.

<sup>17</sup> Today we would call it commercial geography.

the most part very essential changes according to the difference of the soil.

Kant believes with Buffon that changes in the color of man's skin are caused by the climate, chiefly by heat. Later he went beyond Buffon and contended that climate especially in the earlier periods developed certain germs (*Keime*) and predispositions for a purposive adaptation to environment; that these were favored by a long stay in the same habitat and also by isolation; that these were inherited; that when once developed, when a descendant individual came into a favorable climate, the latter would elicit the unfolding of those germs and predispositions, but would not change them themselves.

The first part of Kant's physical geography treats of the hydrosphere, lithosphere, and atmosphere, as well as of the history of the changes of the earth.

The second part deals with the creatures of the earth, with men, animals, plants, and minerals, and contains a summary view of the principal remarkable natural phenomena of all countries, geographically arranged.

Kant views here the development of the human race as a regularly occurring development, under the influence of external causes, of capacities originally uniformly present everywhere in the human race. The most important of these causes are climate and mode of life. Climate gives men of a given country a definite character which, in turn, is decisive for the development of their capacities. Soil, together with climate, determines the products of a country; these, in turn, determine the various modes of life, which, in their turn, condition the manner of government of a given land.

Man is conditioned by the particular circumstances of his abode as they are indicated in the climate, geographical situation, food, and so on.

Kant remained loyally attached to his geographical works throughout his life, as is evidenced by the geographical citations in his *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), adduced in corroboration and elucidation of his statements.

If Kant introduced Herder to French thought on the climate, then Hamann and Winckelmann gave him added impetus and confirmed him further in that thought.

Hamann was another great teacher of Herder's youth; his share in Herder's *Fragmente* is not easily traced and will form the subject of a special investigation.

From his earliest writings on (1756), the theory of climate plays a rôle in Hamann's authorship.

In April, 1756, Hamann writes to J. G. Lindner to Riga, "Wie sehr danke ich Ihnen für den letztern (Buffon), . . . dann erwarte ich von Ihrer Freundschaft den zweyten Theil." And in the same month, to his brother, "Auch des Buffon Naturgeschichte beschäftigt mich; ein groszes Werk von einer ungeheuren Unternehmung."

In the Introduction to his *Sokratische Denkwürdigkeiten* (1759), Hamann mentions both Buffon and Montesquieu; and Buffon also in his *Kreuzzüge des Philologen*, in chapter six, "Abälardi Virbii Chimärische Einfälle," and in chapter twelve, "Denkmal." He also cites Buffon repeatedly, and at times enters into polemics against some phases of his thought.

Of Montesquieu, Hamann speaks likewise with admiration. In his *Essais à la Mosaïque*, Hamann says, "le grand Montesquieu. On peut le combattre; mais il faut l'estimer, son esprit est bien loin d'être pernicieux." He cites Montesquieu in a letter to Kant in July, 1759; and to Scheffner he writes in August, 1785, "Die nachgelassenen Werke des Montesquieu haben einen würdigen Uebersetzer gefunden."

It is possible that it was Hamann in Königsberg who first directed Herder's attention to Winckelmann, by his writings the third teacher of Herder's youth.

Winckelmann himself had studied both Montesquieu and Buffon, as is evidenced by his *collectanea* (1750 and 1754), extracts from contemporary foreign authors, in which he also made long epitomes from Montesquieu and Buffon, who, he says, made natural history the most popular science throughout Europe.

Winckelmann's first publication, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, appeared in 1755. Its second edition, revised and augmented by a "Sendschreiben über die Gedanken" (containing criticism of the *Gedanken* by others) and an "Erläuterung der Gedanken" (Winckelmann's reply to these critics) was published in the following year (1756).

The *Thoughts on the imitation of Greek works in painting and sculpture* met with great and instant approval. They were translated several times into French, once into English, and into Italian. They made the greatest impression on the young Herder who vented his enthusiasm freely, and submitted to their influence without any reserve or serious criticism. The *Gedanken* contained the germs of those thoughts that Winckelmann elaborated nine years later in his epoch-making *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*,<sup>18</sup> accounted as a real contribution to European literature.

Herder tells us that he read Winckelmann's *History of Art* seven times, and that he excerpted it "most accurately." Toward it he assumed, under Hamann's influence, a more scrutinizing critical attitude, one absent in case of the *Gedanken*. Herder stood closest under Winckelmann's influence in his *Fragmente*.<sup>19</sup>

In the *Gedanken*, Winckelmann explained the high-tide of Greek art by the favorable physical and social factors in Greek national life. The climate is called the basic cause. The nature of every country gives the natives as well as the new arrivals a form (shape) peculiar to it.

The climate had to show itself among the Greeks in their production, and that action had to be in accordance with the excellent situation of the country. Under a temperate sky, the creatures feel an evenly divided influence thereof. The moderate seasons of Greece were suitable to mature clever heads. Good taste was formed under the Greek sky. The influence of a gentle and pure sky acted during the first formation of the Greeks.

Difference in languages is due to differences in organs of speech; the latter are shaped among every people according to the nature of the climate in their respective countries. While all northern languages are surcharged with consonants, and difficult for others to pronounce, an abundance of vowels gives the Greek tongue a gentle flow.

Education, customs, manner of life, and mode of thinking continue, promote, and establish the favorable effects of the climate, which resulted in fine Greek art.

<sup>18</sup> Dresden, 1764.

<sup>19</sup> In the first edition, 1767.

Winckelmann incorporates these thoughts again in a somewhat more elaborate form in his *History of the Art of Antiquity*. He maintains that physiognomy and even stature are formed by the climate, that is to say, the action of the different situation of the countries, of the particular weather conditions and food in the same. Climate also influences mode of thinking and art. The figurative expressions of the Orientals are as warm and fiery as the climate which they inhabit. In cold countries the nerves of the tongue are more rigid and less agile than in warm ones. This must be the reason why the Greenlanders and various other peoples in America lack certain letters; also why all northern languages have more monosyllabic words. In Asia Minor where the sky is serene, the weather more steady and uniform than even in Greece, were the most beautiful Greeks; here their speech became richer in vowels, gentler and more musical, under the sky that produced and inspired Homer. But these Ionians were incapable of rising to the establishment of a mighty free state. In Athens' democracy, the spirit of every citizen had risen; here everything flowed together, like the rivers in the ocean.

To climate, as a favorable factor in the development of art, must be added, especially in the case of Greece as reasons for its excellence in art, education, constitution and government, political freedom, mode of life, manners and customs, and the resultant manner of thinking. These are all interconnected, both in relation to climate and among themselves.

With this brief sketch, we wish to indicate the general trend of Winckelmann's thought on this subject, rather than follow out here in detail Herder's dependence on Winckelmann.

In Riga, his first scene of activity after he left Königsberg, a then prosperous commercial city, with a good French library, Herder was in a position to be abreast of French letters of the day and to keep himself, the omnivorous reader that he was, well informed on contemporary French works. And so he gradually sought out, consulted and studied the sources of his teachers.

If one surveys all of Herder's writings, even Montesquieu's treatment of the milieu appears *meager* in comparison with the scope of its extensive application by Herder.

No one had such a wide perspective as Herder. He seems the first in Germany to apply these thoughts to literature. And he did it on such large scale and with such consistency as no one appears ever to have done it before, in Germany or abroad.

Herder wrote literary criticism with his heart, not only with his head; with a passion and an affection, as if it were poetry; with a singular sincerity and a great, insatiable yearning for "life" and reality. He appears to wage an incessant and never-ending battle with the disease of his age: abstraction and remoteness from life.

He employed the methods of natural history of his time to the mental sciences, and viewed historical phenomena including literature from the point of view of the life of organic nature. There were others who did the same, but none with such consistency as he; there were others who tried to solve the same problem, but none in its entirety as he attempted it.

#### B. THE YOUTHFUL HERDER

In order to comprehend more properly and completely Herder's view of environment, it was necessary to expand and modify this investigation. Originally planned to be centered in the *Ideen*, after some years of study the writer was convinced of the insufficiency of that plan. It was found necessary to go back to the earliest writings of the youthful Herder, so that we may be witnesses at the inception of his idea, at the nascent expressions thereof, at the struggling of his tentative manifestations thereof in his trial to utilize his acquired knowledge and to apply his theory; whether or not he had at this time a consciously formulated theory, remains to be answered in a later chapter.

Such commencement will enable us to pursue his idea throughout all his subsequent writings all the way to and through the *Ideen*, and to perceive not only its genesis, but also to mark stages of development, if any, therein. Our primary aim here is to state in the first place his view of milieu.

It is proposed, as a start, to state in the following pages his view of environment as revealed principally in the first and in part of the second collections of his *Fragmente*.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Described by himself as *Ueber die neuere Deutsche Litteratur. Erste* (etc.) *Sammlung von Fragmenten. Eine Beilage zu den Briefen, die neueste*

However, before proceeding to its consideration in detail, it might be advisable at the outset to suggest in bird's-eye view something of the nature of the problems he deals with as manifested in his writings herein discussed later.

He affirms that climate and customs affected language when it was formed. He believes that the condition of the times and national life are reflected in language. It changes with customs and is differentiated as the social structure is. The wealth of a tongue and its poems vary with the physical milieu. Can we explain the wealth and idioms of the German tongue by German life and its circumstances? The German language must be cultivated according to the needs of the time; environmental differences cause French criticism of it. The idioms of a language are explained by national genius and customs. Some poems are an impress of their country. Environment forbids the copying of Greek literary forms; Homer could not have written his works in the milieu of eighteenth century Germany; those Greek and Latin authors should be selected for us who are akin to the spirit of our age. Can we imitate Oriental poetry in Germany? We must have regard to differences in the physical environment and in the social milieu, particularly in national history, in mythology, religion, poetic sphere, and poetic disposition of the nations. Oriental poems can truly be elucidated only by a number of specified environmental factors. In Klopstock's *Messias*, the social milieu of the Bible is wanting. The religion of the Scandinavians and others, reflects their physical milieu.

However, before proceeding further to a consideration of the *Fragmente*, it will be necessary for us to see a few still earlier indications of Herder's touching on environment.

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*Litteratur betreffend*. 1767, usually cited as *Fragmente*. They are called by Suphan epochal. Apart from its outstanding merits, the essay is in many respects necessarily immature, as Herder was only some twenty-one years old at the time of its writing. Neither its merits of originality and fruitful suggestiveness, nor its immature features can be gone into at this point. We shall quote it herein in Suphan's edition in the first volume of his *Herders Sämmtliche Werke*. To indicate here the general frame of the first collection, it contains besides the 'Einleitung' and the "Beschluss," eighteen "Fragmente von Abhandlungen"; in the main, this collection deals with language as a medium of literature.

## THE ESSAY "CONCERNING INDUSTRY IN SEVERAL LEARNED TONGUES"

*Language and physical and social milieu: language formed according to climate and customs, and changed according to soil and climate; it became a Proteus among the nations.* In a short essay entitled *Ueber den Fleisz in mehreren gelehrten Sprachen*, which was printed as the twenty-fourth number of the "Gelehrte Beyträge zu den Rigischen Anzeigen aufs Jahr 1764," when he was a young man of twenty, Herder says: "When the children of dust undertook that structure that menaced the clouds—the Tower of Babel—, then the pleasure-cup of confusion was poured out over them, their families and dialects were transplanted in divers regions of the earth; and there came into being a thousand languages according to the climate and the customs of a thousand nations. If the Oriental burns here under a hot zenith, then his bellowing mouth also streams forth a fervid and impassioned language. There the Greek flourishes in the most voluptuous and mildest climate; his body is, as Pindar expresses it, suffused with grace, his organs of speech are fine, and among them, therefore, originated that fine Attic speech. The Romans had a more vigorous language. The martial German speaks still more stoutly; the sprightly Gaul invents a saltatory and softer speech; the Spaniard imparts to his a solemn appearance, even though it be only by mere sounds; the slothful African stammers brokenly and droopingly, and finally the Hottentot is lost in a babbling of Calcuttian accents. Thus transformed itself this plant—human speech—according to the soil that nourished it and the celestial air that drenched it: it became a Proteus among the nations."

*Progress and international milieu.* In the same essay, he observes that no nation could progress if it were confined to itself; nations gave each other their progress in culture, luxury, objects of commerce and industry, discoveries and inventions, and science and letters. Thus the seeds that germinated in the Orient sprouted among the Egyptians, Greece's sun fully unfolded its buds, and Rome ripened the Greek blossom to fruitage. By means of its colonies, Rome raised them to a tree, under the spread of whose shades the nations planted their seed-grains of literature.

THE ESSAY "DO WE STILL HAVE THE PUBLIC AND THE  
FATHERLAND OF THE ANCIENTS?"

*Differences in the social milieu. Difference in present public from that of classical antiquity.* In another short essay, entitled *Haben wir noch jetzt das Publikum und Vaterland der Alten* (1765), that is less mature than the first and with less positive content although Herder calls it "eine Abhandlung," he answers the question raised in the title in the negative in the following manner, and the answer constitutes about the whole essay: In our times, the public and the fatherland are not the same as in classical antiquity with reference to the manner of government, the affairs and problems of the state, questions of war, and the people as such; they have also changed with reference to orators, public speakers, writers, and authors. The present age is different in regard to these.

It is curious that Herder says that no real democracy and government by the people are any longer possible by the way the states of today are constituted. Recent developments in particular have refuted that argument; we must remember of course that Herder wrote of his own times.

The political conditions, and the general social environment that called forth the old orators and gave them their opportunity, are no longer in existence, he says, not even in the parliament of England. He answers the question as to whether we still have "ein Vaterland in Ansehung der Ehre, des Nutzens, der Freiheit, der Tapferkeit, und Religion," partly in the affirmative. However, the religion of the Greeks and Romans was almost only political, not so ours. We do not have such a religion of the fatherland that retained its worth merely to the battlements of a city and changed with the air of another region. And the meaning of freedom has changed; also that of patriotism.

The present time then is different in its social environment from classical antiquity as to government, state, political problems, orators, authors, religion, freedom, and patriotism.

TWO REVIEWS OF 1765

*Herder urges explanation of Song of Songs from Oriental taste.* In "die Königsbergischen Gelehrten und Politischen

Zeitungen auf das Jahr 1765," Herder reviewed a book on the Song of Songs, a translation and an interpretation by M. C. G. Hase. In the course of that review Herder affirms that Hase is a philologist and a bel-esprit; instead of presenting to us his sermonic expositions and comments, why has not Hase rather given us alone, briefly, beautifully and cogently the translation, the causes and elucidations of the same, the arrangement of the poem, and the analysis of its beauty, out of the Oriental taste? This is probably the earliest place and the first time that Herder demands that the explanation of the Bible should proceed from the milieu.

And in another review, in the same place and year, Herder offers the criticism of a translation of part of the Bible by Damm that despite his scholarship otherwise, Damm utterly lacks that critical eye to look into the history of the apostolic times, which distinguishes Benson, Peirce, Michaelis, and Semler so much.

#### THE FIRST COLLECTION OF THE FRAGMENTE

Let us now go on with the first collection of the *Fragmente*.

*Language and environment: the question is raised, can the German tongue, its wealth and poverty, its idioms and rules, be explained by, and how are these related to, mode of German life, manner of German thinking, and circumstances?* Language is an implement and part of the sciences, declares Herder in the first fragment, and he who writes of the literature of a country must not be heedless to her language. The genius of the language is likewise the genius of the literature of a nation. Consequently, one can not survey the literature of a people without its language, one may get to know the former through the latter, one may better both through one another, for their perfection goes forward at much the same pace.

Michaelis had won the prize of the Berlin Academy for 1759 with an essay devoted to the philosophical investigation of languages. The *Preisschrift* was entitled "Concerning the influence of languages on opinions and sciences and of opinions on languages."<sup>21</sup> In the *Literaturbriefe* (the *Literary Letters*), this "gekrönte Abhandlung" was adjudged to be "one of the

<sup>21</sup> And in French, *Sur l'influence réciproque du langage sur les opinions*.

most important writings that we have on that subject," and by Herder himself<sup>22</sup> as "certainly *ein Hauptstück* among what the Germans philosophized about languages"; it dealt with languages in general. Herder connects to that, and makes application to the German language. One has as yet philosophized but little on the German language; in the present state of our philosophy concerning the German language, stop-gaps (*Füllsteine*) are welcome; Breitinger, Bodmer, Heinze, Oest, Klopstock have furnished merely disjointed remarks; as the *Literary Letters* had done the most, Herder wishes to collect the useful observations in this field of the *Literary Letters*, and to write to add to them his own thoughts (*Einfülle*). And thus in this first fragment he proposes the following problem as perhaps not unworthy of being investigated and of being verified in detail: "How far has also the natural manner of thinking of the Germans an influence on their language? And the language upon their literature? How much can be explained from the nature of their circumstances and organs of speech? How far may her wealth and poverty according to the testimonies of history have arisen from their manner of thinking and mode of life? How far do also the grammatical rules keep parallel with the laws of their manner of thinking? And how can the idioms<sup>23</sup> (*die Idiotismen*) be explained from their manner of thinking? What revolutions has the German language had to undergo in her vital parts? And how far on is she now for the poet, the prose-writer, and the philosopher? A great problem!"

*Language mirrors the life of the nation, the condition and customs of the times.* In the second fragment, in "Von den Lebensaltern einer Sprache," Herder compares the various epochs of a language to the different stages in the age of a human being, from childhood to old age; he makes the different periods of the former correspond to the periods of the latter; and he connects

<sup>22</sup> SWS. (= *Herders Sämmtliche Werke* herausgegeben von Bernhard Suphan, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1877 ff., hereafter abbreviated to SWS, or the designation SWS is altogether omitted before volume number) I, 529.

<sup>23</sup> It must be remarked that idioms, turns of speech, were an object of concern, of discussion and study in the *Literary Letters* where they were sometimes called "Wendungen der Redensarten." In accordance with French, and older German and English but now obsolescent, usage, Herder adheres to the expression "die Idiotismen."

the development of a given period of a language with the mode of life, and manner of thinking of the nation, and with the condition of the times and the customs of the period. As the nation changed or developed, so changed its language; the latter reflected the life of the nation. Childhood, youth, manhood, and old age are Herder's four periods in life and in the development of a language; he sketches briefly these four periods with bold strokes of outline. The first is a period of emotion, language is impassioned; it is an age of feeling, where we find as yet no writing. The second, that of youth, is the age of poetry, language is imaginative and full of metaphors. The third, that of manhood, is the period of beautiful prose. And the fourth, that of old age, is the philosophical period of language; it is characterized by reflection, correctness, and perfection.

*Language and social structure.* "Der nordische Aufseher"<sup>24</sup> that commenced to appear in January 1758, was issued in sixty numbers that year and republished in book form in 1759; that volume was reviewed in the *Literary Letters* and declared to be very well written and containing excellent observations. The twenty-sixth number treats of the means through which one may and must elevate the poetic above the prosaic style;<sup>25</sup> its writer's principle is that no nation has excelled either in prose or in poetry which has not very markedly differentiated her poetic from her prosaic diction, but in Herder's view, according to the testimonies of the ancients, and according to a philosophical knowledge of the *metamorphosis of a language in accordance with customs*, the matter stands thus: every nation furnished the most excellent masterpieces of poetry before prose had separated from poetry. In the philosophical age of language, that of perfection, for the sake of distinctness, circumlocutions were used for the emphatic, concrete words, the synonyms were searched out, defined, discarded, and the idioms were softened, qualified, and toned down; just as the law of nations now became law in the state, so it became likewise in language: one tongue was formed according to the other with which it associated. There originated a nobility, plebeian, and middle classes among the words, just like they arose in society.

<sup>24</sup> A weekly journal, a "moralische Wochenschrift" issuing from Klopstock's and Cramer's circle in the North.

<sup>25</sup> In the third fragment, Herder himself calls it a beautiful essay.

Prior to taking the "Northern Guardian" to task, Herder had already chastised favorite thoughts of other linguistic reformers, such as those of Breitingger expressed in the second part of his *Critische Dichtkunst*, and rectified some of those of Klopstock expressed in his "essay on the language of poesy." He could cite ten other authors who had everywhere missed this entire natural development (*Melempsychosis*) of languages and who did not know enough to go back far enough from their country into another time, in order to judge of distant epochs and dead languages.

*The German tongue and our time and manner of thinking.* In the fourth fragment, Herder comes to the era of the German language. Where does our German tongue stand? To us, prose is the solely natural language. Shall we cultivate this language? How can that be? Either to a more poetical language, in order that the style may become many-sided, beautiful, and more lively; or to a more philosophical language, in order that it become one-sided, correct, and clear; or if it is possible, to both of them.

The last can occur to a certain extent; and must occur according to our time, manner of thinking, and necessity. To be sure, we shall then not arrive from both sides at the highest degree, because both ends can not constitute a point; however, we shall hover in the center, and borrow from the concrete tongues through translations and by copying from them; on the other hand, utilize economically through reflections of philosophy what we borrowed. Therefore, let our tongue be shaped by translation and reflection.

*Idioms and social milieu; poems and land: the idioms of a language are explicable from national genius and customs, historically; old Scotch poems (Ossian is meant) an impress of their country.* A work by Sulzer, entitled "Kurzer Begriff aller Wissenschaften und anderer Theile der Gelehrsamkeit, worinnen jeder nach seinem Inhalt, Nutzen und Vollkommenheit kürzlich beschrieben wird," (1745), appeared in a second, greatly enlarged and completely revised, edition which was discussed in the *Literary Letters*. In the fifth fragment, Herder takes exception to the proposals of means for the perfection of a language that Sulzer had made in that work. Such perfected language would be good for the philosophers, but bad for the

poets. Sulzer would banish all figurative words, and exile all expressions that are not literal; but Herder thinks that "in einer sinnlichen Sprache müssen uneigentliche Wörter, Synonymen, Inversionen, Idiotismen seyn." As Sulzer would abolish idioms, Herder, contrary to him, rises in defense of them in the sixth fragment: idioms are patronymic beauties that no neighbor can purloin from us through a translation, that are damasked into the genius of the language, that one destroys if one sunders them out and rips them up. Why have Shakespeare and Hudibras (Samuel Butler), Swift and Fielding made the feeling of their nation so very much their own? Because they have searched through the rich sources of their language and coupled their humor with idioms, each according to its kind and degree. Why do the English defend their Shakespeare even when he goes astray among the *concelli*<sup>26</sup> and puns?—Precisely these *concelli* which he unites in wedlock with puns, are fruits that can not be carried off into another climate. The poet knew so to pair the peculiarity of language with the peculiarity of his wit that they appear to be made for one another.

Gottsched and his followers ridiculed the inversions,<sup>27</sup> as well as the idioms of the Swiss school, instead of examining them. Really, it must be granted to the Swiss school of critics that they preserved among themselves more than Gottsched and his followers the pith and kernel of the German tongue. Just as, on the whole, the old modes and customs are preserved longer in their country, as they are separated by the Alps and Helvetian national pride from strangers, their language likewise remained more faithful to the old German simplicity. They have, beyond all dispute, carried some things to excess.

In poetry, Ramler, Kleist, and in particular Gleim; in prose, Lessing and Abbt; if one reads these, how much one regrets "den Sulzerschen Einfall, uns keine Idiotismen zu lassen." And if the idioms are good for nothing, they uncloset to the philosopher of language the shafts to investigate the genius of

<sup>26</sup> Flashes of wit, bons mots, witticisms.

<sup>27</sup> In the course of comparisons between the Latin and French tongues, scholars fell also upon an investigation of the so-called inversions, departures from the normal word-order, as they were exemplified for instance in their extreme form in the Latin tongue. Inversions were then a much discussed topic of the day, both in Germany and France.

the language and to compare the same, before everything else, with the genius of the nation. We should explain therefrom many idioms of foreign peoples; for example, why most nations say *der Sonne* and *die Mond*, whereas we say just the opposite,<sup>28</sup> why the Latin *fusus in herba*<sup>29</sup> sounds ever strange to us, could after all be demonstrated from the condition of our old forefathers. As is known, they commenced to count with the night, held their assemblies, resolutions of war and peace at night, and they knew no greater seal of compacts than the clattering of swords with the acclamation, "der Mond ist Zeuge." For the same reason, the expression "im Grase hingegossen" is, forsooth, a too voluptuous metaphor for the wooded, cold Germany, as it had been in former times. What an impress of their country the old Scottish poems<sup>30</sup> are!

*Richness of speech and physical and economic environment: the milieu is reflected in the language; difference in environment causes difference in language and poems; wealth of ancient Hebrew or Arabic and that of the German tongue are as different as the household and mode of life of their respective regions; poems should conform to the milieu; the psalms should be rendered in their Oriental light; David and Assaph would perhaps not have written Cramerian psalms now, in our tongue.* If hitherto we have mostly witnessed Herder's outcroppings on environment, we now find that the seventh fragment is altogether given over to a consideration of a phase of it, namely, of the dependence on the milieu of the nature and copiousness of a language and its stock of words, and of its poems.

Herder concedes that, in general, the statement in the *Literary Letters*<sup>31</sup> that "the correctness of a language takes away

<sup>28</sup> The question was raised in the sixty-second *Literary Letter*, what reason has one to say in German *der Mond*, and *die Sonne*, and in French the reverse—namely, *la lune*, and *le soleil*.

<sup>29</sup> Klopstock had rendered from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, III, 438, the phrase "fusos in herba" with "im Grase hingegossen," at which some critics censoriously caviled, whereupon Klopstock declared in the Northern Guardian in his essay "on the language of poesy" such carping to be "verdrieszlicher Eigensinn"; Herder tries to justify the other side and holds the expression "hingegossen" to be unfit or inappropriate on environmental grounds.

<sup>30</sup> Those of Ossian; despite doubts expressed by the philosopher Hume, Herder held to the genuineness of these poems.

<sup>31</sup> The two hundred and fifty-fourth *Literary Letter* cited from the second essay of Hamann's *Kreuzzüge des Philologen*, entitled "Vermischte Anmer-

from its fullness" remains true and to make this manifest, we may compare the oldest language, the Hebrew, or the Arabic, with ours with reference to copiousness; this richness is as different as the household of those and of our regions. They amassed cattle and servants, we treasure up gold and household utensils; the richness of the two tongues is accordingly.

Theirs is rich in cattle. Names of objects of nature are frequently found in their tongue; in the book of the Hebrews—in the Bible,—there are as many as two hundred and fifty botanical words; names which our language is able to, but does not know how to express, because the *καλοὶ κάγαθοι* of our civil world apply themselves to anything but to gather pastoral knowledge and bucolic acquirements, because our philosophers of nature dwell amidst books and then turn again to Latin books. Our pastoral poets and singers of nature may not pluck therefore the blossoms of these herbs; even if we had German names, these would not be sufficiently known, and would not have enough poetic dignity; for our poems are no longer written for shepherds, but for urban Muses; our language is restricted to a book-language.—On the other hand, Leibniz has already observed that our language is the language of venery and mines;<sup>32</sup> Herder believes, however, that in part it *had been* that; because as the chase and mining are no longer our mode of life, many of these words are partly obsolete and partly pass for technical and craftsmen's terms.

We, accordingly, put forth a greater effort about household utensils. Termini technici, expressions pertaining to citizens, locutions of social intercourse are the most frequent small coins in oral and book-commerce; the ancients, on the other hand, exchanged with gold coins, they spoke through the medium of images; we at best with images, and the imaginative language of our delineating poets is related to the oldest poets as an example is to the allegory. Read Homer, and then read Klop-

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kungen über die Wortfügung in der französischen Sprache," among others, the following passage, "Die Reinigkeit einer Sprache entzieht ihrem Reichthum; eine gar zu gefesselte Richtigkeit, ihrer Stärke und Mannheit." Herder changed this to read "Die Richtigkeit einer Sprache entzieht ihrem Reichthum."—In the same essay, Hamann had compared money with language, and had shown them to resemble each other in not a few of their properties.

<sup>32</sup> "eine Waid- und Bergwerkssprache."

stock; the former paints in that he speaks; he portrays his environment and life about him: living nature and the politic<sup>33</sup> (civil) world; the latter speaks in order to paint, he describes, and in order to be novel, a wholly different world, the world of the soul and of thoughts, whereas the former clothes it in bodies and says, "let it speak itself!"

The economy of the Orientals was rich in servants; so is likewise their language. The inventors of languages, doubtless anything but philosophers, naturally expressed with a new word that which they could not order under another concept. Thus originated synonyms that were so advantageous to the poet, and are such a vexation to the grammatical philosopher. The Arabic poet who has five hundred words for 'lion' that signify various conditions of the same, for instance, young, hungry lion, etc., can paint by means of one word, and through these images drawn with one stroke speak more many-sidedly when he sets them one against the other, than we can who make that distinction clear merely by added definitions. The choruses of the Orientals may almost repeat themselves in their two antitheses; but the picture or the sentence gains novelty through a turn or a word. The coloring alters, and this change is pleasing to the ear of the Oriental; on the other hand, our language which is fascinated by these near-synonyms, must either express the repetitions without this secondary feature; and in that case they are irksome tautologies to our ear; or our language expresses them very ambiguously and strays, as very often in German translations of the Bible, from the principal idea of the picture. The fault truly lies in the disparity of our languages and is difficult to avoid.

From this we can explain the remark of Michaelis<sup>34</sup> that "these tautologies so pleasing to the ear of the Oriental are unbearable to ours." To the Orientals these were not tautologies, but when one chorus explained the other, or made the picture presented new with added lineaments, then this satisfied

<sup>33</sup> "Politisch" was a favorite term in the eighteenth century in the original Greek sense, as the equivalent of πολιτικός -civilis-, pertaining to a πολίτης -civis-, a citizen; "politisch" meant therefore "bürgerlich," civil.

<sup>34</sup> Made in his preface to the first part of his edition of Robert Lowth's Academic Lectures concerning the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews—*De sacra Poesi Hebraeorum Praelectiones Academicæ*—, 1758 f.

eye and ear. Michaelis will find that in the original language these are seldom *complete* repetitions, only they are that, to be sure, in the German translation, and mostly in Cramer's<sup>35</sup> psalms. Cramer seems to have accustomed himself in his odes and elsewhere to these repetitions and paraphrases to an extent that he forgets whether his repetitions are really suitable to the German tongue. Cramer's odes—and they were prior to Klopstock and Ramler the model of German odes—are indeed often a jingle of verses and it is doubtful whether a David and an Assaph, in our time, in our language, would have written Cramerian psalms. But what if Cramer desired to translate them, not to recast them? Well, then let him render them as Oriental psalms with all their light and shade; only he must not paraphrase anything. If Michaelis had Cramer's skill and ease in versification, or Cramer had Michaelis' taste of the Orient, then only would we be able to preserve the Oriental poems according to the genius of our tongue as a German treasure.

As the philosophers, especially Wolff and Baumgarten, but also Sulzer and Kant lessened the number of synonyms by their accurate definitions, our language restricted its synonyms and endeavors instead of servants to amass gold and small coin. Let it be permitted to compare the words of abstract ideas with them. Both are arbitrarily coined, and become current through an arbitrarily determined value; the most solid among both are preserved as treasures; the smaller ones become small coin. On that side also our poetry loses, in which the fancied value dwindles and only the natural one passes current; consequently, where the abstract words are merely valid in proportion as they can be represented concretely. Poetry can, therefore, gain nothing, and has gained nothing, through our philosophers; just as little as the ancients would be able to translate our academic and book-language, as little can we repeat what the ancients had said

Hence, Herder is opposed to abolishing synonyms.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Johann Andreas Cramer, court-chaplain in Kopenhagen, published his *Poetische Übersetzung der Psalmen* in 1755 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Herder changed his opinion about Cramer in the *Addendum* at the end of the third collection, where pertaining to the seventh fragment of the first collection he says (I, 529): "Cramer remains, in my opinion, one of the greatest and most deserving authors who have contributed markedly much to the first

*Literature and customs: for reasons of environment, Greek modes of literary expression can not now be copied; Homer is best read by imagining oneself in the proper milieu in Greece; Homer, Aeschylus, and Sophocles could never have written their works in German in our environment, in our times, and with our present customs. To improve aesthetically the German tongue, the Literary Letters advised good renderings from the Greek and Latin, and also some of the modern literatures. These renderings might become our classical writings; and as an illustration of what can be done in the modern field, Ebert<sup>87</sup> is praised "whom as an excellent translator we justly reckon among our best authors."*

*(To be continued)*

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formation of German taste in our century. Cramer's psalms remain one of the most valuable writings in Germany, and I would perhaps not mention them so often, were I indifferent to them."

<sup>87</sup> Johann Andreas Ebert, 1723-1795, Klopstock's friend, the translator of Young's *Night-thoughts*.

## THE EARLY LITERARY LIFE OF SIR WALTER SCOTT

(Continued)

Scott, now definitely decided on literature as a profession and urged on by his new business connection, was full of new projects. He wrote Ballantyne April 12:

I have imagined a very superb work. What think you of a complete edition of the British Poets, ancient and modern? Johnson's is imperfect and out of print; so is Bell's, which is a Lilliputian thing; and Anderson's, the most complete in point of number, is most contemptible in execution both of editor and printer. There is a scheme for you! At least a hundred volumes, to be published at the rate of ten a year.<sup>123</sup>

When the scheme was broached to London booksellers, however, it developed that they had a similar plan and another editor, the poet Campbell.<sup>123</sup> Scott then proposed a union of forces, an edition to be edited by Campbell and himself jointly. But the ideas of the editors and publishers were soon at variance, the latter refusing to admit certain works which the editors insisted upon.<sup>124</sup> Scott must have at once turned to another venture, the beginning of which is mentioned somewhat obscurely by Lockhart. A Mr. Foster is spoken of as having withdrawn from the editorship of Dryden's works, to be published by Wm. Miller of London, and Scott assumed the whole, including the biography.<sup>125</sup> He wrote to Ellis, probably in the summer or fall,

<sup>123</sup> *Life* i, 402.

<sup>123</sup> As early as Sept. 10, 1804, Constable wrote Campbell, offering "£ 500 for the Collection of Poetry you talked of the other morning" (*A. Constable and his Lit. Corres.* i, 167). This shows, as the author of the just quoted book mentions, that Lockhart is wrong in attributing Campbell's *Specimens* to the "failure of the original [that is, as he regards it, Scott's] project."

<sup>124</sup> In an undated letter to Ellis (*Life* i, 408) Scott says he wished "to begin with Chaucer." As a result of the *impasse* the booksellers went ahead with an edition of the *English Poets* (1810), under the direction of one whom Lockhart unkindly describes as "one of their Grub Street vassals, Mr. Alexander Chalmers." Campbell, too, prepared his *Specimens of English Poetry* (1819).

<sup>125</sup> *Life* i, 403. Lockhart here leaves undated two important letters, one of Ellis and one of Scott, but they are placed after one of the latter written May 26, to which Ellis's letter is an answer.

"My present employment is an edition of John Dryden's Works, which is already gone to press."<sup>126</sup>

Scott's proposal to edit the English poets led Ellis to write, "I should like still better another Minstrel Lay by the last and best Minstrel." To this Scott replied:

As for riding on Pegasus, depend upon it I will never again cross him in a serious way, unless I should by some strange accident reside so long in the Highlands, and make myself master of their ancient manners, so as to paint them with some degree of accuracy in a kind of *companion* to the Minstrel Lay.

We may infer that at least the idea of such a Highland poem was in his mind, but a definite announcement of such a venture belongs to the following year. In the same letter Ellis had suggested "an edition of our historians" which, as he mentions, "Gibbon once undertook."<sup>127</sup> Ellis even proposed the matter to the London bookseller Rees and others, for Scott wrote in the same letter:

I have had booksellers here in the plural number. You have set little Rees's head agog about the Chronicles, which would be an admirable work but should, I think, be edited by an Englishman who can have access to the MSS. of Oxford and Cambridge, as one cannot trust much to the correctness of printed copies.<sup>128</sup>

Later Scott seems to have considered the matter of the historians more seriously, for in writing to Ellis, apparently in the late fall, he says:

I have written a long letter to Rees, recommending an edition of our historians, both Latin and English; but I have great hesitation whether to undertake much of it myself. What I can I certainly will do; but I should feel

<sup>126</sup> *Life* i, 408. The going to press presumably refers to the text only. Scott discusses with Ellis the editing of Dryden in letters of Oct. and Nov. (*Life* i, 427-34).

<sup>127</sup> In a note to the third volume of the *Decline and Fall*, Gibbon expressed the hope that England would imitate other modern nations in publishing the manuscript materials of her early history. In 1792 also, then first seeing some letters on the same subject by Philistor in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1788, he again became interested. On going to England the next year Gibbon learned that the author of the letters was Mr. John Pinkerton. He arranged a meeting, proposed Pinkerton's editing the English chroniclers, succeeded in arranging for a publisher, and was writing a *Prospectus* of the work at the time of his death.

<sup>128</sup> The allusions to the booksellers, to editing Dryden, and to "riding on Pegasus" again are all in the undated letter of Scott already referred to, and given by Lockhart in *Life* i, 408.

particularly delighted if you would join forces with me, when I think we might do the business to purpose. Do, Lord love you, think of this *grande opus*.<sup>129</sup>

It is barely possible some such undertaking was in his mind when he wrote to Leyden on July 5:

I have one or two trifling undertakings besides Dryden, but they are hardly worth mentioning, though I may probably detail them in another letter before these ships sail.<sup>130</sup>

Still later, as we shall see, Scott did engage himself to edit such works as Sadler's *State Papers* and the *Somers Tracts*.

Again, this year 1805 was to witness Scott's return to the idea of prose fiction. We have seen that he had begun such writing in 1799, under the influence of Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* and German supernaturalism.<sup>131</sup> Now a more original sort of novel possessed Scott's fertile brain. In a letter to Robert Surtees about a year later he wrote how the "feuds of 1715 and 1745" have "often and deeply interested me from my earliest youth," and added:

Certainly I will not renounce the idea of doing something to preserve these stories, and the memory of times and manners which, though existing as it were yesterday, have so strangely vanished from our eyes. Whether this will be best done by collecting the old tales, or by modernizing them as subjects of legendary poetry, I have never very seriously considered; but your kind encouragement confirms me in the resolution that something I must do and speedily.<sup>132</sup>

In fact, in 1805 Scott had already begun *Waverley*, writing the first six chapters and, as he tells us in his *General Preface* of 1829, had it advertised to be published "under the name 'Waverley, or 'Tis Fifty Years Since.'"<sup>133</sup> But when Scott submitted

<sup>129</sup> *Life* i, 432, where the letter is undated but seems to have been written between those of Oct. 17 and Nov. 7.

<sup>130</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 36.

<sup>131</sup> See pp. 50-1 of this *Journal*, vol. xxiii, in the first part of this article on Scott.

<sup>132</sup> Taylor's *Life of Surtees*, Surtees Society xxiv, 31-2; the letter is of Dec. 17, 1806. Correspondence had begun some years earlier, and Surtees had palmed off on Scott as an ancient ballad one of his own invention, the *Death of Featherstonehaugh*, which Scott had printed in his *Minstrelsy* (Henderson's ed. ii, 110).

<sup>133</sup> "It was advertised to be published by the late Mr. John Ballantyne, bookseller in Edinburgh, under the name" etc.

Lockhart verifies the date 1805 for the beginning of the romance (*Life* i, 409 footnote) by saying, "a small part of the MS. of *Waverley* is on paper bearing the watermark of 1805—the rest on paper of 1813." On the other

the new venture to the judgment of a friend,<sup>134</sup> the latter decidedly discouraged the poet, and he, unwilling to risk his "poetical reputation" by failure in a prose romance, a second time put novel writing aside for some years.

Two short poems belong to this important year in Scott's literary life. In the autumn Scott and his wife visited the Wordsworths and the Lake country. In their sight-seeing Scott, Wordsworth and Humphrey Davy climbed Hellvellyn, and a tragic incident then narrated was made the subject of Scott's poem named from the mountain. Lockhart also tells us with great definiteness that the *Bard's Incantation* was composed in the same autumn, a little after the visit to Wordsworth. From that visit Scott and his wife went to Gilsland, where they had first met, when an alarm of invasion by the French caused Scott to ride in hot haste to Dalkeith. "It was during his fiery ride from Gilsland to Dalkeith . . . that he composed his Bard's Incantation."<sup>135</sup>

Notwithstanding this definite placing of the poem in the autumn of 1805, it is usually printed with the descriptive statement "Written under the threat of invasion in the autumn of 1804." Lockhart, too, adds to his own account, "see note 'Alarm of Invasion,' *Antiquary* vol. ii, p. 338," which is equally misleading. To dispose of Lockhart's note first, the reference to an "alarm of invasion" in the *Antiquary* is to one which occurred on the evening of Feb. 2, 1804, by the mistaken firing of a beacon. Neither time, therefore, nor occasion would satisfy the conditions in relation to Scott's poem.<sup>136</sup> Again, I find no evidence of any "threat of invasion" in 1804, at least after the early winter of that year. Threat of invasion by Napoleon there had been in the fall of 1803, calling out the famous sonnets of Wordsworth as already noted. In 1804, however,

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hand, Lockhart is unnecessarily severe with Scott for connecting the composition of *Waverley* with the favorable impression of the *Lady of the Lake* when it was published. While none too clear in his *General Preface*, Scott must refer to the time when most of the novel was written.

<sup>134</sup> Lockhart doubtless rightly conjectures William Erskine (*Life* ii, 151).

<sup>136</sup> *Life* i, 425-6. Lockhart is wrong in saying the poem was first published in the *Edinburgh Annual Register* "six years later," for it appeared in the volume for 1808, printed in 1810. There it is said to be "From the English Minstrelsy," published earlier in that year.

<sup>136</sup> See the note in the *Antiquary*.

Napoleon was engrossed with internal affairs, and with bringing about his elevation to the imperial throne. His greatest threat of invasion was in 1805, when the Boulogne encampment was formed and equipped for an oversea expedition. At that time England gathered 300,000 men to repel the invading forces, while in the autumn there was special uncertainty regarding the allied fleet. There can be little doubt that Scott wrote the poem at this time.<sup>137</sup>

A minor venture is hinted at in a letter of Sept. 2 by George Chalmers to A. G. Hunter, partner of Constable. The writer says:

You talked of a new edition of D. Herd's *Songs*, to be edited by Mr. W. Scott. Is this almost ready for the public? I hope Mr. Scott will not *touch the text*.<sup>138</sup>

I find, however, no further reference to this matter, and no new edition of Herd's *Songs* about this time, so that apparently the venture was not undertaken. Yet the allusion indicates a new interest in songs and song writing, which was to continue for some years.

Scott continued to write for the *Edinburgh Review*, publishing six articles in this year, one or more in every issue of the quarterly. For the January number he reviewed Johnes's translation of *Froissart's Chronicles*, a labor he must have especially enjoyed, and Colonel Thomas Thornton's *Sporting Tour through the Northern Parts of England and the Highlands of Scotland*. In April he wrote upon Godwin's *Fleetwood*, of special interest since he made his beginning of *Waverley* in this year. In July he contributed reviews of the *Highland Society's Report on the*

<sup>137</sup> Conditions point especially to September or early October as the time of the hurried ride and the composition of the poem. During the spring and summer Nelson was searching in vain for the allied fleet under Villeneuve, following it to the West Indies and back to Europe. On Aug. 31 Nelson wrote of the uncertainties: "Every ship, even the Victory, is ordered out, for there is entire ignorance whether the Ferrol [that is, allied] fleet is coming northward, gone to the Mediterranean, or cruising for our valuable homeward-bound fleet." —(Mahan's *Nelson* ii, 327). On Sept. 2 it was learned that the allied fleet was at Cadiz, and on Oct. 21 Trafalgar was fought. In October Scott was at home again, for Southey visited him between Oct. 3 and 20, according to *Southey's Letters* i, 340-42. Scott wrote Ellis on Oct. 17 of Southey's visit "a few days ago." —*Life* i, 428.

<sup>138</sup> *Arch. Constable and his Lit. Corres.* i, 414.

*Ossian MSS.*, and of two Cookery Books, the *New Practice of Cooking* and *Culina Famulatrix Medicinæ, or Receipts in Modern Cookery*, odd books for Scott except as hack work. For the October number he had the more congenial task of reviewing Todd's edition of *Edmund Spenser's Works*.<sup>139</sup>

During the year 1806 Scott's original work does not seem to have been considerable. He was engrossed in his edition of Dryden, which was also to require another year for its completion. He was in London in February for at least two weeks, consulting books not to be obtained elsewhere,<sup>140</sup> and back at Ashestiel by April, when he wrote Ellis: "My principal companion in my solitude is John Dryden."<sup>141</sup> On June 9 he wrote to Lady Abercorn, "My grand edition of Dryden's Works is advancing,"<sup>142</sup> and to Leyden on July 5 more fully:

Meanwhile my present *grande opus* consists in a uniform edition of Dryden's works, which, as you know, have never been collected, with notes critical and illustratory by the Editor.<sup>143</sup>

In June Scott wrote his song, *Health to Lord Melville*, which was sung by James Ballantyne on the twenty-seventh at the banquet to Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, first Lord of the Admiralty under Pitt. The banquet was given on his acquittal in proceedings of impeachment, proceedings which had been watched with great interest by Melville's Scotch friends.<sup>144</sup>

Lockhart connects, though not very clearly, this public approval of Lord Melville by a song in his favor with Scott's appointment as Clerk of Session in this year. The *Introduction* of 1830 helps to explain the matter, but again leaves something

<sup>139</sup> *Life* i, 409, verified and extended.

<sup>140</sup> *Life* i, 443-7.

<sup>141</sup> *Life* i, 449.

<sup>142</sup> *Fam. Let.* i, 46.

<sup>143</sup> *Fam. Let.* i, 36.

<sup>144</sup> *Life* i, 456. The impeachment was for misappropriation of funds, an investigating commission having been appointed in 1802 on Addington's becoming prime minister. The impeachment of 1806 followed the report of the committee the preceding year, and though acquitted Melville never again held office. The clear indication of indiscretion on Melville's part left little reason for hilarity on the part of his Scotch friends. Yet Chalmers could write Mr. Constable from London on June 12: "I never saw so much joy expressed by all ranks as I witnessed yesterday on Lord Melville's acquittal."—*Arch. Constable and his Lit. Corres.* i, 424.

to be desired. The circumstances are these. Toward the close of his life Pitt had wished to do something for Scott, and a commission for his appointment as Clerk of Session was made out and signed by the king. Pitt's sudden death in January 1806 prevented the action being concluded but, notwithstanding Scott's politics, the appointment was made by the Grenville and Fox ministry on March 8. The appointment of a Tory by a Whig ministry caused some stir, and in Scotland some suspicion of Scott's having incurred obligations to the Whigs. The opportunity for Scott to announce more clearly his Tory partizanship came in the banquet to Lord Melville, and for this purpose the song was written and sung.

In September was published the first collected edition of Scott's early poems, under the title of *Ballads and Lyrical Pieces*.<sup>145</sup> A brief advertisement preceding them said:

These ballads have already appeared in different collections, some in the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, others in the *Tales of Wonder*, and some in both these miscellanies. They are now first collected into one volume. The songs have been written at different times for the musical collections of Mr. George Thomson and Mr. White.

The volume included *Glenfinlas*, *The Eve of St. John*, *Cadyow Castle*, *The Grey Brother*, *Thomas the Rhymer*, *The Fire-King*, *Frederick and Alice*, *The Wild Huntsman*, *War Song*, *The Norman Horse-Shoe*, *The Dying Bard*, *The Maid of Toro*, *Hellvellyn*. Lockhart tells us also that Scott thought of including his *House of Aspen*, but finally decided against it.

Lockhart explains the contents of the volume by saying the Longmans of London were responsible for it, they owning the copyright of the poems which had appeared in the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. They doubtless also made some arrangement with Bell of London who published the *Tales of Wonder*, in which five of the poems had first appeared. For the "Lyrical Pieces" Lockhart says the Longmans paid £ 100, that is for the last four poems. Of these the *Hellvellyn* has been accounted for, and the *Maid of Toro* was merely a revised version of a song in the *House of Aspen*, written as we have seen in 1799. The *Norman Horse-Shoe* and the *Dying Bard*, or *Last Words of Cadwallon* as it was then called, were later printed in the *Select Collection of Original Welsh Airs*, vol. I, 1809, by George Thomson

<sup>145</sup> *Life* i, 461.

of Edinburgh, where they are both said to have been "written for this work by Walter Scott, Esq." If, therefore, any of the songs of this volume were written "for Mr. White," only the revised version of the *Maid of Toro* could have been intended. It is possible, however, Scott had in mind three songs which appeared in this same year in a Collection published by Whyte, as the name should be.<sup>146</sup>

In this volume of *Ballads and Lyrical Pieces* Scott did not include, it will be noticed, his *William and Helen* or the *Erl-King*. Not unlikely the criticisms of Lewis, and his exclusion of it from the *Tales of Wonder*, account for Scott's not including the first. It was not placed among his *Poems* until the edition of 1820, two years after the death of Lewis, and then with the following note:

The Author had resolved to omit the following version of a well-known Poem in any collection which he might make of his poetical trifles. But the publishers having pleaded for its admission the author has consented, though not unaware of the disadvantage at which this youthful essay (for it was written in 1795) must appear with those which have been executed by much abler hands, in particular that of Mr. Taylor of Norwich, and that of Mr. Spencer.

The following Translation was written long before the author saw any other, and originated in the following circumstances. A lady of high rank in the literary world read this romantic tale, as translated by Mr. Taylor, in the house of the celebrated professor Dugald Stuart of Edinburgh. The author was not present, nor indeed in Edinburgh at the time; but a gentleman who had the pleasure of hearing the ballad afterwards told him the story, and repeated the remarkable chorus,

"Tramp! tramp! along the land they rode,

"Splash! splash! along the sea;

"Hurrah! hurrah! The dead can ride!

"Dost fear to ride with me?"

In attempting a translation then intended only to circulate among friends, the present author did not hesitate to make use of this impressive stanza; for

<sup>146</sup> George Thomson was an Edinburgh musician, and editor of *Original Scottish Airs* in six volumes 1793-1841. The first four volumes were published by 1805 but contained nothing by Scott. To the fifth volume (1818) he contributed four songs, all written after the time now considered. For the settings of many of his songs Thomson had employed the great musical composer Joseph Haydn.

William Whyte was a music publisher of Edinburgh who, in opposition to Thomson, engaged Haydn to write the musical settings for two volumes of Scottish songs, calling them *Haydn's Collection of Scottish Airs*. They appeared in 1806-7, and to them also Scott contributed some new songs as we shall see.

which freedom he has since obtained the forgiveness of the ingenious gentleman to whom it properly belongs.

The *Erl-King*, on which Scott evidently set even less store, was not included in his *Collected Poems* during his lifetime.

The bulky edition of Dryden's Works was not sufficient for Scott's omnivorous appetite for editing in this year. As he saw the completion of one labor he looked forward to another. On June 4 Constable wrote George Chalmers in London:

I do not know if Mr. Hunter ever mentioned to you that we some time ago had the inspection of a most valuable and various collection of Original Papers in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, preserved since the time of Sir Ralph Sadler. . . . We have got leave to publish either the whole or part, and for that purpose they are now in the hands of Mr. Walter Scott, from whom we expect a valuable selection, to make (perhaps) two respectable quarto volumes, to be printed by Ballantyne, embellished with portraits, autographs, etc.<sup>147</sup>

This letter shows Lockhart again wrong, at least in his reference to Sadler:

His engagements with London publishers respecting the Somers and the Sadler were, I believe, entered into before the end of 1807.<sup>148</sup>

From the letters published by Constable it is clear some work upon the *Sadler Papers* must have been done in this year, though, as Lockhart later tells us the actual labor "was chiefly the work of Mr. Arthur Clifford—but Scott drew up the Memoir and Notes, and superintended the printing."<sup>149</sup>

Meanwhile Scott had continued his correspondence with Miss Seward, and one letter of hers is especially important. She had sent Scott her verses to Father Tweed, verses not printed in her *Poems*, and he had answered in April. In that letter, too, he had made a deprecatory criticism of his *Lay* which deserves quotation:

The *Lay of the Last Minstrel* has been for a long time so much out of my thoughts that your approbation recalls very pleasingly the feelings with which I composed it, and is something like the eulogium upon a departed friend.

<sup>147</sup>*A. Constable and his Lit. Corres.* i, 420. On Nov. 28 Constable wrote John Murray of London about certain books for Scott in editing the *Sadler Papers*, and in December the *Papers* were being printed.

<sup>148</sup>*Life* ii, 10.

<sup>149</sup>*Life* ii, 87.

<sup>150</sup>*Familiar Letters* i, 40. Scott's letter is of April 10.

Could I have thought it would have attracted so much of your attention, I would have endeavoured to have written it better, and in consequence might very likely not have done it so well. Still, the flimsiness of the story might have been corrected by a little thought and attention, which I now regret not having bestowed upon it.<sup>150</sup>

Miss Seward's answer of June 20 is proof that Lockhart has antedated by one full year a letter of Scott to her. The letter is conjecturally dated 1805 and Lockhart says of it, "The following letter must have been written in the course of this autumn."<sup>151</sup> In it, however, Scott discusses at length the Ossian poems, clearly in answer to Miss Seward's request of June 20, 1806, for his "sentiments on the reality or pretence of that bold poetic source." On Sept. 23 of that year she thanks Scott "for your ingenious and ingenuous dissertation in the letter before me, concerning the long disputed claim of originality for Ossian."<sup>152</sup> There can be no question, therefore, that Scott's letter was written between June 20 and Sept. 23, 1806, probably nearer the latter date.<sup>153</sup>

Scott's wrongly dated letter is important for another reason. Though written a year later than Lockhart supposed, it contains one of the earliest definite references to Scott's most important romantic poem, the *Lady of the Lake*, which was already in contemplation. He wrote at this time:

I have had for some time thoughts of writing a Highland poem, somewhat in the style of the Lay, giving as far as I can a real picture of what that enthusiastic race actually were before the destruction of their patriarchal government. It is true I have not the same facilities as in describing Border manners, where I am as they say more at home. But to balance my comparative deficiency in

<sup>151</sup> *Life* i, 410.

<sup>152</sup> *Letters* vi, 314. Scott's "dissertation" covers four pages of Pollard's *Lockhart*.

<sup>153</sup> The possibility of Miss Seward's letter having been misdated in the published volume is set at rest by her reference to Sir Richard Hoare's edition of Giraldus de Barry's *Itinerary of Bishop Baldwin* as "translated in 1806," the correct year of its appearance. Scarcely less definite—indicative of her liberalism in politics—is her reference to the death of Fox, Sept. 13, 1806, as "the extinction of that bright luminary, whose fifteen years earlier ascent in the zenith would have preserved, by its benign and pacific influence, the freedom of the continent, and averted from Britain all her present difficulties and dangers."

Lockhart's mistake, apart from his too great carelessness in many particulars, may have been due to his association of Scott's letter with one to Ellis, clearly written in 1805; see *Life* i, 408, and the later discussion of Ellis's letter.

knowledge of Celtic manners, you are to consider that I have from my youth delighted in all the Highland traditions which I could pick up from the old Jacobites who used to frequent my father's house; and this will, I hope, make some amends for my having less immediate opportunities of research than in the Border tales.<sup>154</sup>

The only other early suggestion of such a poem, that in the letter to Ellis already quoted, shows the project had not yet taken any real hold of Scott's mind.<sup>155</sup>

Two somewhat earlier letters of this same summer mention the project of a new poem, though with less seriousness. To Lady Abercorn Scott wrote on June 9:

The booksellers are publishing a fourth edition of the Lay, and also some of the ballads which call me father, from the Border collection that I formerly published. I intend to add to these last a few little things so as to make them into a little volume, which I shall take an early opportunity of laying at your Ladyship's feet. Besides all this I have a grand work in contemplation, but so distant, so distant that the distance between Edinburgh and Stanmore is nothing to it. This is a Highland romance of Love, Magic, and War, founded upon the manners of our mountaineers, with my stories about whom your Ladyship was so much interested. My great deficiency is that, being born and bred not only a lowlander but a borderer, I do not in the least understand the Gaelic language, and therefore am much at a loss to find authentic materials for my undertaking.<sup>156</sup>

Again he wrote to Dr. Leyden on July 5:

The reception of the Lay has been very flattering, and the sale both rapid and extensive. I am somewhat tempted to undertake a Highland poem upon the same plan.<sup>157</sup>

Yet much as the idea of such a poem was in Scott's mind in these months, he was to be prevented from working it out by various unforeseen circumstances.

In October appeared anonymously Scott's edition of the *Original Memoirs Written during the Great Civil Wars, being the Life of Sir Henry Slingsby, and Memoirs of Captain Hodgson*.<sup>158</sup> For this Scott wrote a brief biography of Slingsby and some un-

<sup>154</sup> *Life* i, 414.

<sup>155</sup> See p. 242 and *Life* i, 408. It is perhaps the mention to Ellis of a possible Highland poem that misled Lockhart as to the date of Scott's letter.

<sup>156</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 46. The "little volume" was of course the *Ballads and Lyrical Pieces*, and the "few little things" the short poems which followed the *Wild Huntsman*.

<sup>157</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 36.

<sup>158</sup> *Life* i, 462.

important notes. It was one of the least successful of Scott's ventures. Meanwhile, disasters had occurred in Scott's family which explain why he did not carry out at this time his expressed purpose of writing a "Highland Poem," the *Lady of the Lake* as it was to be called some years later. He wished, as he says, more time to familiarize himself with the Highland country and Highland customs, while now urgent needs prompted a speedier undertaking. Monetary difficulties of his brother Thomas made a considerable sum necessary at once if he would assist.<sup>159</sup> Scott therefore proposed to himself another poem on a less difficult subject, as the readiest means of supplying his immediate necessities.

Thomas Scott had continued his father's business of writer to the Signet, but through careless habits and unfortunate speculation was now in financial straits. Especially had his management of the Marquis of Abercorn's estates caused difficulties, and now failure.<sup>160</sup> Scott was personally involved as surety for his brother, so that personal as well as fraternal reasons required immediate action. As a result he began a new poem first called *Flodden Field*, but later to be known as

<sup>159</sup> *Life* i, 398, 464, 473; ii, 113.

<sup>160</sup> The most complete statement of the difficulties is in a letter to Miss Seward, in which Scott says:

"My younger brother's affairs fell very suddenly into irretrievable disorder at a time when his wife was confined after the birth of a son, and under a variety of other circumstances tending to aggravate a calamity in itself sufficiently severe. He had been for many years manager of the estates of the Marquis of Abercorn, and I was surety to his employer for the regular payment of his rents. The consequence of my brother's failure was that the whole affairs of these extensive estates were thrown upon my hands in a state of unutterable confusion, so that to save myself from ruin I was obliged to lend my constant and unremitting attention to their re-establishment. In the course of this unfortunate business I was so absolutely worried to death that I had neither head nor heart to think of anything else. Fortunately, from Lord Abercorn's friendship and liberality of sentiment on the one hand, and unceasing attention on the other, I have put things into such a train as to avoid a personal loss, which would not only have deprived me of the power of assisting my brother's family, but very much cramped me in maintaining my own, or deprived me of that independence which in my opinion is essential to happiness."

Scott is apologizing for not earlier recognizing the satisfaction experienced in the visit to Miss Seward early in May, 1807. This letter, with its full details of his affairs, is of Aug. 11, 1807, and is found in *Familiar Letters* i, 76 ff. Lockhart gives only a second and less explicit letter to Miss Seward, in answer to hers of Aug. 24; see *Life* i, 472.

*Marmion*. From the Introduction to Canto I, the epistle to William Stewart Rose, it is clear the poem was begun in November of this year by the composition of the first canto, and perhaps the second with its introductory epistle. By December 17 he could write to Robert Surtees:

I have some part of a poem or tale upon this subject [“the fatal field of Flodden” in the preceding sentence], which I will be happy to show you one day.<sup>161</sup>

The haste in composition, required by his monetary difficulties, is deprecated in Scott’s *Introduction* to the edition of *Marmion* in 1830. He there says:

I had formed the prudent resolution to endeavour to bestow a little more labour than I had yet done on my productions, and to be in no hurry again to announce myself as a candidate for literary fame. Accordingly, particular passages of a poem which was finally called *Marmion* were laboured with a good deal of care, by one by whom much care was seldom bestowed. . . .

The misfortunes of a near relation and friend, which happened at this time, led me to alter my prudent determination, which had been to use great precaution in sending this poem into the world; and made it convenient at least, if not absolutely necessary to hasten its publication.

He goes on to specify particulars which might have been bettered, and mentions the “furious remonstrance” on the subject of “my friend Dr. Leyden.” Yet he falls back on what we now know was an earlier resolution regarding corrections suggested by others, and adds a further extension of that resolution:

I have, nevertheless, always been of opinion that corrections, however in themselves judicious, have a bad effect—after publication. An author is never so decidedly condemned as on his own confession, and may long find apologists and partisans until he gives up his own cause.

Three of Scott’s songs are usually assigned to this year, those called *The Palmer*, *The Maid of Neidpath Castle*, and *Wandering Willie*.<sup>162</sup> These were first printed in what was called *Haydn’s Collection of Scottish Airs*, published by William Whyte of Edinburgh, who had procured Haydn for the musical settings. The first of the two volumes appeared in 1806, but the second not until 1807, and it is in this volume that the songs of Scott appear. Beyond this, so far as I know, we have

<sup>161</sup> Taylor’s *Life of Surtees*, Surtees Society, vol. 24, pp. 31 ff.

<sup>162</sup> Assigned to 1806 by Scudder, and by Robertson, based on Lockhart.

no knowledge of the exact time of composition, Lockhart not mentioning these songs at all. From internal evidence—the clear reference to Trafalgar in the last stanza<sup>163</sup>—*Wandering Willie* must have been written after Oct. 21, 1805. The reference to songs written for the collection of “Mr. White,” in the advertisement to Scott’s *Ballads and Lyrical Pieces*, may have been intended for these songs, as already noted. If so, the fact that Whyte’s second volume of *Scottish Airs* was not issued until 1807 may have been the reason for not including them in Scott’s volume of 1806. At least it is perhaps as reasonable to suppose these three songs were composed in the last part of 1806.<sup>164</sup>

As usual, too, before his break with the *Edinburgh*, Scott contributed articles to that quarterly. For the January number he reviewed in one paper the somewhat similar publications of two friends, the *Early English Romances* of George Ellis, and the *Ancient English Metrical Romances* of Joseph Ritson. To the October issue he contributed two articles, a review of William Herbert’s *Poems and Translations* from various foreign languages, and a humorous notice of the *Miseries of Human Life*, published anonymously, but now known to have been by the Rev. James Beresford.

By the beginning of 1807 Scott was ready to make arrangements for publishing his new poem, and Constable at once offered a thousand guineas for the copyright, “without having seen one line” as Lockhart says.<sup>165</sup> The letter of Constable making the offer is of Jan. 30, 1807, and is worth quoting in part for its use of the earlier name by which the poem was then known:

We have much pleasure in accepting your new poem *Flodden Field*, and not less in agreeing to pay for the same the sum of One Thousand Guineas.<sup>166</sup>

<sup>163</sup> See the lines,

Enough now thy story in annals of glory  
Has humbled the pride of France, Holland, and Spain.

<sup>164</sup> See pp. 247-8.

<sup>165</sup> *Life* i, 463.

<sup>166</sup> *Arch. Constable and his Lit. Corres.* iii, 7-8. The rest of the letter relates to publishing details. The matter must have been discussed with Constable still earlier, since George Chalmers could write to Constable’s partner Hunter on Jan. 14: “I am glad to hear that Mr. Walter Scott is to outdo himself in a new poem.”

Lockhart does not mention the earlier name, and his earliest reference to the completion of any part of the poem is of February 22, 1807, when he speaks of the acknowledgment of the Introduction to Canto III by the Princess of Wales.<sup>187</sup> Yet on January 18 Scott had written Miss Seward of his altered plan regarding his Highland poem, and had agreed to send her parts of his new venture. In her reply of Jan. 29 Miss Seward says:

However I may regret the necessity you find of giving a sleeping draft to your Highland Poem, I feel the wisdom of your doing so till the revivifying journey into those regions can be taken. . . . I am also infinitely flattered by your purpose of sending for my inspection such parts of Flodden-Field as are sprung to light.

The quotation not only confirms the first name of the poem as given by Constable, but explains Scott's allusion to it in the *Introduction* of 1830 as "the poem which was finally called *Marmion*." Not unlikely also Miss Seward's letter furnishes a clue to Scott's alteration of the title. She refers to having mentioned the new project to her friend Captain Hastings, who thought the subject "tender ground" for the patriotism of a Scotchman. He questioned whether it might not wound the known nationality of the Scotch to see poetic celebrity and poetic immortality given, and that by a native, to the most disastrous event in their military annals.<sup>188</sup> It is not unreasonable to believe this criticism influenced Scott, since within a month he had altered the title of the new poem as we shall see.

On February 20 Scott fulfilled his promise of sending to Miss Seward a specimen of his new poem, the "introductory epistle" of the third canto which had been printed separately.<sup>189</sup> His letter, too, contains so many details of his work at this time, that it is surprising Lockhart did not use it for more than one particular. Scott first tells Miss Seward,

<sup>187</sup> *Life* i, 466.

<sup>188</sup> *Letters* vi, 327-8. Scott had first visited Flodden Field in 1791, and had written from there to his friend William Clerk on Aug. 26; see *Life* i, 154.

<sup>189</sup> So says Scott himself in a letter to Lady Abercorn (*Familiar Letters* i, 115). This separate print may have been connected with a plan of printing the Introductory epistles, used in *Marmion*, as a separate volume, as will be shown later.

I have at length fixed on the title of my new poem, which is to be christened from the principal character, *Marmion or a Tale of Flodden Field*. There are to be six Cantos, and an introductory Epistle to each in the style of that which I send to you as a specimen.

He adds, regarding the criticism of Captain Hastings,

I am not at all afraid of my patriotism being a sufferer in the course of the tale. It is very true that my friend Leyden has said:

"Alas! that Scottish maid should sing  
The combat where her lover fell,  
That Scottish Bard should wake the string,  
The triumph of our foes to tell."

But we may say with Francis I, "that at Flodden all was lost *but our honour*,"—an exception which includes everything that is desirable for a poet.<sup>170</sup>

On the day following his letter to Miss Seward, Scott wrote to Robert Surtees of his new poem:

I must now tell you (for I think your correspondence has been chiefly the cause of it) that, by calling my attention back to these times and topics which we have been canvassing, you are likely to occasion the world to be troubled with more border minstrelsy. I have made some progress in a legendary poem which is to be entitled 'Marmion, or a Tale of Flodden-Field.' It is in six Cantos, each having a l'envoy, or introductory epistle in more modern verse. In the first Canto I have introduced a verse of the Thirlwalls, &c. Marmion, on an embassy to Scotland, is entertained at Norham Castle by Heron, the Captain of that fortress.<sup>171</sup>

Surtees had written Dec. 8, 1806, asking Scott whether he felt "no inducement to continue your collections of the interesting periods of 15 and 45," and Scott had answered in a letter of Dec. 17, part of which has been quoted in relation to *Waverley*.<sup>172</sup> On Feb. 12, 1807, Surtees had expressed pleasure in Scott's intention of further illustrating those times,<sup>173</sup> and adds:

No one can hesitate to wish you should adopt that [model] of taking the most interesting traces of those times as the subject of original poetry.<sup>174</sup>

<sup>170</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 71, part of which was quoted by Scudder in his edition of Scott's *Poetical Works*. The remainder of the letter tells of his "editorial labours for two years" on *Dryden's Works*, and he adds of his poetry the sentences, among others, already quoted on p. 57 in first part of this article.

<sup>171</sup> Taylor's *Life of Surtees*, p. 40.

<sup>172</sup> See p. 253.

<sup>173</sup> See footnote 132.

<sup>174</sup> *Life of Surtees*, p. 36.

Miss Seward acknowledged receipt of the specimen of *Marmion* and Hogg's *Mountain Bard* on April 17, twice calling the poem *Flodden-Field*.<sup>176</sup> On May 10 she wrote to F. H. Cary, the translator of Dante:

Constable, Scott's Edinburgh publisher, dined with me a fortnight ago, and said he had agreed with Mr. Scott to give a thousand guineas for *Flodden-Field*, a poem now on the anvil.<sup>176</sup>

Meanwhile, in April, Scott had sent cantos i and ii from London to Ballantyne, and canto iii from the home of William Stewart Rose,<sup>177</sup> to whom the Introduction to the first canto was addressed. To Lady Abercorn he wrote May 15:

You will expect to hear something of *Marmion*. He begs his respectful compliments to the Marchioness, and will have the honour of kissing her hand at Christmas, having adjourned his introduction to public life till that period.<sup>178</sup>

The subsequent letters to Surtees take up the story of the poem, now called simply *Marmion*. On June 12 he wrote:

This by-job [duties in connection with the dissolution of Parliament] has a little interfered with the progress of my new poem *Marmion*, which I think I told you I had upon the stocks, and in which I have availed myself of your curious old ballad of the Featherstonehaugh feud.<sup>179</sup>

And on July 28 he adds:

I have just finished some unpleasant business which has robbed me of some part of my vacation;<sup>180</sup>

a reference to the settlement of matters connected with his brother's troubles. Guthrie Wright, too, who had succeeded Thomas Scott in the management of the Abercorn estates, remembered the "three or four first cantos" of *Marmion* as completed "in the summer of 1807" when he and Scott were together. That he must have heard the fourth canto seems clear, from his criticism of Scott at that time for the strange road *Marmion* had taken from England to Scotland, while to him was due the introduction of Tantallon Castle in the fifth and sixth cantos.<sup>181</sup>

<sup>176</sup> *Letters* vi, 333.

<sup>176</sup> *Letters* vi, 340.

<sup>177</sup> *Life* i, 466-8.

<sup>178</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 75.

<sup>179</sup> *Life of Surtees*, p. 56.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.* p. 60.

<sup>181</sup> *Life* i, 470.

On August 11 Scott wrote Miss Seward, apologizing for not having earlier acknowledged her hospitality at Lichfield in May, telling of his "younger brother's affairs"—the "unpleasant business" of the Surtees letter—as the cause, and adding:

In the midst of all this bustle it is scarcely necessary to say that my harp has been hung on the willows; my grand poem called *Marmion* has been entirely stopped, even when half finished, and Dryden has crept on very slowly.<sup>182</sup>

By September, however, Scott was again at work on the poem, for he wrote Lady Abercorn Sept. 10: "*Marmion* has been sadly interrupted, but is now making some progress."<sup>183</sup> On Oct. 1, too, Scott wrote to Southey:

I hope very soon to send you my *Life of Dryden*, and eke my last Lay—(by the way, the former ditty was only proposed as the lay of the last Minstrel, not his last fitt.<sup>184</sup>

The allusion is to Southey's letter of Sept. 27, in which he had said:

I rejoice to hear that we are to have another Lay, and hope we may have as many Last Lays of the Minstrel as our ancestors had Last Words of Mr. Baxter.<sup>185</sup>

One further letter of Scott to Miss Seward bears on the writing of *Marmion*, now nearing completion. It is in answer to the last of hers printed by Constable, that of Nov. 5, 1807. Scott replied on Nov. 23:

I have resumed my poem in order to accomplish my engagement with the Booksellers, which has been terribly retarded.

He adds, in explanation of one part of the poem,

My reason for transporting *Marmion* from Lichfield was to make good the minstrel prophecy of Constance's song. Why I should ever have taken him

<sup>182</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 78.

<sup>183</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 81. Without doubt must also be placed here an undated letter to Miss Seward (*Life* i, 472), telling her further of having "brought the unpleasant transactions, to which my last letter alluded [that is, his brother's affairs] pretty near to a conclusion much more fortunate than I had ventured to hope." It was written in answer to one of Miss Seward of Aug. 24; see her *Letters* vi, 362.

<sup>184</sup> *Life* i, 477.

<sup>185</sup> *Life* i, 476.

<sup>186</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 84.

there I cannot very well say. Attachment to the place, its locality with respect to Tamworth, the ancient seat of the Marmions, partly perhaps the whim of taking a slap at Lord Brooke *en passant*, joined in suggesting the idea which I had not time to bring out or finish.<sup>186</sup>

The language would imply that the last canto was practically complete at this date. Similar is the testimony of James Skene, Scott's friend, that

many of the more energetic descriptions, particularly that of the battle of Flodden, were struck out while he was in quarters again with his cavalry in the autumn of 1807.<sup>187</sup>

Yet the Introductions to the last two cantos were at least written after the November letter. That to the fifth is headed Edinburgh, and the time December given in the first line. The sixth Introduction has at the beginning the place and time, "Mertoun House, Christmas." Besides, some changes were made in the poem during its passage through the press. In April, when Scott was correcting the proof of the Introduction to canto i at Stanmore Priory, Lord Abercorn suggested enlargement on the compliment to Fox. Scott then altered and expanded six lines beginning at line 130 to twelve, the original lines being given by Lockhart.<sup>188</sup> Unfortunately, some sheets had already been printed, so that some copies appeared without the revision. Thus, of the one sent to Lady Abercorn in September, Scott wrote:

Pray observe that in the character of Fox two lines are omitted; they should follow that which says,

"Lest it should drop o'er Fox's tomb."

They run thus—

"For talents mourn untimely lost,  
When best employed and wanted most,  
Mourn genius gone," etc.

Pray, Lady Abercorn, add these lines with a pen. They are an admirable improvement suggested by the M[arquis] when I was at the Priory. The sheet was thrown off before the correction reached the printer, but the leaf is to be cancelled and printed anew before publication.<sup>189</sup>

<sup>187</sup> *Life* i, 465.

<sup>188</sup> *Life* i, 499.

<sup>189</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 82. Scott is not quite accurate in quoting his own lines. The received text reads "be said" for "should drop," in the first, and "genius high" for "genius gone" in the last.

Scott's original lines, which doubtless expressed his Torv sentiments somewhat better, read:

If genius high and judgment sound,  
And wit that loved to play, not wound,  
And all the reasoning powers divine,  
To penetrate, resolve, combine,  
Could save one mortal of the herd  
From Error—Fox had never err'd.

Perhaps the implied criticism of Miss Seward, and her well-known admiration for Fox, had something to do with the first change Scott made in his lines. In her letter of April 17, referring to this same Introduction which Scott had sent her on February 20, she halts her praise at the beginning of the reference to Fox:

Till after the close of your panegyric on our glorious Nelson, all is worthy of your enchanting muse.<sup>190</sup>

Then, perhaps, Scott modified his line beginning "If genius high" to "Mourn genius high," after which Lord Abercorn suggested and wrote the couplet,

For talents mourn, untimely lost,  
When best employed and wanted most.

That this was Lord Abercorn's couplet Scott tells us in another letter to Lady Abercorn, after the *Morning Chronicle* had criticized him for what seemed two different versions of this Introduction, intended as it charged, for different people. Scott wrote on April 3, 1808:

I suppose it would surprise Mr. *Morning Chronicle* considerably to know that the couplet in question was written by so distinguished a friend of Mr. Pitt as Lord Abercorn.<sup>191</sup>

Again, Scott had evidently thought of introducing into the poem some allusion to Lord Muncaster, as had been suggested by Lady Louisa Stuart.<sup>192</sup> However, he finally wrote her in November or December:

I am going to discontinue all my dangerous intentions of giving poetic celebrity to Lord Muncaster's habitation (since you were pleased to think I

<sup>190</sup> *Letters* vi, 332.

<sup>191</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 103.

<sup>192</sup> *Familiar Letters*, i, 85-6.

can do so), for I think the story is far too good to be comprised in a stanza and a note, which is all I can afford in *Marmion*. . . . I therefore intend to lay by the tradition in lavender till some occasion when I can give it its full interest, or at least do my best to give it as much as I can.<sup>195</sup>

In carrying the story of *Marmion* to the essential completion of the poem, other work of Scott during this year has been left unrecorded. On the day upon which Constable offered the thousand guineas for *Flodden Field*, or *Marmion* as it became, the same firm concluded its financial agreement with Scott for the *Life, Letters, and State Papers of Sir Ralph Sadler*.<sup>194</sup> These *Papers* had been placed in Scott's hands in 1806, but the terms upon which they should be edited were only now completed. Lockhart was therefore in error regarding the *Sadler Papers*, as I have already indicated on a previous page, the more so with regard to Constable, since on a later page he speaks of him as publishing the *Sadler Papers*.<sup>196</sup> According to Lockhart, too, Scott had announced "by an advertisement early in 1807" *Six Epistles from Eltrick Forest*, "to be published in a separate volume similar to that of the Ballads and Lyrical Pieces."<sup>196</sup> If so, the plan was soon changed, for by Feb. 20 Scott had mentioned, in a letter to Miss Seward, his new plan of using the Epistles as Introductions to the cantos of *Marmion*.<sup>197</sup>

Apart from *Marmion* Scott's main work of this year was his edition of *Dryden*, later published in eighteen volumes. Of it he wrote Miss Seward on Feb. 20:

As to my editorial labours, for two years past I have been occasionally labouring on a complete edition of Dryden's Works, which have never been collected. I hope it will be out by Christmas next. The illustration of the poetical passages has cost me much labour.

From my research the boldest spiders fled,  
And moths retreating trembled as I read.<sup>198</sup>

In March he was again in London, for "during several weeks he gave his day pretty regularly to the pamphlets and MSS. of

<sup>195</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 87-8. The letter is undated, but precedes another of hers to Scott, written sometime before Christmas.

<sup>194</sup> *Arch. Constable and his Lit. Corres.* iii, 7.

<sup>196</sup> See p. 249 of this paper, and *Life* ii, 87. That is, Lockhart says Scott engaged for the *Sadler Papers* with a London publisher in *Life* ii, 10, and here correctly with Constable.

<sup>198</sup> *Life* i, 496.

<sup>197</sup> See p. 255 of this paper.

<sup>198</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 72.

the British Museum," that is to his Dryden researches.<sup>199</sup> Then came the difficulties in the affairs of his brother Thomas, on account of which he wrote Miss Seward, "Dryden has crept on very slowly."<sup>200</sup> By Oct. 1, however, he could write Southey:

I hope soon to send you a Life of Dryden and a Lay of former times. The latter I would willingly have bestowed more time upon; but what can I do?—my supposed poetical turn ruined me in my profession, and the least it can do is to give me some occasional assistance instead of it.<sup>201</sup>

While in London Scott visited William Stewart Rose, to whom the Introductory Epistle to the first canto of *Marmion* was addressed. Scott thought enough, too, of the literary acquaintance with Miss Seward so that, on returning from London the first week in May, he made a detour to visit her at Lichfield. One result was the well-known description of the poet quoted by Lockhart in the *Life* (i, 468), and another Scott's description of her in the *Memoir* he later prefixed to his edition of her *Poems*. It is highly probable that edition of her *Poems* was talked over at this time, for soon after Miss Seward wrote both Murray of London and Constable of Edinburgh regarding it.<sup>202</sup> It is possible Scott may have agreed at this time to edit the *Poems*, since as we know he did so after Miss Seward's death.<sup>203</sup>

<sup>199</sup> *Life* i, 466. He perhaps intended a long stay, for Mr. Hunter wrote Constable on Mar. 6: "I saw Scott today in Fleet Street; he says he is to write to you tomorrow, and is to come down to Scotland positively in July or August." —*A. Constable and his Lit. Corres.* i, 99. Doubtless his brother's affairs necessitated his earlier return.

<sup>200</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 78. The letter is of Aug. 11.

<sup>201</sup> *Life* i, 480-81.

<sup>202</sup> *Arch. Constable and his Lit. Corres.* i, 375-6; ii, 13. We know of Miss Seward's letter to Murray from the latter's to Constable, warning him against offering "any important sum for her works." Miss Seward's letter to Constable was of Sept. 18, and she wrote: "You shall have the first offer of the copyright, and perhaps Mr. Scott will have the goodness to settle the terms."

<sup>203</sup> As in a former case, the correspondence of Miss Seward helps to date another of Scott's letters printed without date by Lockhart. It is one in the *Life* i, 472, and of it Miss Seward wrote Constable on Sept. 18: "When you see Mr. Scott have the goodness to thank him for his last kind letter, and say that I propose answering it at the first opportunity." Scott's letter was in reply to hers of Aug. 24. She wrote to Scott on Nov. 5, and her reference to "the disgraceful invasion of Denmark" was answered by Scott in a letter of Nov. 23,

One undeveloped project of this year is mentioned in a letter to Southey of November, in which Scott says:

I am thinking of publishing a small edition of the *Morte Arthur*, merely to preserve that ancient record of English chivalry; but my copy is so late as 1637, so I must look out for earlier editions to collate. That of Caxton is, I believe, *introwable*. Will you give me your opinion on this project?<sup>204</sup>

To this Southey must have answered that he was already engaged upon the work, and on Dec. 15 Scott acknowledged with,

I am glad the *Morte Arthur* is in your hands; it has been long a favorite of mine, and I intended to have made it a handsome book in the shape of a small antique-looking quarto, with wooden vignettes of costume.<sup>205</sup>

This project may not unnaturally have occurred to Scott when, on making his extensive notes to *Marmion*, he added large extracts from Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*. Indeed, in his first note he says of the allusions to the Arthur story in the text, evidently with reference to Southey's contemplated edition:

I would have illustrated them by more full extracts, but as this curious work is about to be republished I confine myself to the tale of the Chapel Perilous, and of the quest of Sir Launcelot after the Sangrael.

Scott contributed nothing to the *Edinburgh Review* in 1807, although he continued to be proud of the periodical on general grounds, and as an Edinburgh venture. Even as late as November of this year he suggested to Southey the idea of contributing to it for pecuniary reasons.<sup>206</sup> But Southey wrote in answer:

The emolument to be derived from writing at ten guineas a sheet, Scotch measure, instead of seven pounds for the *Annual*, would be considerable. . . . But my moral feelings must not be compromised. To Jeffrey as an individual I shall be ever ready to show every kind of individual courtesy; but of Judge Jeffrey of the *Edinburgh Review* I must ever think and speak as of a bad politi-

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in which he defended "State necessity" in a humorous fashion, and with a good story.—*Familiar Letters* i, 82-5. The invasion of Denmark was by the naval expedition of England against the neutral Danes, resulting in the taking of Copenhagen on Sept. 5, and the surrender of the Danish fleet.

<sup>204</sup> *Life* i, 480; there is no exact date, but it was probably written late in the month.

<sup>205</sup> *Life* i, 482.

<sup>206</sup> *Life* i, 478-9.

cian, a worse moralist, and a critic in matters of taste equally incompetent and unjust.<sup>207</sup>

Scott replied to Southey on Dec. 15:

I dislike most extremely the late strain of politics which they [the editors of the *Edinburgh*] have adopted, as it seems, even on their own showing, to be cruelly imprudent. . . . So thinking, I have felt your scruples in doing anything for the *Review* of late.<sup>208</sup>

Yet in this year it was perhaps mainly pressure of other work, rather than political opposition, which prevented Scott from contributing to the *Review*.

*Marmion* had been practically completed, as we have seen, in 1807.<sup>209</sup> Yet a letter to Lady Louisa Stuart, Jan. 19, 1808, shows that there was still something to be done. In it Scott writes playfully:

*Marmion* is at this instant gasping upon Flodden Field, and there I have been obliged to leave him for these few days in the death pangs. I hope I shall find time enough this morning to knock him on the head with two or three thumping stanzas.<sup>210</sup>

The letter would seem to indicate that stanzas xxxvi-viii and the *L'envoy* were written on that day. In fact on Jan. 22 he wrote to Lady Abercorn:

I have finished *Marmion* and your Ladyship will do me the honour, I hope, to accept a copy very soon. In the sixth and last Canto I have succeeded better than I had ventured to hope, for I had a battle to fight, and I dread hard blows almost as much in poetry as in common life.<sup>211</sup>

So rapidly, too, had the printing followed Scott's composition' that the poem was published before the end of February.<sup>212</sup>

<sup>207</sup> *A Publisher and His Friends*, by Samuel Smiles, i, 95, where the letter is dated "June," and Scott is said to have given the invitation in May. However on Dec. 1 Southey wrote to John Rickman of the "overtures," and says: "They come through Walter Scott, but unquestionably from Constable."—*Letters of Southey*, by Warter, ii, 28-9. See also Scott's letter quoted above.

<sup>208</sup> *Life* i, 481. Scott had expected of the *Edinburgh* general neutrality regarding party politics, and that seems to have been originally intended (*Life*, i, 501-2). When partizanship began to be displayed Scott remonstrated, and finally withdrew any support to the *Edinburgh*.

<sup>209</sup> The Constable house wrote to John Murray in December 1807: "We are happy to tell you that the whole of *Marmion* is now at press."—*A. Constable and his Lit. Corres.* i, 378. This was doubtless essentially true.

<sup>210</sup> *Life* i, 483.

<sup>211</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 93.

<sup>212</sup> Lockhart says Feb. 23 (*Life* i, 485), and the *Ballantyne Press* (p. 37) "published in February 1808."

The poem was printed with the title *Marmion, A Tale of Flodden Field, in Six Cantos*, and with the lines of his friend Leyden immediately following:

Alas! that Scottish maid should sing  
The combat where her lover fell!  
That Scottish Bard should wake the string,  
The triumph of our foes to tell!

This stanza Scott had already quoted to Miss Seward when, with the first title *Flodden-Field* before her, she had suggested the oddity of a Scotch poet's using this great defeat of his countrymen as a subject.<sup>213</sup> Scott also accompanied the first edition with an advertisement intended to forestall criticism of his again trespassing on the public's kindness, and explaining more fully his use of the second title, *A Tale of Flodden Field*. Evidence, too, that he appreciated the imperfections of the poem due to haste in composition is found in his letter to Surtees of Feb. 20:

When you cast your eye over 'Marmion,' remember mercy in your judgment. I had idly come under an obligation to produce that *preux chevalier* by a certain time,—sufficient indeed to have done him ample justice in the way of arming and equipment, but some very unpleasant family affairs left me neither head nor heart to work that kind of work for six months. And at last I had nothing for it but dispatch, which was so rapid that, of the last four cantos, no part was written twice over; and it was printed sheet by sheet as fast as composed. This prepares you for all its faults. Its merits, for some I must hope it has, will speak for themselves.<sup>214</sup>

It is thus clear that Scott's acknowledgment of the imperfections of *Marmion* were not due to the severe criticism of Jeffrey's review, which appeared in the *Edinburgh* of April.<sup>215</sup>

<sup>213</sup> See pp. 255-6.

<sup>214</sup> *Life of Surtees*, p. 65. See also letter to Southey, p. 262.

<sup>215</sup> The story of Jeffrey's review, of his apologetic note to Scott, with whom he was to dine that very evening, of Mrs. Scott's parting shot as Jeffrey left the house, are well told in the *Life* i, 492 ff. Scott's letters of April to Surtees deserve to be quite as well known. On April 18 he wrote:

I am glad you like *Marmion*; it has need of some friends, for Jeffrey showed me yesterday a very sharp review of it; I think as tight a one as he has written since Southey's *Madoc*. As I don't believe the world ever furnished a critic and an author who were more absolute *poco curante's* about their craft, we dined together, and had a hearty laugh at the revival of the flagellation.

Again on April 26 he wrote:

About *Marmion* I can safely say, though it sounds very like affectation, that my anxiety was past after it had received in a considerable degree the

His own strictures before that review were quite as clear as that which he made in his *Introduction* of 1830:

The poem was finished in too much haste to allow me an opportunity of softening down, if not removing, some of its most prominent defects.

Yet perhaps the review of Jeffrey strengthened in Scott his previous resolution, "to bestow a little more labour than I had yet done on my productions," for on June 9 he wrote to Lady Abercorn:

No one is so sensible as I am of what deficiencies occur in my poetry from the want of judicious criticism and correction, above all from the extreme hurry in which it has hitherto been composed. The worst is that I take the pet at the things myself after they are finished, and I fear I shall never be able to muster up the courage necessary to revise *Marmion* as it should be revised. But if I ever write another poem, I am determined to make every single couplet of it as perfect as my uttermost care and attention can possibly effect. In order to insure the accomplishment of these good resolutions I will consider the whole story in humble prose, and endeavour to make it as interesting as I can before I begin to write it out in verse, and thus I shall have at least the satisfaction to know where I am going, my narrative having been hitherto much upon the plan of *blindman's buff*. Secondly, having made my story, I will write my poem with all deliberation, and when finished lay it aside for a year at least. . . . You see what good resolutions I am forming; whether they will be better kept than good resolutions usually are, time, which brings all things to light, will shew your Ladyship.<sup>216</sup>

Another criticism of *Marmion* is worth noting as showing what intense political partizanship could do. Scott refers to it in a letter of March 13 to Lady Abercorn, in which he says:

All the Whigs here [Edinburgh] are in arms against *Marmion*. If I had satirized Fox they could have borne it, but a secondary place for the god of their idolatry puts them beyond the slender degree of patience which displaced patriots usually possess.<sup>217</sup>

Again, as already mentioned, the praise of Fox in the first Introductory epistle had been somewhat extended at the suggestion of Lord Abercorn. Some copies, however, were

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suffrages of a few of my friends. I hardly know how or why it is, but I really lose all concern for my labours after they get before the public; and the fate of those that sunk and those that swam, and I have a good many of both, made an equally indifferent impression upon their unfeeling parent.—*Life of Surtees*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>216</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 114-5.

<sup>217</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 100.

put out with the original lines, and this led the London *Morning Chronicle* to charge Scott with having prepared different copies for friends and foes. He tells of the charge in his letter of April 3 to Lady Abercorn:

The *Morning Chronicle* of the 29th March has made a pretty story of the cancel of page 10th of *Marmion*, which your Ladyship cannot but recollect was reprinted for the sole purpose of inserting the lines suggested so kindly by the Marquis—

“For talents mourn, untimely lost,  
When best employed and wanted most.”

. . . The worthy Editor affirms kindly, that this was done that I might have copies to send to Mr. Pitt’s friends, in which these lines do not occur!!<sup>218</sup>

Of the same charge he wrote Lady Louisa Stuart on April 7:

I had the inexpressible happiness to see myself but the other day pronounced by the *Morning Chronicle* guilty of garbling my own poem, and giving one sort of book to Mr. Pitt’s friends and another to the public.<sup>219</sup>

Both these excellent ladies, from friendly interest in the poet and poem, suggested slight changes. Lady Abercorn proposed a modification of Constance’s speech in canto ii, stanza xxviii, in order the better to express her confusion at mentioning the charge of treason against Wilton. Scott so far accepted the suggestion as to put a dash after “treason’s charge” in line 522 of the poem, but otherwise left the speech unchanged. Lady Stuart suggested some change in the speech of Clare when announcing the death of Constance. To this Scott replied in his letter of March 3:

I have thought on your reading about the death of Constance, and with all the respect which (*sans* phrase) I entertain for everything you honour me with, I have not made up my mind to the alteration, and here are my reasons. Clare has no wish to embitter *Marmion*’s last moments, and is only induced to mention the death of Constance, because she observes that the wounded man’s anxiety for her deliverance prevents his attending to his spiritual affairs. It seems natural, however, that knowing the Abbess, or however you please, the share which *Marmion* had in the fate of Constance, she should pronounce the line assigned to her in such a manner as perfectly conveyed to his conscience the whole truth, although her gentleness avoided conveying it in direct terms. We are to consider, too, that *Marmion* had from various workings of his own mind been led to suspect the fate of Constance, so that the train being ready laid the slightest hint of her fate communicated the whole tale of terror to his

<sup>218</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 103.

<sup>219</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 111; see also the letter to Lady Louisa of April 26

conviction. Were I to read the passage, I would hesitate a little like one endeavouring to seek a soft mode of conveying painful intelligence—

“In vain for Constance is your zeal,  
She—died at Holy Isle.”

. . . I would rather put in an explanatory couplet describing Clare's manner of speaking the words, than make her communication more full and specific.<sup>220</sup>

On the other hand evidences of appreciation of the new poem were numerous. Complimentary letters were received from Southey, Wordsworth, Ellis, Colin Mackenzie.<sup>221</sup> The demand for the book was unprecedented. The first printing of 2000 copies went in “less than a month,” and a second of 3000 shortly thereafter. On June 16 Scott wrote Lady Stuart of a third edition:

The *Marmion* is nearly out, and I have made one or two alterations on the third edition, with which the press is now groaning. So soon as it is, it will make the number of copies published within the space of six months amount to eight thousand,—an immense number surely, and enough to comfort the author's wounded feelings, had the claws of the reviewers been able to reach him through the *steel jock* of true Border indifference.<sup>222</sup>

Nor did the review of Jeffrey fail of its rebound. It was frequently criticised, perhaps never more justly than by Alexander Murray in a letter to Constable:

I am very ill pleased with the review of *Marmion*. It is in general unjust, hypercritical, and written like Dr. Johnson's account of Gray's Odes in a spirit of pique, or dislike of some kind or other. Mr. Jeffrey seems not to understand this kind of poetry: as Johnson did not understand blank verse and pastoral poetry, but judged them by laws not belonging to them, so Mr. J. does the same thing with regard to poems written on the model of the Old Romance. Some of the particular criticisms are just; but on the whole he has overshot the point very considerably.<sup>223</sup>

<sup>220</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 98-9. The couplet was never added, but a long dash was put in line 945 after the first word, and a dash at the end.

<sup>221</sup> *Life* i, 488-91. In *A. Constable and his Lit. Corres.* ii, 14-19 are letters from Miss Seward and Miss Lydia White, acknowledging receipt of complimentary copies from the publisher.

<sup>222</sup> *Life* ii, 20. Lockhart is again wrong in saying (*Life* i, 500): “There followed a third and a fourth edition, each of 3000, in 1809.” Scott had noted the second edition as “on the eve of publication” in his letter of April 7 (*Fam. Lett.* i, 111-12), and in the quotation above the third “within the space of six months.”

<sup>223</sup> *A. Constable and his Lit. Corres.* i, 166. See also Constable's answer of July 17 (i, 269), and Murray's letter of Aug. 3 (i, 277), in which he says: “The critique on *Marmion* is so improper that it seems to divulge a secret either-

Scott had treated the matter lightly when Jeffrey showed him his forthcoming review of *Marmion*. Before the end of the year, however, the poet felt differently about the unkindness, if not the severity of the *Edinburgh* editor. On Oct. 31 he wrote to Joanna Baillie:

As to Mr. Jeffrey . . . I have no fault to find with his expressing his sentiments frankly and fairly upon the poem, yet I think he might, without derogation to his impartiality, have couched them in language more civil to a personal friend, and I believe he would have thought twice before he had given himself that air of superiority in a case where I had any chance of defending myself. Besides, I really have often told him that I think he wants the taste for poetry which is essentially necessary to enjoy, and of course to criticise it with justice.<sup>224</sup>

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(*To be continued*)

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to unknown, that the editor of the first literary journal in Britain is capable of being seduced by temporary political motives to betray the cause of good sense and taste."

<sup>224</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 127-8.

## LICHTENBERG AS A CRITIC OF THE ENGLISH STAGE

The 29th of August 1774 is an epoch making date in the life of G. Ch. Lichtenberg. In the forenoon of that day Lichtenberg set out on his second journey to England. (From Aug. 1774-Dec. 1775.) Its immediate purpose was of a scientific character. Lichtenberg was to report to King George III on the results of a scientific mission—the determination of the longitude and latitude of Hanover, Stade and Osnabrück—with which the English monarch had charged him in 1772. This, however, is merely an incident for Lichtenberg. He himself attaches no significance to it. He says:—"Die Gelehrten glauben ich wäre blos ihretwegen herüber gekommen, und die anderen, die Weltmenschen denken, Zerstreuung sey die Absicht meiner Reise gewesen. Leider sind die Verbindungen mit den letzteren für mich die Interessantesten weil es hier auf Essen und nicht Essen ankommt." (Briefe I, p. 222.)

Thruout his life Lichtenberg manifested a keen interest in England, its institutions, customs, language and literature. He spoke and wrote English fluently. For this reason he was appointed tutor to the royal princes while they were in residence at Göttingen. It would take us too far afield to note here the numerous references in his Aphorisms which reveal Lichtenberg's admiration for everything English. Suffice it to say that wherever Lichtenberg makes a comparison between England and Germany, e.g. as to national characteristics, education and literature, Albion scores over Lichtenberg's native country. That these comments—frequently inaccurate and unscientific—aroused resentment and criticism may be inferred from Boie's letter to Bürger. "Prof. Lichtenberg scheint nicht übel Lust zu haben uns zu Britten zu machen, aber all sein Wiz wird uns, denk ich, nicht dazu machen. Ich kan die ewigen Sticheleien nicht leiden. Pope ist Pope, und Klopstock Klopstock!" (Briefe von und an Bürger, p. 67) (1 Dec. 1781). Lichtenberg's evident Anglophilism may be explained by the fact that the English character was more congenial to his own. By nature and training a rationalist,

natural scientist and pragmatist, Lichtenberg was unable to sympathize with the great spiritual forces that sought and found expression in the storm and stress. His sweeping denunciations of the chief spokesmen of that movement impress us as the utterances of a man to whom the mainsprings of poetic expression were an impenetrable mystery. Boie happily epitomizes Lichtenberg's "Sinnes- und Geistesverwandschaft." Pope and Klopstock are veritable positive and negative poles. The former's "Essay on Man" and the latter's "Messias" behave toward one another as fire and water. When Pope said: "the proper study of mankind is man," he furnished the motto for Lichtenberg's life. In this respect Lichtenberg was a child of his age. For it was distinctly the Age of Man, of Humanism in the widest sense of that term. It witnessed the introduction of a new study: to wit, physiognomy. To it Lichtenberg turned with youthful eagerness as a student, nor did he later relinquish his interest for it. And it is from this angle that we shall approach the subject of our paper.

Already during the Easter recess of 1770 (a period of four weeks) Lichtenberg had accompanied two of his students to England. He made his home at that time with the father of one of them, Lord Boston who entertained him "recht churfürstlich," and introduced him to many notables both of the titled aristocracy as well as of the realm of science. The English monarch who evinced a particular interest in astronomy—gave Lichtenberg two audiences, and asked him to furnish him with the data of the observations Lichtenberg had made of the transit of Venus on the 3d of January 1769 at Göttingen.

When Lichtenberg therefore went to London the second time—this time for a year and a half (Aug. 1774-Dec. 1775) it was not as a stranger, but as a welcome friend. He was "dined and wined" by royalty, nobles and scholars—among whom we may mention Hornsby, professor of Astronomy at Oxford, de Luc, geologist and meteorologist, lecturer to the Queen, and the companions of Cook on his world tour: Banks, Solander and Förster. But as already stated above, the "Weltmensch" interested Lichtenberg more than the scholar. To study the faces of common people in a crowd on the busy street had always been a source of great pleasure to him. Where could he gratify this desire more conveniently than in

that Metropolis of the world, London? It was therefore a favorite diversion of his to assume the disguise of a journeyman and throw himself headlong into the human current surging through the leading thoroughfares. He frequently emerged bruised and battered, and mourning the loss of a kerchief or a "silbernes Petschaft." It amused Lichtenberg greatly to hear Englishmen commend him for his courage. Observations thus made were supplemented and sublimated by very frequent visits to the theatre, an institution as dear to the Londoner as the drama and opera ever were to the Viennese. And it was Lichtenberg's particularly good fortune to see Garrick at the pinnacle of his fame—a fame by no means confined to England, but spread broadcast by continental visitors who had on their occasional visits to London seen the great actor at Drury Lane. No doubt Lichtenberg was familiar with the reports brought back to the continent. As recently as 1761-62 Count Frederick von Kiellmannsegg had noted his impressions of the English stage in his *Diary of a Journey to England in the years 1761-62* (transl. from the ms. by Countess Kiellmannsegg, London, New York and Bombay—1902, p. 195) (cf. Kelly, J. A.: "England and the Englishman in German Literature of the Eighteenth Century"—N. Y. 1921—P. 66-67): "I certainly believe that there is no stage in the world which equals the English in its choice of actors. At Drury Lane, for example, you have an impression that every actor has been expressly made for his part. Garrick is, however, the only one who can delineate every character with equal skill, from the philosopher down to the fool, from the king to the peasant, and who appears to put on a different face with each character." Other examples might be cited to show that the Count's opinion was shared by many of his countrymen. The "Briefe aus England" will furnish eloquent evidence that their author was one of them. In the very first letter to Boie, dated London 16. Oktober, 1775—Lichtenberg tells us that it was in response to repeated requests on Boie's part that he undertook to indict his impressions of the stage. He at the same time apologizes to Boie for the absence of any definite plan or arrangement: "Beobachtung und Raisonnement durcheinander und wahrscheinlicherweise mehr Ausschweifung als beide zusammen; Alles, wo möglich, geradeweg, ich meine in der Ordnung und mit den

Ausdrücken, die mir die Laune der Minute darbietet, in welcher ich schreibe." (Vermischte Schriften, Vol. 3, p. 200).

Of the eight roles in which Lichtenberg saw Garrick he selected three for special comment. They are Hamlet (2x) Archer in Farquhar's "Beaux Stratagem" and Sir John Brute in Van Brugh's "Provoked Wife." The other roles are: Abel Drugger in Ben Johnson's "Alchymist," Lusignan in Hill's adaptation of Voltaire's "Zaire," Benedick in "Much Ado About Nothing" and Don Leon in Beaumont & Fletchers "Rule a wife and have a wife." (Note: the latter role is discussed fully in the *Orbis pictus* (Geo. Schr. 4-206) ("Vorschlag zu einem *Orbis pictus* für deutsche dramatische Schriftsteller und Schauspieler etc." ein Wegweiser in die Natur (Götting. Magazin 1780 & 85).

Logically enough, perhaps, Lichtenberg first dwells upon the physical attributes with which Nature had so richly endowed Garrick. Among the many Lichtenberg emphasizes the symmetry and neatness of the whole figure, the grace and ease of the movement of the limbs, the suppleness and nimbleness of every muscle as tho Garrick's mind were present in them. He then says: "In seinem Gesicht sieht jedermann, ohne viel physiognomisches Raffinement, den glücklichen Geist auf der heiteren Stirne, und den wachsammen Beobachter und witzigen Kopf in dem schnellen, funkelnden und oft schalkhaften Auge. Seine Mienen sind bis zur Mittheilung deutlich und lebhaft. Man sieht ernsthaft mit ihm aus, man runzelt die Stirne mit ihm, und lächelt mit ihm; in seiner heimlichen Freude, und in der Freundlichkeit, wenn er in einem Beiseite den Zuhörer zu seinem Vertrauten zu machen scheint, ist etwas so zuthunliches, dass man dem entzückenden Manne mit ganzer Seel entgegen fliegt."

In commenting on Garrick's inimitable art of mimicry Lichtenberg recalls the shape of Garrick's mouth in "Sir John Brute":—"Er hatte nämlich die beiden Winkel desselben etwas herabgezogen, wodurch er sich ein äusserst liederliches und versoffenes Aussehen gab. Diese Figur des Mundes behielt er bis ans Ende bei, nur mit dem Unterschiede, dass sich der Mund etwas mehr öffnete, so wie sein Rausch anwuchs; diese Figur muss sich also, in dem Manne, so mit der Idee eines Sir John Brute's associirt haben, dass sie sich ohne Vor-

satz giebt, sonst sollte man denken, müsste er sich einmal in dem Lärm vergessen, dessem er fürwahr in diesem Stück nicht wenig macht."

Lichtenberg had no sympathy with people who were inclined to prefer actors like Weston and Quin to Garrick in a role such as the one referred to. Not that Lichtenberg underestimates Weston,—for to continue with Lichtenberg:—

"Weston ist eines der drolligsten Geschöpfe, die mir je vor die Augen gekommen sind. Figur, Stimme, Anstand und Alles erweckt Lachen, ob er es gleich nie zu wollen scheint, und nie selbst lacht. Kaum erscheint er auf dem Theater, so vergisst ein grosser Theil der Versammlung wohl gar ihm zu gefallen das Stück, und sieht ihn isoliert seine Künste machen. Sie sehen, vor solchen Richtern kann ein solcher Mann nicht schlecht spielen. Die Leute wollen nur ihn sehen." But "Mit Garrick ist es ganz anders, man will immer in ihm den wirk-samen Theil des Ganzen, und den täuschenden Nachahmer der Natur finden! er könnte also selbst vor seinem England seine Rolle schlecht spielen, wenn er wollte, aber das könnte Weston schwerlich." Speaking of Weston as Abel Drugger: "Der grösste Theil der Versammlung klatscht und lacht, selbst der Kenner lächelt mit, über den Närrischen Teufel; aber bei Garrick's Abel Drugger—da fängt der Kenner mit dem Beifall an. Das ist ein ganz anderes Geschöpf, aus der Absicht des Dichters abstrahiert, durch die ausgebreitesten Kenntnisse individualisierender Umstände verbessert, und von der obersten Gallerie herab leserlich ausgedrückt." And without having seen Quin as Sir John Brute Lichtenberg inferred from the criticisms he had read that Quin represented Sir John as "den Weidmännischen Taugenichts für die Fuchsjäger, Landjunker und Renommisten," whereas Garrick's Sir John was the "taugenichts von Geburt und Stand für den Hof und Leute von Geschmack." Lichtenberg summarizes as follows:

"Die eine Partei schätzt den Werth des Komischen Schauspielers nach der grösse des Kitzels, den er ihnen verursacht, ohne zu untersuchen ob er als Schauspieler durch eine vorzügliche Auszeichnung seiner Rolle, oder als isolierter Hanswurst tut, und die andere verlangt aus Mangel an Geschmack, oder Weltkenntniss allzu starke Züge, und findet bei dem sogenannten allzu Natürlichen ihre Rechnung oder gar im

Affectierten. Solche Leute würden oft Garrick schlechtweg tadeln, wenn sie es sicher tun könnten, allein sie würden zu viel für ihren Credit wagen, daher äussert sich ihr schlechter Geschmack und ihre Unerfahrenheit nur zuweilen darin, dass sie ihn einem schlechteren Schauspieler gleichsetzen."

Even this Schattenumriss reveals some of the essential characteristics of Garricks art. But what made Garrick "den täuschenden Nachahmer der Natur" and what furnished him the "ausgebreitete Kenntnisse individualisierender Umstände?" The answer to both questions is found in the following passage:

"Der Mensch lag seinem beobachtenden Geiste offen, von dem ausgebildeten und ausgekünstelten in den Sälen von St. James's an, bis zu den wilden in den Garküchen von St. Giles's. Er besuchte die Schule, in welche Shakespeare ging, wo er ebenfalls, wie jener, nicht auf Offenbarungen passte, sondern studierte, (denn in England tut das Genie nicht alles, wie in Deutschland) London meine ich, wo ein Mann mit solchem Talent zur Beobachtung seinen Erfahrungsätzen in einem Jahre leicht eine Richtigkeit geben kann, wozu kaum in einem Städtchen, wo alles einerlei hofft und fürchtet, einerlei bewundert und einerlei erzählt, und wo sich alles reimt, ein ganzes Leben hinreichend wäre. Kenntniss der Welt giebt dem Schriftsteller in jeder Klasse Überlegenheit. Sie giebt, wo nicht in allen Fällen seinem *Was*, doch immer seinem *Wie* eine Stärke, gegen die der grosse nachahmende Zauberer nicht aufkommt, so sehr auch Er oder sein Club oder sein Städtchen das Gegenteil glauben mag, und unter den Umständen glauben muss. Wenn man daher die Welt selbst etwas kennt, so wird man leicht gewahr, dass Garrick auf der Bühne von Kenntnissen Gebrauch macht, die man, dort gezeigt, fast weggeworfen nennen möchte, vermuthlich aber nur so lange, als man ihrer selbst noch nicht viele wegzuerwerfen hat."

Here Lichtenberg and Garrick met on the same common ground. As a matter of fact, with a few obvious changes the above passage might apply with equal force to its author. Moreover, Lichtenberg here voices the spirit of the times. More and more the recognition was gaining ground that Life was the best teacher. It found expression in Fieldings realistic novels, in the writings of Rousseau, and in the literature of the Storm and Stress. Back to nature was also the slogan of the

stage. Strangely enough it was Baron, the French precursor of Garrick, who has the distinction of being the first one to have emancipated himself from the thralldom of well established traditions combined under the term Classicism. (cf. Hans Obländer: *die Theorie der deutschen Schauspielkunst während des 18ten Jhdts.* p. 33—*Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen* Heft 15—1898.) His example was followed by Garrick in England, by Eckhof, Schröder and Iffland in Germany. Henceforth *Naturwahrheit* was to be the acid test of an actor's art. No one welcomed this change more enthusiastically than Lichtenberg. He had noted it with satisfaction with the members of the Ackermann troupe during their brief sojourn at Göttingen (1764). And in the case of Garrick Lichtenberg does not tire of calling attention to the idea again and again.

But while Lichtenberg insisted on naturalness he was an avowed enemy of gross naturalism, coarseness, vulgarity. He advised: "Alles mit Mass." Garrick was also a model in this respect. His physical poise was counterbalanced by a mental and spiritual one.

With this portrait in mind Lichtenberg now describes to his friend Boie Garrick in the roles already referred to above.

The first is Hamlet in the Ghost Scene. The clock has just struck twelve, the theatre is darkened. Deathlike stillness prevails in the pit and gallery when: "Auf einmal, da Hamlet eben ziemlich tief im Theater etwas zur Linken geht, und den Rücken nach der Versammlung kehrt, fährt Horatio zusammen: Sehen Sie Mylord, dort kommts, sagt er, und deutet nach der Rechten, wo der Geist schon unbeweglich hingenpflanzte steht, ehe man ihn einmal gewahr wird. Garrick auf diese Worte, wirft sich plötzlich herum und stürzt in demselben Augenblick zwei bis drei Schritte mit zusammenbrechenden Knieen zurück, sein Hut fällt auf die Erde, die beiden Arme, hauptsächlich der linke, sind fast ausgestreckt, die Hand so hoch als der Kopf, der rechte Arm ist mehr gebogen und die Hand niedriger, die Finger stehen auseinander, und der Mund offen, so bleibt er in einem grossen, aber anständigen Schritt, wie erstarrt, stehen, unterstützt von seinen Freunden, die mit der Erscheinung bekannter sind, und fürchten er würde niederfallen; in seiner Miene ist sein Entsetzen so ausgedrückt, dass mich, noch ehe er zu sprechen anfangt, ein wiederholtes Grausen anwandelte.

—Der Geist winkt ihm, da sollten Sie ihn sich von seinen Freunden, die ihn warnen nicht zu folgen und fest zu halten, los arbeiten sehen, immer mit den Augen auf dem Geist, ob er gleich mit seinen Gefährten spricht. Aber endlich, da sie es ihm zu lange machen, wendet er sein Gesicht nach ihnen, reisst sich mit grosser Heftigkeit los, und zieht mit einer Geschwindigkeit, die einen schauern macht, den Degen gegen sie: *by heaven I'll make a ghost of him that lets me*, sagt er. Das ist genug für sie; alsdann legt er den Degen gegen das Gespenst aus: *go on, I'll follow thee*: so geht der Geist ab. Hamlet steht noch immer still, mit vorgehaltenem Degen, um mehr Entfernung zu gewinnen, endlich da der Zuschauer den Geist nicht mehr sieht, fängt er an ihm langsam zu folgen, steht zuweilen still und geht dann weiter, immer mit ausgelegtem Degen, die Augen starr nach dem Geist, mit verwirrtem Haar, und noch ausser Atem, bis er sich ebenfalls hinter den Scenen verliert. Mit was für einem lauten Beifall dieser Abzug begleitet wird, können Sie sich leicht denken. Er fängt an, sobald der Geist fort ist, und dauert bis Hamlet ebenfalls verschwindet. Was das für ein Triumph ist! Man sollte denken, ein solcher Beifall auf einem der ersten Schauplätze der Welt, und vielleicht von dem gefühlvollsten Publikum der Welt, müsste jeden Funken von Schauspielergenie in einem Zuschauer zu Flammen fachen. Allein da sieht man's, so handeln, wie Garrick, und so schreiben wie Shakespeare, sind Wirkungen von Ursachen, die sehr tief liegen. In the monologue: "O that this too, too solid flesh would melt" Garrick is simply overcome by tears of the most righteous sorrow for a virtuous father, the only source of relief in a terrific struggle between duty and duty. Garrick's mouth is firmly closed, but trembles from the effort to check a visible expression of pain—from fear it might appear unmanly. Diese art Thränen fallen zu lassen, die mit der ganzen Last des innern Schmerzes auch zugleich die männliche Seele zeigt, die unter ihr leidet, theilt sich unaufhaltsam mit. Ist man aber erst einmal Shakespearn in der Reihe, so wird jedes Wort ein Schlag, wenn es Garrick spricht. Am Ende des Monologs mischt sich gerechter Unwille mit seinem Schmerz, und einmal, da sein Arm heftig, wie mit einem Streich, herunter fällt, um einem Wort in Unwillen Nachdruck zu geben, bleibt dieses Wort, unerwartet für die Zuhörer, von Thränen aufgehalten aus, und kommt ers

nach einigen Augenblicken mit den Thränen zugleich nach. Ich und mein Nachbar, mit dem ich noch kein Wort gesprochen hatte, sahen uns hier einander an, und sagten etwas. Es war unwiederstehlich."

Lichtenberg finds it quite natural that the monologue: "To be or not to be" does not profoundly impress the audience. He advances two reasons: 1) that many know the famous lines by heart as they do the Lord's Prayer, and 2) that they are accustomed to hearing them uttered with a feeling of solemnity and dignity quite in harmony with the awe and reverence with which Englishmen regard Shakespeare. Applying this thought directly to Garrick, Lichtenberg continues:

"Hamlet, der wie ich schon erinnert habe, in Trauer ist, erscheint hier, weil er schon angefangen hat den Verrückten zu spielen, mit dickem, losem Haar, davon ein Theil über die eine Schulter hervohängt; einer von den schwarzen Strümpfen ist herunter gefallen, und lässt den weissen Unterstrumpf sehen, auch eine Schlinge des rothen Kniebandes hängt über die Mitte der Wade herab. So tritt er langsam und in tiefer Betrachtung hinter den Scenen hervor; das Kinn unterstützt er mit der rechten Hand, und den Elbogen des rechten Arms mit der linken, und sieht mit grosser Würde seitwärts auf die Erde nieder. Hierauf, in dem er den rechten Arm von dem Kinn wegbringt, aber, wo ich mich recht erinnere, ihn noch durch den linken unterstützt hält, spricht er die Worte *To be or not to be* etc, leise, aber wegen der grossen Stille (und nicht aus einer besonderen Gabe des Mannes, wie sogar in einigen Schriften steht) überall vernehmlich."

Lichtenberg had but one fault to find with the performance. It is this: "Die Todtengräberscene bleibt weg. In Coventgarden behält man sie noch bei. Das hätte Garrick nicht tun müssen. Ein so altes, herrliches Stück mit aller seiner charakteristischen, rohen Stärke aufgeführt, hätte doch, in dieser süssen Zeit, wo auch hier die Sprache der Natur conventionell schönem Gewäsch zu weichen anfängt, den Fall zuweilen wieder einmal gebrochen, wenn es ihn auch nicht hätte aufhalten können."

Lichtenberg also mildly criticizes his much admired friend for speaking the line: that one may smile and smile and be a villain, "mit der Miene und dem Ton der kleinlichen Nachspötereie, fast als wollte er den Mann damit auszeichnen, der immer

lächelt und lächelt, und doch dabei ein Schurke war. Ich kann nicht leugnen, dieses fiel mir in meiner damaligen Verfassung so auf, dass ich den Augenblick erwachte."

When Lichtenberg saw Hamlet the second time, he had the great satisfaction of hearing Garrick utter the same lines in harmony with his own feeling: "nämlich mit dem Ton der wohlbedachten Anzeichnung zu nahem Gebrauch. Das Lächeln des Schurken den Hamlet meint, war ihm von der einen Seite zu wichtig, und zu scheusslich von der anderen, sich dagegen bei einem Selbstgespräch mit mimischem Spott zu kühlen."

It may be of some interest to note the arguments that Lichtenberg advanced to defend Garrick's French costume. The demand from certain quarters for strict adherence to historicity Lichtenberg rejects as follows:—

"Mir kommt es vor, als wenn alte Trachten auf der Bühne für uns, wenn wir nicht gar zu gelehrt sind, immer eine Art von Maskeradehabit wären, der zwar, wenn er schön ist, gefällt, allein, das geringe Vergnügen das er gewährt, kann selten ganz zu der Summe des Übrigen geschlagen werden, das den Eindruck des Spieles vermehrt. Es geht mir hierin, wie mit den deutschen Büchern mit lateinischen Lettern. Für mich sind sie immer eine Art von Übersetzung. Der Augenblick den ich anwenden muss, mir diese Zeichen in mein altes darmstädtsches A B C zu übersetzen, ist dem Eindruck nachtheilig. Unsere französischen Röcke sind längst zur Würde einer Haut, und ihre Falten zur Bedeutung von Mienen gediehen, und alles Ringen, Fechten, und Fallen in einer fremden Tracht verstehen wir zwar, aber wir fühlen es nicht. Den Fall eines Hutes während eines Kampfes fühle ich völlig, den von einem Helm weit weniger, er könnte sich auf die Ungeschicklichkeit des Acteurs schieben lassen, und lächerlich aussehen. Ich weiss nicht, wie fest ein Helm sitzen muss and kann. Als Garrick in oben erwähneter Stellung den Rücken zum Theil gegen die Versammlung kehrte, und ich bei seiner Anstrengung die bekannte Diagonalfalte von der Schulter nach der entgegengesetzte Hüfte erblickte, fürwahr, ich hätte selbst *sein Gesicht* ein paar mal dafür hergegeben. In dem dintigen Mantel, von dem Hamlet einmal spricht, hätte ich bei weitem *das nicht* gesehen. Ein gut gebauter Schauspieler (und das sollten wenigstens alle die sein, die sich mit dem Trauerspiel abgeben)

verliert allemal in einer Tracht, die sich zu sehr von der entfernt, die irgend einem in Leben, bei einem früher, beim andern später, keiner der geringsten Gegenstände unserer Wünsche, und die süsseste Befriedigung jugendlicher Eitelkeit wären, und in der unser Auge das zu Viel und das zu Wenig bis zu Strohhalmebreiten anzugeben weiss. Ich meine nur, wo der Antiquar in den Köpfen eines Publikums über einen gewissen Artikel noch schlummert, da soll der Schauspieler nicht der Erste sein, der ihn wecken will. Das kleine episodische Vergnügen, wenn ich so reden darf, das mir der schnöde Prunk eines Maskeradenhabits macht, ersetzt mir den Eintrag nicht, der dadurch dem Stück von jener anderen Seite geschieht. Alle Zuschauer leiden den Verlust, sie glauben nur nicht alle, dass das die Ursache sei. Doch ist hierin der Geschmack eines einsichtsvollen Schauspielers, der die Stärke und die Schwäche der Augen kennt, vor die er treten soll über alle Regeln. In dem Fall, den ich voraussetze, findet sich London in Absicht auf den Dänischen Hamlet, und hat da Garrick nötig, es zum Schaden beider Parteien klüger zu machen?"

Garricks portrait would be incomplete without some reference to his interpretation of comic roles. Here again Lichtenberg begs to differ with critics who asserted that Garrick was decidedly poor as a comedian (thus Chesterfield—quoted by Dr. Doran in *Annals of the English Stage* from Th. Betterton to Ed. Keen. London 1887—cf. Hans Oberländer in article referred to above). Lichtenberg rather reluctantly concedes the dangerous rivalry of Weston in farces such as the "Alchemist" (Abel Drugger) and the "Beaux Stratagem" (Archer vs. Scrub). Yet a comparison between Garrick and Weston usually ends in favor of the former. The following description from the "Beaux Stratagem" may illustrate this: Garrick macht den Archer, einen Herrn von Stande, der sich aus leicht zu errathenden Ursachen in einen Bedienten verkleidet hat, und der arme Weston den Scrub, einen Aufwärter in einem armseligen Wirtshaus, worin jeder einkehrt, und wo man alle Bedürfnisse des Magens und Ergötzlichkeiten des Gaumens immer gestern hatte, und morgen wieder haben wird, aber niemals jetzt hat. Garrick hat himmelblaue Livree, mit funkelndem Silber reich besetzt, einen blendenden Bortenhut mit einer rothen Feder, spielt ein paar weisse, glänzende seidenen

Waden, und ein paar Schnallen, die nicht besser sein können, und ist ein entzückender Kerl. Und Weston, den die schwere Last einer schmierigen aufwartung unter zehn verschiedenen Rubriken drückt, der arme Teufel, erscheint ihm gegenüber in einer traurigen abgeregneten Perücke und einem grauen Kamisol, das vor etwa dreissig Jahren für einen glücklicheren Bauch geschnitten sein mochte, mit rothen wollenen Strümpfen und einer grünen Schürze. Er gerät in eine Art von andächtigem Erstaunen, da dieser Herr Bediente (wie das göttliche Mädchen sagte) auftritt. Garrick, frisch, schalkhaft und schön wie ein Engel, den niedlichen Hut mit fast gefälliger Leichtfertigkeit seitwärts aus dem hellen Gesicht gestoszen, tritt munter und voll Vertrauens auf seine Waden und neuen Anzug, fest und stramm daher, und fühlt sich um ein drittel grösser neben dem trübseligen Scrub. Und Scrub, der ohnehin wenig ist, scheint auch noch das zu verlieren, und zittert mit den Knien, vor lauter Gefühl des dreifachen Contrasts zwischen Aufwärter—und Bedienten, und folgt bei gefallenem Unterkinn in einer Art von Anbetung Garriken bei allen Bewegungen mit den Augen nach. Archer, der den Scrub zu seinen Absichten braucht, wird bald gnädig. Sie setzen sich nebeneinander nieder. Während als Garrick mit einer gefälligen Nachlässigkeit in sich selbst ruhte, suchte ihm Weston mit steifem Rücken allmählig die Höhe abzugewinnen, theils des Anstandes wegen und theils auch zuweilen wenn Garrick ihm nicht ins Gesicht sieht, mit mehr Sicherheit eine neue Vergleichung zwischen sich und ihm stehlen. Wenn Archer endlich mit grosser Leichtigkeit die Beine über einander schlägt, so versucht Scrub ein Gleiches, und bringt es auch endlich, jedoch nicht ohne einige Hülfe der Hände, glücklich zu stande, Alles entweder bei starrenden, oder heimlich vergleichenden Augen. Endlich, da Archer die herrlichen seidenen Waden zu streicheln anfängt, so will auch Weston mit seinen armseligen rothen wollenen ein Gleiches thun, retirirt sich aber wieder, und zieht mit Mitleid erregender Demütigung die grüne Schürze über das Ganze."

Lichtenberg was unable to judge the merits of Quin's acting in the "Provoked Wife" (Vanbrugh) as Sir John Brute from his own experience. But he had had enough opportunity to test the soundness of the criticisms of Garrick's detractors in order

to be able to safely postulate Garrick's superior impersonation of the same role.

“Auf allen Schauplätzen gibt es fast immer irgend einen oder den andern Schauspieler, der den Betrunknen mehr als erträglich macht. Die Ursache ist leicht zu finden. Es fehlt nirgends an Gelegenheit zur Beobachtung, und, was wohl der Hauptgrund sein mag, dergleichen Rollen haben ihrer Natur nach, weder enge noch sehr scharf abgeschnittene Grenzen. Dessenungeachtet spielt Hr. Garrick den betrunkenen Sir John so, dass ich gewiss den ausserordentlichen Mann in ihm erkannt haben würde, auch wenn ich nie etwas von ihm gehört, und ihn selbst in diesem Stück nur in einer Scene gesehen hätte. Vom Anfang sitzt die Perücke noch gerade, und man sieht das Gesicht voll und rund. Nun kommt er äusserst betrunken nach Hause, da sieht er aus wie der Mond ein paar Tage vor dem letzten Viertel; fast die Hälfte ist von der Perücke bedeckt; der Theil den man noch sieht ist zwar etwas blutig und glänzt von Schweiss, ist aber dafür äusserst freundlich, so dass er den Verlust des andern wieder ersetzt. Die Weste ist von oben bis unten offen, die Strümpfe voller Falten, und die beiden Strumpfbänder hängen herab, und zwar—sehr mystisch—zweierlei Strumpfbänder; es ist nur ein Wunder, dass er nicht Schuhe von beiderlei Geschlecht erwischt hat. In diesem betrübten Zustand kommt er zur Frau in die Stube, und auf ihr ängstliches Befragen, was ihm fehle (und sie hat Ursache so zu fragen) antwortet er mit gesammelten Kräften: Frau, gesund wie ein Fisch im Wasser, und doch regt er sich nicht vom Thürpfosten weg, an dem er fest sitzt, als wenn er sich den Rücken reiben wollte. Dann wird er wieder grob und thut auf einmal so weinklug und so freundlich, dass die ganze Versammlung in einen Aufruhr von Beifall ausbricht. In der Scene, wo er einschläft, hat er mich in Erstaunen gesetzt. Die Art, wie er bei geschlossenen Augen, schwimmendem Kopf, und blass mit der Frau zankt, und mit r und l einen Mittellaut zusammengesmolzen, bald schimpft und bald eine Sittenlehre zu lallen scheint, wovon er das scheuslichste Widerspiel ist; wie er die Lippen bewegt, das man nicht weiss, ob er kaut, oder schmeckt, oder spricht, das Alles war so weit über meine Erwartung, als irgend etwas, was ich von diesem Mann gesehen habe. Sie sollten ihn nur das Wort *perogative* aussprechen hören; er kommt ohne zwei, drei Versuche niemals auf die dritte Silbe.”

This is the last of the Garrick portraits. They were received by the readers of the *Deutsches Museum* with enthusiasm and netted their author "schmeichelhaften Beifall". A promise by Lichtenberg to publish them with occasional changes was never redeemed. In an old polemic of the year 1782—directed against Johann Heinrich Voss,—Lichtenberg defends himself against the criticism of Voss, that his (L) admiration of Garricks acting was "*karikaturmässig*." He concludes his apologia as follows: "Indessen will Herr V. (oss) sich einmal daran machen und über einen ähnlichen Gegenstand, der *eigene* Beobachtung voraussetzt, etwas schreiben, das durchaus von unparteiischen und kompetenten Richtern meinen Bemerkungen über Garrick vorgezogen wird, so will ich ihn, so lange ich lebe, in *Bier* freihalten." (Wilbrandt, A. G. Ch. Lichtenbergs Ausgewählte Schriften hersgb.u eingel. Stuttgart 1893) p. 168-9).

Of the other actors only *Macklin* evoked great praise from Lichtenberg. It was for his wonderful interpretation of Shylock: "Stellen Sie sich einen etwas starken Mann vor, mit einem gelben rohen Gesicht, und einer Nase, die an keiner der drei Dimensionen sonderlich Mangel leidet, einem langen Unterkinn und einem Mund, bei dessen Schlitzung der Natur das Messer ausgefahren zu sein schien, bis an die Ohren, auf einer Seite wenigstens wie mich dünkt. Sein Kleid ist schwarz und lang, seine Beinkleider ebenfalls lang und weit, und sein Hut dreikantig und roth, nach art der italienischen Juden, vermuthlich. Die ersten Worte die er sagt, wenn er auftritt, sind langsam und bedeutend: Three thousand Ducats. Das doppelte th und das zweimalige s, zumal das letzte nach dem t, das Macklin so leckerhaft lispelt, als schmeckte er die Dukaten, und alles was man dafür kaufen kann, auf einmal, geben dem Mann gleich beim Eintritt, einen Credit der nicht mehr zu verderben ist. Drei solcher Worte so, und an der Stelle gesprochen, zeichnen einen ganzen Character.

The concluding paragraphs of his letters Lichtenberg devotes to the leading actresses supporting Garrick. They are Mrs. Yates, Mrs. Barry and Mrs. Abington. Both Mrs. Yates and Mrs. Barry achieved great distinction in tragic roles. Still Lichtenberg is inclined to consider the latter the greater of the two. He says:

“Unter den hiesigen Schauspielerinnen ist nach meinem Geschmack Mrs. Barry noch immer die grösste, oder doch die allgemeinste, und die Einzige, die in diesem Punkt eine Vergleichung mit Garrick aushält. Sie kann, zu einem eiteln Kammerpüppchen zusammengeschnürt, sich mit süsser Selbstgefälligkeit tänzeln und zieren, und trippeln, dass den kleinen Mamsellen und den grossen Bedienten das Herz im ganzen Hause aufgeht; und dann wieder mit einem Strom von rauschender und rieselnder Seide hinter sich her, mit hohlem Rücken und stolz zurückgewandtem Angesicht einhertreten, wie die Eitelkeit wenn sie sich am Zug ihrer Schleppe weidet. Ihre Schönheit gehört zur Classe der Heiligen, und der herrschende Ausdruck in ihren Mienen und dem Klang ihrer über Alles reizenden Stimme, ist sanfte Unschuld und entgegenkommende Güte. Ein Weib, so wie der Himmel sie haben wollte! Sanft, nachgebend, und so wenig satyrisch als heroisch. O, sie erschrickt vor einem God damn! als wenn eine Bombe spränge. Ich habe sie als Cordelia im König Lear gesehen, wie sie die von Thränen glänzenden Augen nach dem Himmel hob, dann sprachlos die Hände hochhebend, mit dem Anstand und, wie mich dünkt, dem Glanz einer Verklärung, ihrem alten verlassenem Vater entgegeneilte und ihn umarmte. Es ist das Grösste, was ich in der Art von einer Schauspielerin gesehen habe, noch jetzt das Fest meiner Phantasie, und ich werde das Andenken an diese Scene nur mit meinem Leben verlieren.”

In the case of Mrs. Abington Lichtenberg reluctantly admits his inability to do justice to this great comedienne within the obvious limits of a letter. He would much rather devote a whole book to the analysis of her unusual talents, if only he had the necessary time, patience, information, and experience. Under the circumstances, therefore, a brief reference to the secret of Mrs. Abington's success must suffice. Inferior to both Mrs. Yates and Mrs. Barry in physical charms, majesty, and the expression of the gentler emotions, Mrs. Abington surpassed both intellectually, in the power to bring home the most bitter truths with painful directness, accompanied by a gaze which might conceivably strike terror to the hearts of those upon whom it settled. When Mrs. Abington, adorned in raiments of the very latest fashion walked back and forth on the stage, even away from the spectator, to lend special emphasis to something she had just said:—

“Da hätten Sie sie sehen sollen, mit welchem Anstand sie sich in den Hüften wog, und mit jedem Tritt die Blicke des copierenden Neides und der copierenden Bewunderung, die ihr aus tausend Augen folgten, noch muthwillig schärfen zu wollen schien. So wenig sie für das Trauerspiel geschaffen ist, so wenig ist sie es für das Niedrig komische. Ihre Rede ist langsam, und wenn sie Thorheiten kopieren soll, so müssen es nur solche sein, die sich mit affectierter und unaffecteder Grazie im Anstand vertragen. Während also sich daher die Gemahlin des Harlekins mit den Albernheiten des armen und reichen Pöbels herumzauset, so schlägt sie sich nach den bestimmten Gesetzen eines anständigen Duells mit den Thorheiten der Grossen. Hierin ist, wenn meine Empfindung nicht trügt, ihre hauptsächliche Stärke, und zeugt von einer gewissen Würde der Seele, die alle niedrigen Mittel, den Beifall der Menge zu haschen verachtet.”

One can readily appreciate the apprehension voiced by Lichtenberg's friends that his frequent visits to the London theatres might make him so fastidious and prejudiced as to disqualify him from doing justice to the stage of his own country. But Lichtenberg is quick to allay any fears by stating that he was now in a position not only not to criticize the actors of his native country, but sincerely to admire them for their signal triumphs in spite of the most trying circumstances. Thus of *Eckhof* Lichtenberg says:

“Ein so allgemeiner Schauspieler, als z. E. Hr. Eckhof, ist,—wenn ich Herrn Garrick ausnehme,—auf dem englischen Theater jetzt schlechterdings nicht, ob es gleich noch viele giebt, die es in besonderen Rollen, sehr weit, wo nicht zur Vollkommenheit gebracht haben.”

He also mentions Brockmann, Borchers, Schröder and the youthful Charlotte Ackermann.

Nowhere in his “Schriften,” as far as I have been able to discover, does Lichtenberg mention a specific play, or associate the name of an actor with a specific role. But since we have detailed information concerning the repertoires of the leading itinerant troupes of that time, we can at least get an idea of the plays Lichtenberg may have seen. I shall name some below. Lichtenberg took a profound interest in the stage. He particularly resented the spirit of intolerance manifested precisely by university authorities toward the visiting actors. Thus when

in 1768 the Theological Faculty of Göttingen endorsed the opinion expressed by the famous Goeze of Hamburg in a philippic against the stage entitled: "Theologische Untersuchung der Sittlichkeit der heutigen deutschen Schaubühne," Lichtenberg immediately indicated "Zwo Schriften die Beurteilung betreffend, welche die theologische Facultät zu Göttingen über eine Schrift des Herrn Senior Götze gefällt und dem Druck übergeben hat." (Leitzmann, Albert: Aus Lichtenbergs Nachlass, Weimar 1899). Needless to say, Lichtenberg ridicules the draconic laws designed to protect the student body against the demoralizing influences of the stage.

Lichtenberg's opinions of the German stage were moulded largely by the artistic accomplishments of the Ackermann company. Its principal, Ernst Ackermann, himself an actor of unusual merit, was ably assisted in his plan to elevate the stage to the highest artistic level by Ekhof, his stepson F. W. Schröder, and his daughters Charlotte and Dorothy. Ekhof was a product of the Schönemann school, which in contradistinction to Ackermann upheld the standards of the French conception of dramatic art. When therefore he joined the Ackermann company he was confronted with the stupendous task of "revamping" his art in conformity with the ideals of its principal. That he was quite successful is attested to by the fact that Lessing abstracted the theories—embodied in his *Dramaturgie*—largely from his interpretation. (cf. Erich Schmidt—Lessing, Vol. II, Berlin 1892, p. 78). Ekhof's remarkable versatility may be gleaned from the fact that his repertoire from May 1764—Aug. 1769 embraced 166 roles, among them: Tellheim, Odoardo, Mellefont, Rich. III, Weisses Richard III., Schlegels Canut, Orosman in the adaptation of Voltaire's *Zaira*."—Of prominent actresses Lichtenberg mentions, as already stated, the youngest daughter of Ackermann, Charlotte. Only a genius could have mastered a repertoire of 116 roles in the space of six years (1771–1775) including "Emilia Galotti," the title role in Brandes' "Olivie," Marie in "Clavigo," Adelheid in "Götz." (ibid part II, p. 95.) Ekhof's name is linked with Schröder's by Lessing's formulation of aesthetic principles which the latter, as indicated above, abstracted from Ekhof. Young Schröder eagerly assimilated the principles and applied them in turn to his own art,—particularly in a role which was destined to establish his claim to im-

mortal fame,—that of Hamlet. Of course, his great teacher was Shakespeare. He had made his acquaintance partly thru the recitations of the Englishman Stuart, partly thru Wieland's translations. By a strange coincidence, Lichtenberg's letters on Garrick began to appear in the "Adresscomtoirnachrichten" of Hamburg, the day immediately preceding Schröder's return from a recreation trip, i.e. 22. July, 1776. A month later Schröder commenced his adaptation of Hamlet, and still a month later,—or to be more exact, on September 20, 1776, Hamlet was performed for the first time on the Hamburg stage. Brockmann—Schröder's colleague, was "Hamlet." A very vivid picture of this memorable performance is contained in a contemporaneous report in the "Adresscomtoirnachrichten" under date of September 30, 1776:—

"Brockmann (als Hamlet) der zum ersten Mal in Garrick's Meisterrolle vor einem Publikum auftrat, worunter so viele die Rolle von Garrick selbst gesehen hatten, fürchtete sich vielleicht vor der Parallele, die diese ziehen würden. Überdem must' er glauben, die Engländer lieben ihren Garrick, und die Deutschen, die das einheimische ohnedem gern verachten, werden es dann um so mehr thun, weil sie die Reise nach London gethan haben.—Alle, die Garrick spielen gesehen, haben auch ihm, (Brockmann) das verdiente Lob beygelegt. Gewiss ist, dass unser Brockmann in seinem Fache der erste Schauspieler Deutschlands ist, und wär er auf der englischen Bühne bey der Nation die so willig und reichlich Künste und Talent belohnt und ehrt, er würde gewiss von ihr als würdiger Nachfolger Garrick's angenommen werden." (Aus No. 77 der Hamb. Adress-Comptoir-Nachrichten, 1776—Sept. 30). Litzmann, Sch. II, p. 193. As if to remind us of Lichtenberg's letters a critic in the *Litteratur- und Theaterzeitung* (Berlin 1779) says: Brockmann habe durch Lichtenberg's Briefe über Garrick's Hamlet irregeführt, hingerissen durch die Lebhaftigkeit seines Geistes, angeregt durch die Begier ein ganzes Auditorium zu fesseln, den Hamlet zuweilen in ein ganz falsches Licht gestellt." (F. W. Schröder, pt. II, 255—Litzmann).

Such authentic evidence for a similar, direct influence on F. W. Schröder—the greatest Hamlet on the German stage at the time, cannot, unfortunately, be adduced. But are we not justified in postulating it? For it seems almost incredible that

Schröder should have overlooked Lichtenberg's letters in a journal of direct interest to the theatrical world. Are we not rather justified in saying that Schröder, the assiduous student of Shakespeare, consumed by the noble ambition to make his Hamlet interpretation an event of more than ordinary significance, fixed firmly in his mind every detail of Lichtenberg's immortal portrait of an immortal artist? And if students of the dramatic history of Germany during the last half of the 18th century are prepared to associate with Schröder's "Hamlet" a new era in the history of the stage, would it be presumptuous to link Lichtenberg's name with that momentous event in so far as he contributed something directly to Schröder's conception of the great role and indirectly to the profound impression which the interpretation created?

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GOTTLIEB BETZ.

## A SCHOOL-DIALOGUE OF THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY

It may not be inappropriate to remind the student of Renaissance education that the school-dialogues of the period occasionally appeared with vernacular parallels. The most familiar colloquies of the sixteenth century were written in Latin, the language of the schools. Such titles as the *Colloquia familiaria* of Erasmus (1518), the *Linguae Latinae colloquiorum* of Vives (1539), and the *Colloquia scholastica* of Corderius (1564) recall the vogue enjoyed by these popular texts, each of which went through more than one hundred editions.

The briefest of the dialogues, and the first to be published with a vernacular translation was the *Collocutiones duorum puerorum de rebus puerilibus ad invicem loquentium*.<sup>1</sup> It appeared, with a Middle Low German parallel, shortly after 1500, and the copy that has come down to us was printed as an addendum to a volume of Hermannus Torrentinus' *Hymni et sequentie*.<sup>2</sup> The text follows:

### SYRISCUS, PETRELLUS

<i>Syr.</i> Unde venis, Petrelle?	Peterken, wan comstu?
<i>Pet.</i> E templo, Syrisce.	Uut die kerke.
<i>Syr.</i> Quid illic fecisti?	Wat hebstu daer ghedaen?
<i>Pet.</i> Turbinem circumnegi.	Ich heb den bat ghedreven.
<i>Syr.</i> Hoc facere in templo minime decet.	Dat en beteemt niet datment in die kerke doe.
<i>Pet.</i> Id ipsum nunc vapulando didici.	Dat heb ic nu oeck mit slage gheleert.
<i>Syr.</i> Quo pacto?	Hoe ghinc dat toe?
<i>Pet.</i> Nam alter ex aedituis me ludentem offendit et apprehensum ita pugnibus pulsavit, ut vix ingredi queam.	Die een van den kerckmesters vant my spelen ende heeft my soe myt vusten geslaghen, dat ic nauwe ghaen en kan.
<i>Syr.</i> Id mihi memorari quam monstrari malim.	Dat hoer ic seggen, dan ict my laet wyssen.

<sup>1</sup> Authorship unknown.

<sup>2</sup> *Hymni et sequentie cum diligenti difficiliorum vocabulorum interpretatione omnibus et scholasticis et ecclesiasticis cognitu necessaria Hermannii Torrentini de omnibus puritatis linguae latine studiosis quam optime meriti: Sequuntur collocutiones duorum puerum* (sic!). Undated, but shortly after 1500. See Bömer, A. *Die lateinischen Schülergespräche der Humanisten* (2 parts. Berlin, 1897), I, 67-69. Hermannus Torrentinus, or Hermann van Beek, of Zwoll, one of the Brethren of the Common Life, died c. 1520.

<i>Pet.</i> Credo equidem.	Dat gelove ic sekerlic wel.
<i>Syr.</i> Nihil mihi aliud novi aufers e templo?	Brendy ons anders nyet nywes uut die kerken?
<i>Pet.</i> Morio noster Heyno in sacrario fecit oletum. <sup>3</sup>	Heyn, onse dwaes, heeft in die sacristij ghedreten.
<i>Syr.</i> Id nasus resciscat tuus.	Dat moet u noese weten.
<i>Pet.</i> Ludamus nunc iuglandibus in scrobem. <sup>4</sup>	Laet ons nu myt walnoeten spelen in der kulen.
<i>Syr.</i> Ubi has iuglantes nactus es?	Waer hebstu die noeten gecreghen?
<i>Pet.</i> Emi.	Ic heb se gecoeft.
<i>Syr.</i> Quanti?	Hoe duyrt?
<i>Pet.</i> Tribus placcis aut paulo minoris.	Om drie placken of een wenich min.
<i>Syr.</i> Habuistine tantum pecuniae?	Haddi soe veel gelts?
<i>Pet.</i> Non, verum oppigneravi pugilares meos.	Neen, mer ic heb myn scrijftafel te pande gheset.
<i>Syr.</i> Utinam id sciret pater tuus!	Och of du vader dat wiste!
<i>Pet.</i> Cur id optas?	Waerom wonsschi dat?
<i>Syr.</i> Si resciret, ipse redimeret.	Vernam hy dat, hy solde se verlossen.
<i>Pet.</i> Id mihi male verteret.	Dat solde my qualic bekommen.
<i>Syr.</i> Qui? dic, sodes.	Secht, woe soe?
<i>Pet.</i> Nam pelle poenas penderem.	Ic solt mitten velle betalen.
<i>Syr.</i> Quid tum? Crassi pellis es, floccifacis verbera.	Wats dan? Gy sijt soe dickhudich, ghy en past op gheen slaghe.
<i>Pet.</i> Non magni curo, sed nunc pergamus ludere!	Ick en maeck daer gheen groet verck van, mer laet ons voert spelen!
<i>Syr.</i> Non libet.	Ten lust my niet
<i>Pet.</i> Quid tum libet?	Wat lust u dan?
<i>Syr.</i> Crustulum cum butiro.	En brug of een stuck broets myt botter.
<i>Pet.</i> Esuris semper?	Heb dy altyt honger?
<i>Syr.</i> Nihil hodie ientaculi sumpsi et parce meridiatus sum.	Ick en heb huden niet onbeten ende te middaghe wenich gotten.

<sup>3</sup> The inclusion of such items in school-dialogues was not unusual. They are a characteristic of these "faithful accounts" of student-life. Cf. *Manuale scholarium* (trans. by Seybolt, R. F. Harvard Univ. Press, 1921), Ch. II; and the following from Murmellius' *Pappa puerorum* (Bömer, 69), 1513: "Joannes calceos meos comminxit . . . Cur librum meum conspuisti? . . . Cave tibi ne tantum potes, ut lectum nostrum convomas!"

<sup>4</sup> *Colloquiorum Maturini Corderii Galli* (ed. by Arcadius Avellanius, Phila., 1904), p. 135:

"D. Ubi sunt iuglandes tuae?

B. Quas iuglandes memoras?

D. Quas hodie praemio accepisti.

. . . . .

B. Comedi eas, pro merenda.

D. Comedisti? O te miserum! Cur eas non potius ad ludendum conservasti?

<i>Pet.</i> Non ergo mirum, si crustum optas pro vesperna.	Soe en ist oec gheen wonder, dattu een stucffs broets begheerts voor dijn vesper.
<i>Syr.</i> At ego in cena omnia compen- sabo.	Ick salt tavent al verhalen.
<i>Pet.</i> Quid comedes?	Wat salstu eten?
<i>Syr.</i> Colustrum, nam duas vaccas foetas habemus.	Ick sal byst eten, want wij hebben twe koyen, die ghecalvt hebben.
<i>Pet.</i> Atat, campana tertiam sonat horam! Alio properandum est!	Ganz peert, die clock slaet drie, wij moeten op een ander welt!
<i>Syr.</i> Quo, Petrelle?	Waer hen, Peterken?
<i>Pet.</i> Quo nusquam magis invitus.	Daer ick neergent noeder en gae.
<i>Syr.</i> Ad scholamne?	Waer ter scolen?
<i>Pet.</i> Immo ad carcerem!	Ja, ten kerker!
<i>Syr.</i> Eho, quid ita? Scholam car- cerem vocas?	Wat ny? Hoe soe? Heyt gy de schoel enck kerker te wesen?
<i>Pet.</i> An non carcer tibi videtur, qua nos magister velut in caveo clausos conservat?	Dunek u dat nyet een kerker te syn, daer ons die meester holt als in een holl?

For the convenience of the reader who is unfamiliar with Latin or Middle Low German, a translation<sup>5</sup> into English is appended:

SYRISCUS, PETRELLUS

<i>Syr.</i> Where are you coming from, Petrellus?	
<i>Pet.</i> From church, Syrisus.	
<i>Syr.</i> What did you do there?	
<i>Pet.</i> I spun my top.	
<i>Syr.</i> It is by no means proper to do that in church.	
<i>Pet.</i> I found that out now by being flogged.	
<i>Syr.</i> How did that happen?	
<i>Pet.</i> One of the church-wardens found me playing, took hold of me, and hit me so hard with his fists that I can hardly walk.	
<i>Syr.</i> I'd rather be told about that than shown.	
<i>Pet.</i> I believe that.	
<i>Syr.</i> Didn't you bring me any news from church?	
<i>Pet.</i> That idiot Heinie has befouled the sacristy	
<i>Syr.</i> Your nose could find that out	
<i>Pet.</i> Let us play with walnuts in a hole. <sup>6</sup>	
<i>Syr.</i> Where did you get the walnuts?	
<i>Pet.</i> I bought them.	
<i>Syr.</i> For how much?	

<sup>5</sup> By R. F. S.

<sup>6</sup> *The Dialogues of Juan Luis Vives, in Tudor School-Boy Life* (trans. by Watson, F. London, 1908), p. 22: "The Game of Nuts . . . Tull: Let us play at nuts, at throwing them in holes."

*Pet.* For three plaques, or a little less.<sup>7</sup>

*Syr.* Did you have that much money?

*Pet.* No, but I pawned my writing-tablets.

*Syr.* If your father knew this!

*Pet.* Why do you wish that?

*Syr.* If he should find it out, he would redeem them.

*Pet.* That would come back to me unpleasantly.

*Syr.* Why? Tell me.

*Pet.* I should pay the penalties with my skin.

*Syr.* What of that? You are so thick-skinned that you shouldn't care a straw for beatings.

*Pet.* I don't mind them much, but now let us go to play.

*Syr.* I don't want to.

*Pet.* What do you want?

*Syr.* A piece of bread with butter.

*Pet.* Are you always hungry?

*Syr.* I haven't had any breakfast today, and I had only a light luncheon.

*Pet.* Then I don't wonder that you want a piece of bread for supper.

*Syr.* But, I shall make up for all those things at dinner.

*Pet.* What will you eat?

*Syr.* Biestings, for we have two cows that have just calved.<sup>8</sup>

*Pet.* Ah! The bell is striking three o'clock! We ought to be hurrying to another place.

*Syr.* Where, Petrellus?

*Pet.* To the place where I am most unwilling to go.

*Syr.* To school?

*Pet.* Nay, rather to prison.

*Syr.* What! How so? Do you call school a prison?

*Pet.* Doesn't it seem like a prison to you, where the master keeps us shut up in a pen?

This little dialogue was designed to serve as an introduction to the Latin spoken in the schools. It was an elementary text-book, and, as in the better known colloquies of the day, the material sought to reproduce actual conditions of student-life.<sup>9</sup> It was, therefore, a manual of information, in simple

<sup>7</sup> *Placci*: placars, plaquars (Ducange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, VI, 340); *Placke*, eine kleine (flämische) Münze (Schiller, K., and Lübben, A. *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch*, III, 334).

<sup>8</sup> *Biestings*, *beestings* (colostrum), the first milk given by a cow after calving.

<sup>9</sup> Erasmus, in his essay "Concerning the Profitableness of Colloquies": "I thought meet to allure tender youth with enticements of this sort, who are more easily attracted with those things that are pleasant, than those that are serious, or the most exact . . . Physicians are commended for cheating their patients after this manner." (*The Colloquies of Erasmus*, trans. by Bailey, N., London, 1878, pp. 357-358).

colloquial style, for beginners. Like its more voluminous contemporaries, it offers the student of today a glimpse of certain aspects of school-life in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

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## REVIEWS AND NOTES

*BEOWULF AND THE FIGHT AT FINNSBURG*; edited, with introduction, bibliography, notes, glossary, and appendices, by Fr. Klaeber. New York: D. C. Heath and Co. 1922. Pp. clxii+412.

The hearty thanks of all students of *Beowulf* are due Professor Klaeber for this admirable edition, which reveals the most painstaking care, good sense, and discriminating scholarship. Preliminary studies for it have already attracted wide attention, and proved of great assistance in solving difficulties of text and interpretation. These studies gave little hint of the elaborateness of the completed work, which contains an astonishing amount of information, touching, it would seem, every subject of any importance about *Beowulf* upon which a scholar might desire information. Full references are given, yet the discussions do not suffer the blight of stenographic brevity, nor do they give the impression of a mere collection of bibliographical data. The editor is very modest, but he does not hesitate to state his opinion, and to judge, as he is bound to do, between the merits of conflicting theories. The whole reflects the greatest credit upon Professor Klaeber, and upon scholarship in America.

The very richness and completeness of the edition appear to make it more suited to the advanced than to the elementary student. The ardor of the beginner may be a little chilled by long sections of condensed comment, and the crowded pages and small type of the Introduction, rather hard on sensitive eyes, especially in the foot-notes, are not alluring. In this respect the edition of Chambers, with its open pages and clear type, enjoys a distinct advantage. Professor Chambers restricted himself, in the volume containing a revision of the Wyatt text, to "an account of the principles upon which he . . . worked, and the relation of his text to the MS," leaving other material for his *Introduction to the Study of Beowulf*. Professor Klaeber gets everything between two covers, a gain in compactness and economy, but not in ease of reading. Each method has its advantages; the teacher and student may take their choice. In considering editions of the poem in English, the excellent text of Sedgfield should not be forgotten. Sedgfield's introductory pages leave a good deal to be desired; the second issue represents a great advance upon the first in this respect.

The Introduction to the edition now under consideration comprises a short Argument of the poem, covering three pages, and

discussions of the Fabulous or Supernatural Elements, the Historical Elements, the Christian Coloring, and the Structure of the Epic. Sections on Style, Meter, and Language follow, and the problem of the Genesis of the Poem receives special consideration. An elaborate selected and classified Bibliography, filling thirty pages, precedes the text itself. The *Fight at Finnsburg*, with full critical apparatus, follows. The first Appendix gives analogues and illustrative passages,—the Anglo-Saxon genealogies, selections from the Poetic and Prose *Edda*, the *Ynglingasaga*, Saxo, the Scandinavian chronicles, the *Hrólfs saga*, the *rtmur*, and the Latin historians of Roman, Frankish and Gothic affairs. Appendix II discusses various subjects pertaining to Old Germanic life: king and *comitatus*, kinship, family, laws, war and weapons, the hall, sports, and seafaring. Appendix III gives in condensed form valuable suggestions on "certain grammatical and metrical features bearing on textual criticism," with a list of Sievers's metrical types. Finally, the text of *Waldhere*, *Deor*, and parts of *Widsith* are given, without apparatus. Glossaries to *Beowulf* and *Finnsburg*, and an Index of Proper Names, are placed at the end. The textual Notes are very full and suggestive. Mention should also be made of the illustrations: a fac-simile of Fol. 184a (ll. 2428-50) of the *Beowulf* MS; a reconstruction of the Gokstad ship, a bronze plate from Öland showing warriors with boar-helmets, pictures of an iron helmet and gold collar, and the well-known cut of the *jällestue* at Uby in Zealand. The map illustrating the geography of the poem is unfortunately so much reduced that the names of the smaller localities are almost illegible.

It is obviously impossible to comment here in any detail upon the various sections of the Introduction, but some general observations may be made, and one or two special points noted. The treatment of the Historical Elements may seem more satisfactory than that of the Fabulous or Supernatural Elements, because it rests more upon fact and less upon hypothesis. Absolute certainty in regard to the relationship of the several analogues to the epic is exceedingly difficult to attain. Definiteness is dangerous; to say for example (p. xviii, note) that "the correspondence of the *gylden hilt* (1677) of the Beowulfian sword and the name *Gullinhjalti* has been shown to be merely accidental by Olson" appears to elevate hypothesis into fact. But Professor Klaeber is generally very cautious. The whole question of the relation of the plot of *Beowulf* to Scandinavian material and the *Hrólfs saga* in particular still awaits further illumination. Two forthcoming discussions of this may be mentioned: Dr. S. J. Herben, a Fellow of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, has been at work in Copenhagen on a translation of the *Hrólfs saga*, and an elaborate study of its literary relations; and Dr. von Sydow of the University of Lund has, so I understand, important evidence which awaits publication in

regard to that saga and the provenience of the fable in *Beowulf*. The *Literary History of Hamlet* (Vol. I) by Dr. Kemp Malone, contains further material of interest. It has been repeatedly urged in recent years that the Grendel story is more or less directly based upon Irish material. Professor Klaeber mentions this hypothesis with respect (p. xx), but says in another place (p. cxvii) "That the themes of the main story, i.e. the contest with the Grendel race and the fight with the dragon, are of direct Scandinavian provenience, may be regarded as practically certain." The theory of Irish origin for Grendel does not seem impossible. But it must be remembered that an underlying folk-tale may have been current in both Celtic and Scandinavian territory in not dissimilar form, and that if distinctively Irish elements are discernible in the epic, such elements must have had some circulation in Scandinavia. A blending of an Irish fable with Scandinavian history on English soil seems improbable.

The editor is often very felicitous in his condensed statements of important points, thus: "What the singers and hearers delighted in was the warlike ideals of the race, the momentous situations that bring out a man's character; and the poet's imagination eagerly seized upon the facts of history to mold them in accordance with the current standards of the typical hero-life." (p. xxix) Perhaps it would have been well to indicate more clearly the hypothetical character of the early part of the Danish-Heathobard feud. (p. xxxvi) The section on the Christian Coloring is admirable, summarizing Professor Klaeber's own detailed researches. Very important, too, are the discussions of style. We have had many special monographs, but as yet no satisfactory general treatment of this subject. These pages will help to supply that lack. One or two statements may be queried. When we are told (p. lviii) that "evidently disregard of the element of suspense was not considered a defect in story-telling," we ought also to be reminded that in a traditional tale like this, the outcome of which was in all probability known to its hearers, there could not in the nature of things be much suspense. And discussion of the reason why the Anglo-Saxons were interested in such a thoroughly Scandinavian story as this is hardly necessary (p. cxviii), when we reflect that in early Germanic times heroic story was likely to be most beloved and to receive its finest literary form in other countries than its own. The "fugitive slave" still runs unhappily through these pages, appearing in the Argument, "the rich hoard of a dragon is robbed by a fugitive slave" (p. xi), and elsewhere. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the existence of this "slave" rests wholly on a doubtful conjectural emendation. A footnote to this effect might well be inserted in the Argument. I shall have occasion presently to refer to this again.

Might it not be wiser, in an edition of this sort, which does not, as I understand it, aim to present a historical review of Beowulf-criticism, to omit theories and conclusions which the editor, in common with most well-equipped scholars, rejects? Is it necessary to present once more mythological hypotheses, or the idea that the Danish king called in the poem Beowulf was originally the hero of the Grendel adventures, having inherited them from the old divinity Beow-Beaw, or the views of Müllenhoff, ten Brink and others as to the application of the "lieder-theorie" to the poem, or the operations of Möller to prove original stanzaic structure? For a book which must be extensively used by elementary students, references of doubtful value are better omitted. Thus (p. xviii): "The theory that the Anglo-Saxon poet worked up different versions (relating to Grendel and Grendel's mother respectively) has been repeatedly proposed as a means of accounting for disparities in the narrative; see especially Schneider and Berendsohn,"—and we turn to the references to these authorities in the Bibliography and find Professor Klaeber's comments "without much skill," and "confidently," which look as though he took no great stock in the value of such conclusions. Recent study of the folk-tales make them appear still more dubious. Again, it cannot but be confusing to the student to be confronted with various etymologies of the names "Beowulf" and Grendel," and yet not to be informed that "the bee-wolf, bear" and "the grinder" have probability and common sense in their favor.

I subjoin a few points which have occurred to me in glancing over the Notes.

208-9 *secg wisade, lagucraftig mon, landgemyrcu*: Professor Klaeber interprets this as "he led the way to the shore," but it seems much more likely to mean, in view of *lagucraftig*, that the sea-wise man (Beowulf) indicated the headlands and rocks in the passage leading out of the haven. This he might have done either before or after the ship was launched. The sequence of events may not be strictly logical; we have to allow for the possibility of the *ABAB* order of narration here, as everywhere in Anglo-Saxon poetry.

785 *þāra þe of wealle wōp gehȳrdon*: I would offer the suggestion, which I do not remember to have seen, that the Danes in their fright may have taken refuge on the wall surrounding the *tūn*.

810 *mōdes myrðe*: Holthausen's suggestion that *myrðe* is here a word not elsewhere found in Anglo-Saxon, meaning "affliction," is adopted by the editor. But why is it necessary to fly to this explanation when the very common word "mirth" gives excellent sense? Is it not stylistically allowable to say that Grendel performed "much of crime, the joy of his heart?" Through such expressions the Anglo-Saxon trick of variation

sometimes lifts verse into poetry with a single happy stroke. Again, we have to ask what idea would have been presented to the mind of a man of the eighth century listening to this passage. Can we seriously think that he would have taken *myrðe* to mean "affliction?"

1125ff. I should like to see more attention paid to Ayres's illuminating analysis of the close of the Finnsburg story. This seems to me by far the best solution which has yet been presented. I think also that Chambers's theory that the Eotenas and not the Frisians were the guilty parties in the beginning deserves mention. This theory was first fully set forth in Professor Chambers's *Introduction to the Study of Beowulf*, which, though noted in the Addenda to the Bibliography, perhaps reached Professor Klaeber too late to be utilized. It is briefly stated in the Index of Persons and Places in the Chambers text. There has not, I think, been much published comment on this theory. Though developed with great skill and learning it does not carry conviction to me.

1240 *Beorscealca sum*: This is interpreted as "many a one of the beer-drinkers," though it is admitted that only one man was actually killed. "The fate was, as it were, hanging over them all; cp. 1235 *eorla manegum*; 713." But of course *monig* is by its very nature plural, just as *sum* is singular; such a reference is not a parallel. I do not feel in the least convinced that *sumne* in 713 is plural in thought. In regard to 1240 the editor says "The meaning 'a certain one' could be vindicated only if *fūs ond fæge* be declared the 'psychological predicate,' which is rather unlikely." This seems like darkening a simple meaning by grammatical subtlety.

1408: "*æpelinga bearn* is probably to be taken as plural, as in 3170." But in 3170 the verb is in the plural; in this passage it is in the singular. This seems another case of wresting the simple meaning and construction; *bearn* 1408 affords an antecedent for *hē* 1412.

2501 *for dugeðum* seems better rendered "in consequence of (my) valor"; the editor himself suggests that the term may have been used in the abstract sense rather than as meaning "in the presence of the hosts." It will be noted that the emphasis of the whole speech is upon Beowulf's achievements.

2223 *ac for þrēanēðlan þ. . . nāthwylces*: Professor Klaeber adopts the reading *þēow*, and the theory that the dragon's hoard was plundered by a runaway slave. I have recently maintained that there is better reason to interpret the story as the act of a warrior stealing from the treasure of the dragon in order to buy off his adversaries in a feud, according to Germanic custom. I suggested reading *þegn*, but it will be noted that the choice is not limited to the two alternatives *þēow* and *þegn*. (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*,

1918, vol. xxxiii, pp. 551 ff.) The present editor queries (p. 198): "But why should that person [i.e. the thief] be called a 'captive,' as Lawrence translates *hæft* 2408?" I gave *hæft* that meaning, because it seemed closest to the common and usual significance of the word. I did not suppose it necessary to say that a man who had brought such misfortune upon the Geatas would be treated as an evil-doer, and so kept in restraint. The poet expressly says that the man was forced against his will to show the way to the dragon's lair. There is no need of imagining him to be a war prisoner; the little story explains itself sufficiently. And I believe the interpretation which I have outlined to be more in accord with the poem as a whole than that depending upon the reading *þēow*; as Professor Klaeber himself says (p. lxiii, note 2) "Outside of court circles (including retainers and attendants) we find mention of a fugitive slave only." The whole matter is really of considerable importance; the whole story of the final adventure of Beowulf is deeply affected by the reading adopted in 2223. Those who examine Professor Frank G. Hubbard's criticism of my article referred to above, are recommended to look with some care at the logical processes leading up to his confident conclusions.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I am not much inclined to reply to Professor Hubbard; criticism of criticism is dull reading. But I will illustrate some of my objections to his method by analyzing the short section in which he defends the reading *þēow*, and asserts that "the plunderer of the hoard was a slave." (*The Plundering of the Hoard in Beowulf*, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, No. 11, 1921, pp. 9-11.) I shall condense as much as possible.

"In the first place, the plunderer of the hoard, whatever his social status, was the most inconsiderable of men." In support of this are cited *niða nāt-hwylc* 2215, *þ . . . nāt-hwylces hælēða bearna* 2223, *æn mon* 2280-1, *secg syn-bysig* 2226, *earm-sceapen* 2228, *hæft hyge-giomor sceolde hēan ðonon wong wisian. Hē ofer willan giong* 2408-9.—But what do these prove? *nāt-hwylc*, nescio quis, is perhaps used with a tinge of contempt, but does not imply humble position. In 2053 *Nā hēr þāra banena byre nāthwylces fratum hremig on flet gæð*, for example, there is no such implication. Notice that in 2223, on Professor Hubbard's own reading, the master of the slave is referred to with this expression. Does the colorless word *niða* or the phrase *æn mon* signify "inconsiderable"? *syn-bysig* "distressed by sin," and *earm-sceapen* "miserable," refer to the condition in which the thief finds himself in consequence of his crime, like *hyge-giomor* and *hēan*, (*hæft* I have commented upon above). Yet Professor Hubbard finds that "all this is language that fits a slave better than athane."

"In the second place, the language in which his condition is described naturally (with meaning not forced) [notice this] applies to a man in servile condition . . . for *þræa-nēdlan . . . hete-swengeas flēah* 2223-4. Now it is true that the word *hete-swengeas* may be taken in an abstract or figurative meaning, 'hateful violence' or 'hateful persecution,' but it is just as natural to take it in a concrete meaning, 'scourging.' That slaves were scourged in Anglo-Saxon times is plainly shown by the Anglo-Saxon laws." References to 2281-2 and 4 follow. "There is nothing in all this that does not naturally imply that the relation between the two men was that of master and slave, even though it be granted that it may imply that the relation was that of lord to thane." As for the word *hæft*, Professor Hubbard admits that it is generally translated "captive"—as Klaeber renders it—but cites passages from *Daniel* and *Guthlac* to show that it may have the meaning "slave." Of course no one will deny that

It seems almost ungracious to dwell upon doubtful points in an edition of *Beowulf* so excellent as this. If I have done so, it is in the belief that the editor will himself welcome such queries in the preparation of later issues of his book. I do not wish, however, to close on a note of criticism, but rather to express the most cordial appreciation of a work to which I, like many other lovers of the poem, shall find myself in future so heavily indebted.

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HEINRICH VON KLEIST'S CONCEPTION OF THE  
TRAGIC By Walter Silz, Ph. D. Instructor in German in  
Harvard University (Hesperia Nr. 12) Goettingen 1923.  
III 92.

In this monograph Dr. Silz traces the development of Kleist's conception of the tragic. He finds three quite distinct stages and divides Kleist's works accordingly into three groups. The

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"captive" is an excellent epithet for a slave, but that does not give *haeft* the latter meaning. There are passages where it cannot mean 'slave,' cf. *Christ*, 154. But Professor Hubbard concludes, with a logic which I cannot follow: "Now, *even without insisting that the word in this case (l. 2408) should be translated 'slave,'* it is certainly reasonable to maintain that it implies here servile condition."

The preceding italics are mine. In each case, it will be observed, Professor Hubbard admits that the expressions cited do not necessarily support his contention, but he nevertheless concludes that it is reasonable to believe that they do so.

"In the third place, all the words used to name the lord of the outcast are words that are used to name the master (owner) of a slave," *man-dryhten, dryhten, hlāford, frēa*."—But they are also all used, and in this very poem, to name the lord of a thane! (*āgend* 3075, in the *locus desperatus*, cannot be used as evidence; the meaning of the whole is too obscure).

Finally, we are reminded that the usual reading *þēowes* 2219 was read by Thorkelin and Wülker *þēowes*. The slight difference between f and w in Anglo-Saxon writing makes editorial confusion easy. But the reading *þēowes* here is not even registered by Holthausen, Sedgefield, Klaeber or Chambers as worthy of consideration. The following closes the argument: "In connection with these disputed readings, it should be noted again that the word *haeft*, applied to the outcast in l. 2408, has the meaning 'slave'." But it hasn't, and in his earlier argument as to 2408, Professor Hubbard said that he would not insist that it be so translated. (p. 10). Here we take a satisfying jump to certainty.

Professor Hubbard finally reaches the following conclusion: "From the material gathered together in the preceding paragraphs, I believe that it may be maintained with confidence that wherever the outcast is mentioned in the poem the language used indicates that he was a slave."—I leave the reader to judge for himself in regard to the merits and the presentation of the argument. I will not follow it further. The chief reason why I believe that the episode deals with the settlement of a feud is that such a situation was common in Germanic life, being well illustrated in this very poem. The burden of proof seems to me to lie much more on the "runaway slave" hypothesis. The question whether rings were taken from the hoard and used in the settlement, which I made only as a suggestion, is of no consequence for my general interpretation.

first group shows the individual in conflict with superhuman forces. We may call them Fate, Chance, Accident. The second group presents a transition, it prepares for the conception of the individual as a member of society. We leave the realm of the superhuman and enter the realm of humanity. The last group introduces the individual in his relation to society, to its organized form the State. Expressing this more succinctly, Kleist's dramas show the transition from an individualistic to a collectivistic conception of life.

Admirable as this scheme is, it is, as I hope to point out, not quite capable of including all the tragic elements that enter into Kleist's works.

In the first chapter Dr. Silz sets forth Kleist's intellectual life up to the catastrophe caused by the study of Kant. He depicts him as a typical representative of the age of enlightenment for whom the attainment of happiness is the end of existence. A naive optimism characterizes his attitude toward the universe and the problems of life. Reason is the Goddess whom the youthful Kleist worships and with whose aid he hopes to master the intellectual problems which confront him. Feeling and imagination the other two faculties of the soul are suppressed. And still it is significant of the later Kleist that his letters, very early, show unmistakable signs of a deep dissatisfaction with reason. Although I agree with the author that Kleist did not make the heart and feeling the guides and arbiters of life until after his catastrophe over Kant, I think he ought to have pointed out how the supremacy of Reason was constantly disputed by those two faculties, for we would then be better able to understand the total revulsion of feeling which took place in him after this intellectual experience.

An inner voice seems to tell Kleist that happiness resides in the feelings. "Wenn man sich so lange mit ernsthaften abstrakten Dingen beschäftigt hat, wobei der Geist zwar seine Nahrung findet, aber das arme Herz leer ausgehen muss, dann ist es eine wahre Freude, sich einmal ganz seinen Ergiessungen zu überlassen; ja es ist selbst nötig, dass man es zuweilen ins Leben zurückrufe. Bei dem ewigen Beweisen und Folgern verlernt das Herz fast zu fühlen; und doch wohnt das Glück nur im Herzen, nur im Gefühl, nicht im Kopfe, nicht im Verstande." (V. P. 47-48)<sup>1</sup> This was written while he was a student in the university at Frankfurt a/o.

The gradual shifting in Kleist from the rational to the emotional and imaginative faculty can best be observed during his trip to Würzburg. He admits that a great change has taken place in him in a letter to his sister Ulrike (Cp. V. P. 168) and we can trace it very clearly in his treatment of nature. At the

<sup>1</sup> All quotations are taken from the edition of Kleist's works by Erich Schmidt and others, 5 vols., Leipzig and Wien 1904 ff.

beginning it is still quite rationalistic. He sees in nature only a wise preceptress who furnishes him moral precepts for the conduct of life. But as he slowly succumbs to the beauty and charm of the landscape about Würzburg his attitude changes. It becomes more poetic. Nature and the landscape are endowed with feeling and personified. The beautiful descriptions with which his letters during this period abound have been called *verhaltene Gedichte*.

By the very laws of his nature Kleist was emancipating himself from the thralldom of reason long before the disaster over Kant led to its utter rejection.

Dr. Silz justly calls this disaster "the great and determinative tragedy of his life as a man and as a poet." Up to this time Kleist had regarded truth as something absolute, now he learned from Kant that we cannot determine, ob das, was wir Wahrheit nennen, wahrhaft Wahrheit ist, oder ob es uns nur so scheint. Ist das letzte, so ist die Wahrheit, die wir hier sammeln nach dem Tode nicht mehr—und alles Bestreben ein Eigentum sich zu erwerben, das uns auch in das Grab folgt, ist vergeblich." (V. P. 204). This sentence expressed for Kleist the central thought of Kant's philosophy and it cut him to the quick for it meant the destruction of his whole previous existence. In agony he cries out, Mein einziges, mein höchstes Ziel ist gesunken, und ich habe nun keines mehr. (V. P. 204).

The chief influence on Kleist of this inner experience is, in Dr. Silz's opinion, the destruction of the superb order of the universe, it has been reduced to chaos. Nothing is absolute, everything is relative. The blind arbitrariness of an inscrutable Fate rules our life. (Cp. P. 10). I regard this as the direct and temporary effect. The author, however, seems to have overlooked that this feeling was deeply ingrained in Kleist's nature. Now it merely received its philosophical orientation. In May, 1799 while Kleist was working on his plan of life he wrote to his sister Ulrike: Tausend Menschen höre ich reden und sehe ich handeln, und es fällt mir nicht ein, nach dem warum zu fragen. Sie selbst wissen es nicht, dunkle Neigungen leiten sie, der Augenblick bestimmt ihre Handlungen. Sie bleiben für immer unmündig und ihr Schicksal ein Spiel des Zufalls. Sie fühlen sich wie von unsichtbaren Kräften geleitet und gezogen. (V. P. 41). In the same letter he calls a man without a plan of life "ein Spiel des Zufalls, eine Puppe am Draht des Schicksals." (V. P. 43-44). The very same turns of speech occur in his letters of April 9 and April 14, 1801 both addressed to his fiancée Wilhelmine v. Zenge. To be sure this Fate-feeling lacks at this time the tragic poignancy and the deep pessimistic tone which it assumes later in the great crisis of his life.

In my opinion Dr. Silz has not brought out the inner significance for Kleist of the catastrophe over Kant. The primary thing which Kleist learned at this time was, that the external world, as we see it, exists only in our ideas. The world has no reality, it is merely our conception. The world of the senses is thus destroyed and with it the possibility of obtaining knowledge and of finding the Absolute Truth. What we regard as Truth is not pure, it is modified, transformed by our perception. So his striving after knowledge and truth has lost its meaning.<sup>2</sup> If the external world is thus without reality consisting merely of images reflected in the soul, if we can never penetrate to the Ding an Sich, it must follow that our fellowmen, too, can never be known to us in their innermost being. We know from Kleist's letters how he was tormented by the feeling that his fiancée, relatives and friends might not understand him. In his letters to the first the ever-recurring word is Vertrauen. And the words, addressed to her, "Wir verstehen uns ja" (V. P. 55) and "denn wir verstehen uns" (V. P. 92) are less the expression of absolute certainty than of suppressed doubt. We also know how the lack of understanding and appreciation on the part of his relatives was a source of constant grief and humiliation to him (Cp. V. P. 279 and 434). His whole life was a tragic attempt to gain the sympathy and understanding of his fellows.

Witkop in his recent book *Heinrich von Kleist*, Leipzig, 1922 makes the feeling of loneliness, of isolation, the inability of man to understand his fellows, die Einsamkeit des Endlichen he calls it, the basic feeling of Kleist's life and of his works, and Gundolf in his book of the same title Berlin, 1922 also finds the source of tragedy in Kleist's life and in most of his works in the Loslösung von Volk und Gesellschaft, in the Genieeinsamkeit.

And indeed the tragic complications of his dramas arise largely from this inability of his people to understand each other. His method of character development also has its source here. The people of his dramas shrink from each other, they are constantly on their guard lest they betray their thoughts and feelings. This accounts for the great frequency of what have been called Verhörsszenen. It often makes his characters seem hard, unfeeling and even brutal.

I have sketched above those elements in Kleist's dramas which owe their existence to his catastrophe over Kant. For the philosopher Kleist the external world had lost its reality and for the poet Kleist this presented a dilemma from which he

<sup>2</sup> The question whether or not Kleist's interpretation of Kant is correct, is irrelevant. We have two studies dealing with Kleist's relation to Kant. Ernst Cassirer, *Idee und Gestalt*, 1921 and Fritz Ohmann, *Kleist und Kant*, Festschrift für B. Litzmann, 1921. Both authors are of the opinion that Kleist misinterpreted Kant. Cassirer's contention that it was Fichte's work "Über die Bestimmung des Menschen" that provoked the inner crisis in Kleist rather than Kant cannot be maintained. His arguments are not convincing.

had to find an escape. In some way the poet had to find access to the personality of his fellows, he must become conscious of his own Self and of the Self of others. How does he do it? The answer is thru feeling. It is the open Sesame which unlocks the doors of Self and of Personality. Therefore it is sacred and there is nothing which Kleist's men and women avenge more cruelly than an abuse of their Feeling. Der Mensch wirft alles, was er sein nennt, in eine Pfütze, nur kein Gefühl." His characters follow it instinctively, it guides them with unerring sureness in the most difficult situations of their lives, they become uncertain and confused only when their intellect interferes.

Another tragic element in Kleist's works not observed by Dr. Silz arises from the inadequacy of language. Words cannot express the deepest and the most subtle feelings of man. I cannot refrain from quoting this rather long but very significant passage from a letter of Kleist to his sister Ulrike. "Und gern möchte ich Dir alles mitteilen, wenn es möglich wäre. Aber es ist nicht möglich, und wenn es auch kein weiteres Hindernis gäbe, als dieses dass es uns an einem Mittel zur Mitteilung fehlt. Selbst das einzige, das wir besitzen, die Sprache taugt nicht dazu, sie kann die Seele nicht malen und was sie uns gibt, sind nur zerrissene Bruchstücke. Daher habe ich jedes mal eine Empfindung wie ein Grauen, wenn ich jemandem mein Innerstes aufdecken soll; nicht eben weil es sich vor der Blöße scheut, aber weil ich ihm nicht alles zeigen kann nicht kann, und daher fürchten muss, aus den Bruchstücken falsch verstanden zu werden.

Ach Du weisst nicht Ulrike, wie mein Innerstes oft erschüttert ist. . Du verstehst dies doch nicht falsch? Ach, es gibt kein Mittel sich Andern ganz verständlich zu machen und der Mensch hat von Natur keinen andren Vertrauten, als sich selbst.

(V. P. 194-195)

This excerpt expresses as nothing else could Kleist's feeling of loneliness and his conviction that language is too feeble to express man's deepest feelings. The frequent moments of silence which occur in Kleist's dramas at tense moments are, in my opinion, attributable to this. The characters realize that words cannot convey what they think or feel, that nothing can bridge the gulf between them.

In discussing *Guiskard* Dr. Silz calls attention to the fact that there is no causal connection between the fate Guiskard suffers and his past life or deeds. He might have shown that this is quite generally true in Kleist's works. What is commonly known as moral guilt is conspicuously absent from his plays. He does not judge his heroes and heroines by any abstract ethical code or by the moral judgment of society. The only criterion of conduct is their feeling. "Was dein erstes Gefühl dir antwortet, das tue." "Frage Dein erstes Gefühl, dem folge."

It is not quite clear to the reviewer why Dr. Silz in mentioning works consulted by him in the preparation of his monograph gives in the one instance the author's name and the title of his study as, e.g. Max Fischer (Heinrich von Kleist der Dichter des Preussentums) but in the other instance merely the author's name as, e.g. Meyer-Benfey. vol. 1. I suppose, he takes it for granted that the Kleist student is familiar with all the more important works on Kleist. But what of the casual reader? I, consider it a serious omission not to have given a bibliography of at least those works which were actually used by the author. This last criticism, however, does not detract greatly from this interesting and in most respects very useful study.

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THEODORE GEISSENDOERFER

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*THE POSSIBLE BEGETTER OF THE OLD ENGLISH "BEOWULF" AND "WIDSITH."* By Albert Stanburrough Cook. Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences. 1922. Pp. 281-346.

The elusive but inevitable relation between the courtly epic of Beowulf and the facts of Anglo-Saxon history has tantalized many scholars. Decisive evidence may indeed be lacking here, but the *a priori* possibilities in the case of *Beowulf* and Anglo-Saxon history can be determined rather more easily than in the case of *Beowulf* and folk-lore. The first subject is smaller and more manageable than the second, and for that reason perhaps not usually dwelt on at such length. Professor Cook's thesis is that King Aldfrith of Northumbria may have been the begetter, though of course not the "onlie begetter," of *Beowulf*; and further that the allusions and topography of the poem tend to confirm this suggestion. Many scholars will be ready to admit a strong probability here. Indeed, Aldfrith's patronage is almost necessarily implied if one accepts a Northumbrian origin for the poem, and a decisive redaction as early as the year 700. The available facts about Aldfrith had been gathered together before, with especial reference to church history, by Howorth, *The Golden Days of the Early English Church*,<sup>1</sup> but Cook handles them afresh in their bearing on literature. There emerges the portrait of "a student of divinity, half-Irish by birth, and no less so by long residence; a student of the poetic art, himself a poet; and a man sympathetic with the adventurous spirit—eager for learning and wandering, and curious respecting foreign countries—of his Irish kin;"<sup>2</sup>—less clearly, perhaps, the figure of a sage and patriotic, though politically unsuccessful, monarch. Professor Cook might have used the phrase attributed to Queen Cuthburga, describing her husband as "super modernos reges

<sup>1</sup> London, 1917. 3 vols.

<sup>2</sup> P. 315.

literarum eruditus scientia."<sup>3</sup> The least that can be said is that the age capable of producing such a king was also capable of producing *Beowulf*. The affiliation is natural enough whether one emphasizes the court or the cloister as background for the poem.

On the face of the evidence it is hard to be more explicit than this. We may reason from the date 700 to Aldfrith's possible connection with the poem, but not *vice versa*. Other possibilities cannot be excluded; the same cultural conditions must have persisted or developed through at least the first third of the eighth century, including the reign of that unfortunate Ceolwulf (729-737) whom Bede describes as interested in the words and deeds of his ancestors. But the present tendency toward an earlier date is illustrated in a recent article of Liebermann's,<sup>4</sup> which takes a roundabout way to reach a conclusion not unlike Cook's. Liebermann confronts Schücking's argument for late Anglo-Scandinavian origin with an equally perverse argument for early West-Saxon origin; eventually, however, when Cuthburga, daughter of Ine of Wessex, marries Aldfrith, Liebermann's West-Saxon *scop* reaches the Northumbrian court, to become the retainer of Aldfrith and the friend of Aldhelm!

It is indeed easier to accept Aldfrith on general considerations than to accept any specific evidence for Aldfrith. Cook follows ten Brink in identifying the Thryth of the poem with Osthryth, queen of Mercia (and half-sister to Aldfrith), who was slain in 697. He argues that Aldfrith seems to have acted mildly in the case of the troublesome churchman Wilfrith, whereas Osthryth treated him with severity, and probably displayed a cruel nature in other ways that led at last to her assassination; hence perhaps Aldfrith=Offa and Osthryth=Thryth. The evidence for the contrast in character between brother and sister is, however, very slender;<sup>5</sup> and given such a contrast, the Offa-Thryth story would be too far afield to point it. An ingenious discussion of the topography of Aldfrith's Yorkshire applied to *Beowulf* can in the nature of the case yield nothing conclusive. The caves in the sea-cliffs near Flamborough are used to explain the subaqueous hall of *Beowulf*, and the "hell-becks" of the North Riding to explain the *flod under foldan* (l.1361). Some such details may be included in the complex topography of this passage, so well analyzed by Professor Lawrence.<sup>6</sup> Again, if classical influences on *Beowulf* be admitted,

<sup>3</sup> MS. Lansdowne 436, registered in T. Duffus Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. relating to the Early History of Great Britain* (London, 1862), I, 384.

<sup>4</sup> "Ort und Zeit der Beowulfdichtung," *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1920, Heft 3, 255-276.

<sup>5</sup> Wilfrith's friends averred that Aldfrith had treated the recalcitrant bishop with great severity. Cf. Eddi, *Vita Wilfridi Episcopi*, chap. 59.

<sup>6</sup> "The Haunted Mere in *Beowulf*," *PMLA* XXVII, 208-45.

who is so likely to have transmitted them as Aldfrith's friend Aldhelm, a scholar and courtier who cultivated vernacular poetry? And though the Oriental names in *Widsith* are usually taken to be a late interpolation, may we not, in view of Aldfrith's "known interest in Biblical and Oriental geography," assign the whole poem to his reign? Conjecture here gathers alarming momentum. But such questions as these may be put with the greatest freedom, if they are answered with reasonable restraint.

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*THE CELTIC REVIVAL IN ENGLISH LITERATURE  
1760-1800.* Edward D. Snyder. Cambridge: Harvard  
University Press. 1923.

The late eighteenth century is a rather tame period for the poetical amateur, but for the literary investigator few fields can be more interesting. The rising and subsiding of literary movements, the vagaries of popular taste, the camouflage of poets and the errors of critics unite with foreign influences and scholarly revivals, until the literary history of that age has all the dramatic elements which its ponderous plays have not. Smart's learned work on Ossian is more readable than the subject of his study, and the scholarship of Beers is better literature than the poetry of Beattie.

Perhaps this consideration makes us measure Dr. Snyder by a rather severe standard. Unquestionably there is a great deal of merit in his work. He has a wealth of interesting facts clearly and sensibly presented. He has a lucid and adequate style. His numerous and well-chosen quotations from minor poets form a very unboresome anthology of historic bores. Any specialist in that period would find the book enjoyable and valuable. Yet we cannot help feeling a little disappointed—or, if not disappointed, at least hopeful for more in the future. The work is that of a thoroughly trained and clear-headed scholar; we are not so sure it is that of an original thinker or devout lover of literature. Perhaps our moderate enthusiasm is due to a misunderstanding of the author's purpose. He seems intentionally to have evaded many "a vital consideration, which I have passed over with little comment." Yet if this is so we question the wisdom of his aim. General conclusions and personal reactions are, after all, the final goal to which facts should lead the way.

There are some very vital problems raised by his material yet hardly mentioned by him. There is the question of the relation of race and environment to literature. That raises a discussion too great to be finished in a book like this, yet one that inevitably grows out of the subject. There is the question

of the relation of metrical traditions to old and new movements, a question that becomes pressing when one finds Ossian translated repeatedly into Pope's couplets. There is the question as to how far eighteenth century "romanticism" represented a new attitude toward life and how far it merely represented a new machinery of expression for the same old attitude. Also the early romanticists often read masterpieces of their predecessors with a subjective eclecticism which found romanticism where the author had not meant it and ignored classicism where the author had proclaimed it from the housetops. They took the reflections of their own minds as models, and thought that they were modeling on Thomson, Young, and the ancient Celts, a common mistake of literary reformers.

We wish that Dr. Snyder could have given his opinions on some of these problems. However, he had a right to limit his own subject, and, though we miss something, we find a good deal to commend. The movement which had been thought of as confined to Gray and one or two others is shown here to have extended over a nation, as far as good poetry is read and bad poetry is written. A movement reaching as far as that offers an interesting subject of study.

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*MODERN METRICAL TECHNIQUE AS ILLUSTRATED BY BALLAD METER (1700-1920).* By George R. Stewart, Jr. New York: 1922. Pp. 120.

The subjective study of metrics—and any study of metrics is unavoidably, in great measure, subjective—is likely to reveal in the student one or the other of two fundamentally different attitudes of mind. He may be a subtle theorist, propounding esoteric not to say obscurantist doctrines and rather priding himself on sensibilities to which the common herd of readers are deaf. Or he may, recognizing that poetry is a social art and eschewing fine distinctions in which his reader might not be able to follow him, appeal to the common experience of readers of verse. *A priori*, perhaps, the former attitude is as likely to be right as the latter; but Dr. Stewart's dissertation, especially if considered in comparison with some other recent contributions to metrical study, leaves little doubt as to which is the more fruitful. He has investigated the facts, objectively and statistically so far as the matter permitted, and proffers theory only to explain the facts, and even then without dogmatism. The result is one of the most informing studies in English versification that have appeared in recent years. He is fortunate, too—perhaps one should say well-advised—in selecting for study the ballad meter, the type of Eng-

lish verse at once the most fundamental and having the widest affiliations. The time limits are possibly less happy, especially the *terminus a quo*, tho the review in chapter II of the history of ballad meter before 1700 does something toward completing the picture. The scope of the work and the value of the findings can best be shown by a brief *résumé*.

The first four chapters clear the ground. Chapter I gives the reasons for the limitations adopted and the author's attitude toward disputed questions in metrics. Without quarreling with others, he adopts—with Verrier and probably most other competent modern metrists—a notation that reckons rhythmic units as beginning with the metrical ictus, tho without insistence upon time equality. The ballad stanza is described as a couplet of seven-foot lines rather than as a quatrain of alternate fours and threes. The fact, however, that the 'cesura' between the two parts of the line operates in the development of the verse in just about the same way that the line-end does makes his position on this point rather questionable. Chapter II traces the history of ballad meter from the *Poema Morale* to the end of the seventeenth century, noting its vogue for long poems about 1600 (Chapman, Warner), its use in the early drama, and its efflorescence as a lyric form, both popular and learned, in the seventeenth century, as well as its persistence as the verse of the ballad proper, and finding for this early period as a whole a tendency toward syllabic regularity, until by the end of the century it has come—like the decasyllabic couplet—to a thoroly standardized form, the 'periodic' stanza. It now has unfailingly (in its dissyllabic form) fourteen syllables to the line, is end-stopped, and contrives, by inversions and otherwise, to make the thought-segments fit the verse-segments and to 'throw the verb or other key word upon the rhyme'—precisely what Atterbury praised Waller for doing with the heroic couplet. With few exceptions this periodic structure obtained for the regular, i.e. syllable-counting, ballad stanza from the time of Dr. Watts to that of Burns. Prevaingly its feet were dissyllabic (chapter III). From Prior's time on the trisyllabic form (chapter IV) was also used, but 'its use in the eighteenth century was confined largely to society verse and to a rougher sort of popular song.' The two kinds of rhythm were however kept carefully apart. Dr. Stewart does 'not believe that all the original ballad meter published in books between 1700 and 1796 can yield one hundred undoubted cases of trisyllabic substitution,' i.e. of a mingling of dissyllabic and trisyllabic feet. In this reckoning it should be noted that initial 'trochaic substitution' and the anacrusis are not counted.

In chapter V he traces the recovery, in literary verse, of the freedom of trisyllabic substitution in the normal dissyllabic ballad verse. This freedom had never been lost, of course, in

popular song. Traces of it appear in the work of Ramsay and of Burns, chiefly when they are using or working on the model of folk-song. Burns, however, did less in this direction than one would suppose. 'There are scarcely a score of certain trisyllabic substitutions in his many songs in ballad meter,' and outside of *Auld Lang Syne* and *My Love Is Like A Red Red Rose* almost none. The *Reliques* was of course influential, and Percy's own expansion of *The Child of Elle* shows that he had learned from the ballads this element of metrical freedom. It appears in one of Chatterton's poems, and in several of Blake's. With Southey and Coleridge, 'Monk' Lewis and Scott, the practise is thoroly established in the literary world, and has continued to the present time. 'After 1805 there is no longer any advantage in attempting a close chronological study of trisyllabic substitution. The technique has been achieved.' Dr. Stewart finds that poems fall into three groups in their use of it. There is one group in which trisyllabic substitutions are rare—less than 10%; another in which they range from 20% to 35%; and a third group in which they range from 40% to 70%. In the first of these groups the substitutions tend to be at the beginnings of lines. (Dissyllabic anacrusis is counted as a substitution here, tho monosyllabic anacrusis is not counted as a variation from regularity in 'regular trisyllabic' verse; this for reasons which are sound, but cannot be gone into here). Rather curiously, there is a gap between 10% and 20%, of substitution, and again between 70% and the fully trisyllabic type. The effect of the substitutions in the first group is to be an occasional variety; in the second group, to maintain a sort of constant variety; in the third group the effect is that of variation from the trisyllabic foot as a norm. A painstaking analysis of several poems in these groups fails to show any clear connection between the proportion of substitutions and the mood or quality of the poem; Dr. Stewart wisely concludes that general relations of this sort cannot safely be established, and finds the uses of the device to be, first, metrical variation for its own sake, and, second, the better adaptation of the natural stress groupings to the metrical scheme.

Metrical pause (chapter VI) is the phenomenon so familiar to readers of Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*, where a first 'half-line' of three ictus is freely equated with those of four, as in

And he hath passed in safety unto his woeful home,  
And there ta'en horse to tell the camp what deeds are done in Rome.

The dividing line between this practise and that of the monosyllabic foot, common in folk verse—

Taffy came to my house and stole a leg of beef—

is not easily drawn. Dr. Stewart believes that traditional pop-

ular verse (generally *sung*) seldom if ever makes use of the metrical pause; that even in such a line as

When the pie was opened the birds began to sing  
*opened* is commonly rendered as two monosyllabic feet. But in such lines as

My blood is on the heather, My bones are on the hill,  
so frequent in nineteenth century verse as a variation from the full seven-foot line, there can be no doubt that a pause takes the place of the fourth beat. 'To be on certain ground in study of metrical pause it is necessary to turn to poetry not meant for singing. In this sort of verse the practise is very late in developing.' Traces of it are to be found in Blake and Southey, but it is not until the appearance of Lockhart's *Ancient Spanish Ballads* (1822) that it is used with freedom. 'In his preface Lockhart notes the analogy between the full and broken ballad line, and the similarly treated Spanish meter of his original,' and Dr. Stewart concludes that 'this variation began largely as an attempt to render in translation the metrical effect of Spanish ballad poetry.' Macaulay's *Lays* (1842), with their 'extraordinary popularity and sale,' confirmed the practise, and it has been the common possession of poets since. The argument seems sound; but it should be remembered that the ballads in the *Reliques* were not, for the literary man, sung, but merely read, and that lines which he would read with metrical pause are by no means uncommon there, e.g.

In Ireland, ferr over the sea  
    *Syr Cauline* l. 12  
He sayes, Where is Syr Cauline?  
    *Ibid.* l. 23  
Stand abacke, stand abacke, sayd Robin  
    *Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne* l. 217

The author finds a marked tendency to use metrical pause in the first line of the ballad couplet and to give the full seven stresses to the second line. The bearing of this fact upon the basic structure of the ballad stanza and its relation to the Poulter's Measure I shall consider below, as well as the verse of Morris's *Sigurd the Volsung*, which Dr. Stewart rightly classes as ballad verse with metrical pause, tho he does not, I think, realize all the implications of this classification.

The monosyllabic foot (chapter VII) is defined as 'a metrical time interval composed of one (stressed) syllable not followed by a pause perceptible to the ear,' and exemplified from Masefield:

It's a warm wind, the west wind, full of birds' cries;  
I never hear the west wind but tears are in my eyes.

This phenomenon, so familiar in recent and current verse, is a relatively late development in literary poetry, due largely to the

work of Kipling. It is found occasionally in the popular ballad, especially at the end of the first 'half-line'; it is common in nursery rimes; the Scotch song-writers of the eighteenth century, working upon folk-song models, venture upon it now and then; its use in English literary poetry may be said to begin in the twenties of the last century, but 'in poetry of the Victorian period the practise. . . is never more than sporadic.' Kipling, whose verse is so close in spirit to the barrack-room and the camp, gave it vogue; Masfield is fond of it, and other contemporary poets use it freely. It may be used for onomatopoeic effect, but its chief value, like that of the trisyllabic foot, is to give variety to the rhythm and to accommodate the natural speech stresses to the metrical scheme.

The last of the variations in ballad meter considered is that of dipodic verse (chapter VIII). We are here upon debatable ground. Metrists have not generally recognized dipodic structure in English verse; despite Verrier's clear analysis of it, so recent and intelligent a work as Baum's *Principles of English Versification* practically ignores it. The problem is obscured by the fact that the poets themselves often seem not to be sure of themselves in the use of it or not to carry it thru consistently. The result is that it is very often uncertain whether a given poem is to be read in dipodies or not. The judgment is subjective. Dr. Stewart acknowledges that there are many doubtful cases, and therefore restricts his study to 'only such verse as is perceptibly of dipodic structure;' a poem is considered as being in dipodic verse 'only when the nature of its language produces a situation which cannot well be otherwise explained,' such for instance as Kipling's *Philadelphia*. He notes instances of it in popular song as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century (D'Urfey's *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 1719), occasional use of it by Burns (following a folk-song model), by Scott in certain stanzas of *The Eve of St. John*, and sporadically thruout the nineteenth century; but 'the real establishment of dipodic meter in literary verse was the work of Kipling.' He has been followed by Noyes, Newbold, and others. An analysis of Kipling's *Philadelphia* reveals a clear distinction between the primary and the secondary beats of the dipody. Conjunctions, prepositions, and the secondary stresses of polysyllables supply together more than half the secondary ictus in the poem, but none of the primary ictus; verbs, exclusive of auxiliaries, stand in the ratio of 3:2 in the primary and secondary ictus, and nouns in the ratio 6:1. This shows clearly a gradation of stress between the two ictus of the dipod. On the other hand, articles and the unstressed syllables of dis- and polysyllabic words, which account for about two-thirds of the unstressed places, appear neither in the primary nor the secondary ictus, making it clear that the dipod is not, as some metrists have argued, a

paean (- 000). Probably the difficulty of constructing verse in which these three degrees of stress are fitted to the dipodic scheme may account for the lack of recognition of the phenomenon and the frequent uncertainty of interpretation. No one, however, with a sense of rhythm can fail to feel the chaunting lilt of the dipodic movement in many of Kipling's poems or in Noyes's *Flos Mercatorum*.

The chapter (and the book, except for a recapitulatory Conclusion) closes with a discussion of the relation between fours and sevens in English verse in which, it seems to me, the author overlooks—at least he does not clearly recognize—the most important fact about this relation. Thruout the study ballad verse is conceived as a couplet of sevens; the fourth beat may be represented by a pause, but still the time of the seven feet is preserved. On the other hand ballad verse is carefully kept apart from the verse of four beats. At the close of chapter VIII the relation between dipodic fours (the first 'half-line' of the dipodic ballad stanza) and the full (seven-beat) ballad line—between Noyes's

There's a barrel-organ carolling across a golden street

and (to use a telling example, tho it is not Dr. Stewart's) Chatterton's

And told the early villager the commynge of the morne:—

is discussed and the conclusion reached that 'they are partly both [i.e. dipodic fours and ballad meter sevens] and not exactly either. . . . A line of four regular dipods can if necessary always be "scanned" as a ballad line.' Comparing the rimed with the unrimed lines in Kipling's *Last Chantey*,

Thus said the Lord in the Vault above the Cherubim

with

Calling to the Angels and the Souls in their degree,

he says in explanation of the latter: 'In rhymed verse the rhyme falls upon the *last syllable of primary stress*. As a result the syllables following this drop off, unless preserved by a double or triple rhyme. . . . It is thus possible to establish (on a descriptive not a genetic basis) the whole transition of forms.' So close does he come to the key position, and yet he seems not to see it. Why do the syllables following the last primary stress drop off? And is the time of the line changed when they do? To this question we get no answer. The answer, and the key to the relation between ballad meter and simple or dipodic fours, to metrical pause, to the Poulter's Measure and to Morris's verse in *Sigurd the Volsung* and (with a more extreme technique) Professor Leonard's in his translation of *Beowulf*,

is simply this: they are all, rhythmically, fours or multiples of fours. Even the Alexandrine (of our modern English consciousness, that is; not the French Alexandrine, which is a four of another sort) is rhythmically a pair of fours with pause in the fourth and eighth places, as is apparent in the Poulter's Measure or in our uneasiness when, in Milton's *Nativity Hymn* for example, the poet overrides the medial pause. The rime marks and helps to hold for this pause, and therefore comes where it does in ballad verse; but rime does not necessarily demand a metrical pause. In Kipling's lines,

Bob Bicknell's Southern Stages have been laid aside for ages,  
But the Limited will take you there instead,

*Stages have been and ages, But the* are full dipodic feet. It is not by chance that metrical pause in modern verse tends to come at the end of the first 'half-line,' while the second long line runs full. There is no such distinction in the verse of the Spanish ballads; but it represents in a loose form what was regularized in the Poulter's Measure, and we may be confident that its appearance in nineteenth century literary verse connects this paused type, thru traditional popular song, with the favorite song measure of the sixteenth century. *Fuzzy-Wuzzy* is an instance of dipodic fours with metrical pause in the first eight lines of each stanza and full dipodic fours in the last four lines of the stanza. *That Day* has four regular dipods in the first three lines of each stanza and metrical pause at the end of the fourth line; the chorus is in the same time—dipodic ballad measure—with many monosyllabic half-feet and with metrical pause at the end of the first, second, and fourth lines, as in the Poulter's Measure:

We was 'idin' under bedsteads more than 'arf a march away;  
We was lyin' up like rabbits all about the country-side;  
An' the Major cursed 'is Maker 'cause 'e lived to see that day,  
An' the Colonel broke his sword acrost, an' cried.  
Now there ain't no chorus 'ere to give,  
Nor there ain't no band to play;  
An' I wish I was dead 'fore I done what I did,  
Or seen what I seed that day!

Thus the prevailing basic measures of English verse are not three, as Dr. Stewart holds (fours, sevens, and fives), but rather two: the four of popular verse and the five of the dignified tradition.

In the assignment of dates and origins to the various modifications of the ballad meter which he discusses, Dr. Stewart recognizes the priority of folk-song over literary craftsmanship for most of them; but it may be worth while to point out that all of these variations—trisyllabic foot, metrical pause, monosyllabic foot, dipodic verse—are exemplified in a single Elizabethan jig. The following quotations are from 'Francis' New

Jig' as printed by Professor Rollins in *A Pepysian Garland*, pp. 1ff. The piece is also to be found in Clark's *Shirburn Ballads*. It was licensed for publication in 1595.

Regular dissyllabic ballad meter:

Heele give me gold and siluer store, and money for to spend,  
And I haue promis'd him therefore, to be his louing friend.

Trisyllabic feet:

My husband is rid ten miles from home, money to receive.  
Farewell neighbour Richard, farewell honest Besse, I hope wee are all  
friends.

Metrical pause:

To whom I gave consent, his mind for to fulfill,  
And promis'd him this night, that he should haue his will;  
Nay do not frowne, good Dickie, but heare me speake my minde;  
For thou shalt see Ile warrant thee, Ile use him in his kind.

Monosyllabic feet:

'Thy beauty rare hath wounded mee, and pierst my heart.'  
'Your foolsh loue doth trouble mee, pray you Sir depart.'

Hey doune a doune, hey doune a doune a doune,  
There is never a lusty Farmer, in all our towne;  
That hath more cause, to lead a merry life,  
Then I that am married to an honest faithfull wife.

Dipodic verse (in regular alternation with the simple ballad line):

'Farewell my ioy and hearts delight, till next we meet againe;  
Thy kindnes to requite, for lodging me al night, heeres ten pound for thy paine:  
And more to show my loue to thee, weare this ring for my sake.  
Without your gold or fee you shal haue more of me.' 'No doubt of that I make.'

This *résumé* of Dr. Stewart's procedure and findings necessarily omits many of his details of observation and argument, but the student of English versification can afford to neglect none of them. The circumstances under which the work was printed (it is not published, but presumably may be secured from the author at the University of California) accounts for the large number of typographical errors. It does not, however, account for a false idiom which occurs three times: 'it is to this which he refers in the famous *Spectator* criticisms' (p. 21), 'it is in this poem which he particularly avoids all metrical innovation' (p. 46), and 'It is to the lesser poets which we must look for evidence of the firm establishment of the new versification' (p. 50). One wonders, too, at finding Dryden listed among those who carried on the great tradition of the ballad meter 'almost into the days of Queen Anne' when Dryden's only use of this meter is in some quite undistinguished bits of song in two of his

plays. But neither slips in idiom, nor an occasional error in judgment where so vast a mass of matter was to be handled, nor bad typography, can obscure the value of this contribution to our knowledge of the history of English verse.

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A *REFERENCE GUIDE TO EDMUND SPENSER*. By Frederic I. Carpenter. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1923.

American scholarship is doing its duty by Edmund Spenser. We can point with pride to the fine *Subject Index* by Professor Whitman, and to the excellent *Concordance* by Professor Os-good. Now, with the publication of Professor Carpenter's *Reference Guide to Edmund Spenser*, the student of the great Poet is in possession of the basic data that will lead him through the confusing mazes of Spenser's work, and through the hitherto uncharted regions of the works about Spenser.

Dr. Carpenter's book is more than a guide. It is an illumination, and an inspiration to further study of Spenser. It is much more than a reference book, for it makes real and solid contributions to Spenserian research, presents new facts, sifts and evaluates old ones, assembles in beautifully clear order the widely scattered and heterogeneous literature on Spenser, delimits the fields for further investigation and "leads the way," and separates, with unfailing accuracy and fine discrimination of judgment, the chaff from the true wheat. With the two works already referred to, it establishes Spenserian scholarship on firm ground.

The *Reference Guide* is divided into four parts. In the first of these, dealing with Spenser's life, Professor Carpenter has not only marshalled the hitherto available facts, but has added a great deal, by his own efforts and research, to our information both on Spenser's biography and on the bibliography of this subject. This section, and the third, on Criticism, Influence, and Allusions, are the most valuable, because of their re-evaluation of material, and the new contributions to our knowledge of Spenser's life and reputation.

Even a cursory examination of the *Reference Guide* will reveal the endless care and patience, the untiring thoroughness, accuracy, and good, hard work that must have gone to the making of this book. Fortunately, it was energy expended in a most worthy cause; the need for a work of this description has long been manifest. The *Guide* is important not only for what its author has succeeded in accomplishing, but as much more in that it will make easy the task of all future investigators of Spenser and of Elizabethan literature.

It is a pity that Dr. Carpenter's scheme did not include sections on such topics as Spenser and Petrarchism, Spenser and Platonism (there are a number of titles under this heading, but somewhat inadequate as regards the general literature of the subject), Spenser and Renaissance Literature: Italian, French, etc., Spenser and Classic Literature, etc. The references to these topics, scattered throughout the book, are not assembled under these appropriate headings, thus leading to the omission of important references that would not be readily identified with the name of Spenser. I shall give only one instance here,—the omission of H. Ashton's *Du Bartas en Angleterre. Paris 1908*. There are many others. Then too, it would have been well to have introduced sections on the principal verse forms or genres used by Spenser, such as The Sonnet, The Elegy, The Fable, The Satire, The Epic, etc. The failure to do this may account for the omission of any mention, except incidental, on page 177, of the four Epigrams appended to the Amoretti. They are, as regards form, distinct from the Amoretti, and merit separate treatment. It should be said that Professor Carpenter places references of this kind under the appropriate work by the poet, but this does not solve the difficulty, and leads to the type of omissions I have illustrated. Of course, the inclusion of the sections mentioned, would further complicate the system of cross-reference used in the *Guide*, a system that does not always function, e.g., under Versification, Puritanism, etc., where certain items fail to reappear.

We are not told whether there exists an English translation of Spenser's long Latin poem in his first letter to Harvey; and in the *Guide* there is only one allusion to the rejected stanzas of Book III of the *Faerie Queene*. But where so much is given us, it seems almost like ingratitude to find fault. Dr. Carpenter's book, however, arouses the highest expectations, and, in the main, meets them adequately, so that one is led to judge it by standards in keeping with its accomplishment.

In my copy of the *Reference Guide*, I have inserted a number of titles from my collection of Spenser references,—a very meagre collection compared with that of the *Guide*. I append the most important of these, calling attention first to the fact that they are only stray gleanings to be added to a work that is a model of modern bibliography. Each item is preceded by the page in the *Guide* where the insertion is relevant.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO CARPENTER'S *Reference Guide to Spenser*.

- p. 59: W. S. Hinchmann & F. B. Gummere, *Lives of Great English Writers from Chaucer to Browning*. Bost. 1908.
- p. 63: under King, Alice. Add, her article in the *Argosy*, 13: 187.
- p. 68: G. E. Mitton, *Maps of Old London*; and see the map in G. P. Baker's *The Dev. of Shakespeare as a Dramatist*. N. Y. & L. 1907.

- p. 69: to Nowell, add, on the Merchant Taylors School, etc., Henry Machyn, *Diary of a Citizen and Merchant Taylor of London. (1550-63)*. Ed. J. G. Nichols. L. 1848. (Camden Soc. Pub. No. 42.).
- p. 85: add to Circle and Friends, Mistress Kerke (Vd. the Sp.-Harvey Letters); and Sp's printers. (?); Theodore Roest (Vd. Van der Noot's *Theatre*). Note: I find no mention of Th. Roest in the standard Dutch Biographical Encyclopedias.
- p. 90: Morris W. Croll, *Works of Fulke Greville*. Phil. 1903.
- p. 99: on Hobbinsol, *Fortnightly Rev.* 11: 274.  
on Harvey,—*The Bodley Head Vols.*, *Harvey's Foure Letters & certeine Sonnets, etc. 1592*. Lond. 1922.
- p. 106: Reference should be made here to bibliographical sources, such as, the *Camb Hist. of Eng. Lit.*; Catalogues of libraries, like the Rowfant and the Britwell; Jenkinson's *Old Eng. Printed Books*; Courtney's *Bibl. of Bibliographies*.
- p. 114: Trent's ed. Note the liberal extracts from the *Theatre of Wordlings*, in the Appendix.
- p. 115: Note, in the Oxford Sp., 1 vol. ed., the reproductions of the original woodcuts in the Sh. Cal.
- p. 116: Note, as of interest to the student of Sp. and of American literature, the Sp. selections made by Emerson (*Parnassus, Bost. 1875; 1880*); by Whittier, by Bryant.
- p. 119: Abby S. Richardson, *Stories from Old Eng. Poetry*. n. d. (The Adventures of the Fair Florimel, with Sketch of Sp.).  
H. C. Wright: *Children's Stories in Eng. Lit. 1889*. (E. Sp. and the F. Q.).
- p. 122: W. T. Young: *An Anthology of the Poetry of the Age of Shakespeare*. Oxf. 1910.
- p. 123: On Mathias' tr. of the F. Q.; note that it renders only Book I. The date, 1826, is given in the D. N. B. The N. Y. P. L. indexes a second copy, dated 1830, Napoli.

Rev. of this tr. of Book I. in *London Mag.* 2nd series, vol. 5, May-August 1826, pp. 335-351,—an interesting article, with some excerpts from the tr.

Rev. of Henry's French tr. of the Amoretti, in *Spec.* 112: 835 (1914).

Add, the Russian tr. of eight strophes of the Epithalamium, as well as a short passage entitled in the Russian, "Meditations" or "Reveries." The latter is translated by M. Mikhailov, and I have not as yet succeeded in locating the passage in Sp. The Epith. stanzas are the work of N. K. Gerbel, the editor of *Angliski Poeti; v. biografiyah i obratsakh*. St. Petr. 1875. pp. 21-24. (Eng. Poets; with biogs. and trans.), where these versions appear.

Add, the Polish tr. of passages from the F. Q. (11 pages in the Polish, with connecting prose summaries), of Canto I, Book I., so far as I can decide without a knowledge of Polish. In addition, one of the Amoretti Sonnets, the seventh, it appears. In, Jana Kasprowicza's *Poeci Angielscy; Wybór Pozyti. Lwow (Lemberg) and Warsaw. 1907*. pp. 26-37. The latter part of the title seems to mean, Poetical Selections. The F. Q. appears under the strange guise of "Krolowa Wiesycek."

It is of interest to note that the latest available Catalogue, probably the latest in time, of the Library of the University of Petrograd, does not give a single work by or about Sp. But I have found mention of him in the Russian Encyclopaedias of biography, one of which gives, in its brief list of authorities, Duff's *Critical Observations on the F. Q.*, not noted in Carpenter, and which I have not come across. As Aiken and Warton are given in the same list, this is probably not an error.

- p. 124:—Rob't Dodsley, in *Coll. of Poems, etc.*, Lond. 1775, gives two imitations of Sp.: *Psyche; or the Great Metamorphosis . . . written in imitation of Sp.* (vol. 3, pp. 21-38.)  
*The Squire of Dames; a poem in Sp's style.* Vol. 4, pp. 117-150.  
 See also, *N&Q.* ser. VII. 3: 409, and 525.  
 4: 137. (1887).
- p. 135: Add, G. Bruno to list of Italian authors.  
 Add, S. W. Brooks, *Preds. of Sp.* (*Poet Lore*, 1: 214.)
- p. 136: Bibl. sources should be given here, e.g., Körting's *Grundriss*, etc.; Lanson's *Bibl. of 16th cent. Fr. Lit.*; Gayley and Scott; Gayley and Kurtz; Marian Edwardes' *A Summary of the Lits. of Mod. Europe, to 1400.* Lond. 1907.
- p. 140: Add to Sawtelle, a review of her book, by J. M. Hart, in *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.* vol. 1, 397.
- p. 149: Article in *Bookman*, 15: 144-45.
- p. 152: to last item on page, add, same article in *Lit. Liv. Age*. 164: 579, *Sp. as a Philosophic Poet.*
- p. 155: under Heise, on Similes, add W. C. Green, *The Similes of Homer's Iliad.* L. 1877. Numerous quotations from Sp. in Notes.
- p. 157: Joyce, on Irish Rivers, same article in *Lit. Liv. Age*, 137: 21.
- p. 162: D. Robertson: in *Theatre*, 19: 201.
- p. 165: S. Evans: same article in *Lit. Liv. Age*, 145: 814.
- p. 166: add Ashton, as above.
- p. 174: add L. S. Friedland, *Spenser's Minor Poems, studied in connection with the Literature of the French Renaissance.* (MS. Diss. Library of New York Univ., 1912.).
- p. 176: Martha Foote Crow, *Elizabethan Sonnet Cycles.* 2 vols. Chicago. 1896. Also, 4 vols. Lond. 1896-8.
- p. 177: Under Kelly, Note on Three Sonnets. Add that K. gives Sidney Lee as finder of Italian source in Tasso, *Rime.* 1585. III 17 b, "Bella e la Donna mia."
- Under Sidney Lee, *The French Ren.* Note that Dodge speaks of eight French versions of Sp's fourth Epigram printed with the Amoretti sonnets. (Camb. ed., intro. to Amoretti).
- p. 196: Rev. Wm. Gaskell, *Two Lectures on the Lancashire Dialect.* Lond. 1854.
- p. 197: James H. Hanford, *Classical Eclogue and Medieval Debate.* (*Romanic Rev.* N. Y. 1911. vol. 4, pp. 16-31; 129-143.
- p. 200: Under Mustard, The Eclogues of B. Mantuanus. Note Turberville's tr. of B. M.,—especially its rustic language. Date of tr. 1567.
- p. 207: For A MSS read A MS. (Under, Calendar.—Ireland).
- p. 216: The references to Virgil's Gnat are incomplete. Page-heading of p. 217 is wrong; should be Virgil's Gnat, instead of Visions of Petrarch.  
 C. gives but one tr. of V. G.,—Sargent's, as of Bost. 1887. The copy of this book in the N. Y. P. L. is dated 1807, and looks its years. Shows no signs of constant handling.  
 Add, Jos. J. Mooney, *The Minor Poems of Vergil, comprising the Culex, etc., metrically translated into English.* Birmingham. 1910.  
 R. Ellis, *Appendix Vergiliana sive carmina minora Vergilio attributa.* Oxf. 1907.  
 F. Leo, *Culex carmen Vergilio, etc.* Berolini (Berlin). 1891. (Col. Univ. Lib.)  
 M. le Comte de Valori, *Le Moucheron, poème de Virgile; tr. en vers français; enrichi du texte latin de Cardinal Bembo, et de son Dialogue à Hercule Strossi; suivi des imitations poetiques de Parmindo, Spencer (sic) et de Voss; accompagnées des commentaires de Jos. Scaliger, Burmann et Heyne.* Paris. 1817. (Col. Univ. Lib.).  
 W. Holtschmidt, *De Culex carminis sermone et de tempora quo scriptum sit.* Marburg, 1913.

Charles Plésent, *Le Culex, poème pseudo-Virgilien; édition critique et explicative*. Paris 1910.

Plésent, *Le Culex; étude sur l'alexandrinisme latin*. Paris. 1910.

F. Vollmer, *Die kleinere Gedichte Vergils*. (Kön. bayer. Akad. d. Wissenschaft z. München. 1907 pp. 335-374). (N. Y. P. L.).

John W. Mackail, *Virgil and Virgilianism; a study of the Minor Poems attributed to Virgil*. (Class. Rev. May 1908. Lond. vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 65ff.

Mackail claims that there is much external evidence to admit the *Culex* as Virgil's.

- p. 217: Frances B. Young, in *Modern L. Ass'n Pub. Mch. 1912*, publishes for the first time the Countess of Pembroke's translation of Petrarch's *The Triumphe of Death*., and refers to *The Tryumphes of Fraunces Patrarke*, by Henry Parker. n. d. (c. 1565).

The best study in English of Van der Noot, his *Theatre*, and its relations to Sp. and Emblem Literature, is by Tieman de Vries, *Holland's Influence on the Eng. Lang. and Lit. Chic. 1916*.

His book on "Dutch Hist., Art, and Lit. for Americans" contains nothing on the subject.

For Van der Noot, the reader of Dutch should consult, in addition to Vermeulen and Verwey (see Carp. p. 205-206), the Biogr. Dicts. of Frederiks & Van den Branden, and of Aa. Also, the third vol. of G. Kalff's *Hist. of Dutch Lit.*, and the first of J. de Winkel's., as well as (for Sp. and V. de Noot) De Hoog's *Studien* II, 48. Jonckbloet has but a word on de Noot.

- p. 225: B. P. Drury, in *Western*, St. Louis. 5:50.

- p. 236: under Drayton, add, Oliver Elton's *Michael Drayton*. Lond. 1905.  
Add, D's *Epistle to Henry Reynold's Esq.: Of Poets and Poesie (1627)*. Praises Chaucer and Sp., ranking the latter next to Homer.

- p. 238: For Florio's *Second Fruits*, see L. Einstein, *Ital. Ren.*, p. 111.

- p. 248: Under, *The Returne from Parnassus*. Note that Iudicio's judgment on Sp., in the second part, 1601, is given in Appendix 2, p. 400, of Smith's *Elizab. Crit. Essays*, v. 2. It is a most important passage, refers by allusion to the Sh. Cal., directly to the F. Q., uses Sp's favorite line about the waters fall, notes his panegyrics of Queen Elizabeth, and ends with the familiar allusion to the Poet's death in dire poverty. A passage of 15 lines.

- p. 250: Note that Wm. Smith's Chloris is in Vol. 3 of M. F. Crow's *Eliz. Sonnet Cycles*, as above.

- p. 255: Add, John Brown, of Newcastle, *Hist. of the Rise and Progress of English Poetry*. (See Saintsbury, *Hist. of Lit. Crit.*, vol. 2).

Add references to works on English poetry in foreign languages, as given in Gayley and Scott, and G. and Kurtz.

Under Browne, Piscatory Eclogues, add, Henry M. Hall's *Idylls of Fishermen*. N. Y. 1912. My review of this book, *Jour. of Eng. and Ger. Phil.* 1913, gives a number of Sp's piscatory touches, in CCCHA, and in the F. Q., omitted by Hall.

Under Bunyan, note that the *Methodist Quart.* article is by L. A. H. and is entitled, *Sp. the Poet and Dreamer*

- p. 256: Under Campbell, Specimens, etc., note that the first ed. is 1819. Preface, *Essays on Eng. Poetry*.

- p. 257: Under Coleridge, add, *Lit. Remains*, I. 89-97.

- p. 259: Query? Does John Dennis, the critic, 17th cent., have anything to say about Sp.?

- p. 260: Add, under Dryden, the *Ded. to the Tr. of Virgil's Pastorals*.

- p. 261: E. W. Ellsworth, *Spenseriana*, *Putnam's Mag.* 5: 31.

- p. 262: H. W. von Gerstenberg, *Briefe über die Merkwürdigkeiten der Litt., 1766*. Protests against Warton's method of criticising Sp.

- p. 263: Query? Does Gray discuss Sp.?

Add, R. W. Griswold, *Sacred Poets of Europe and Amer.* N. Y. 1859.

- p. 264: Add, W. C. Hazlitt, *Handbook*, etc. L. 1867.

- p. 273: Add, W. Rushton, *Afternoon Lectures*, I, 54. 5 vols. 1863-9.  
Add, Santayana, *Interpretation of Poetry and Religion*. L. 1900.  
Add, *St. James Mag.* 45: 105.
- p. 275 Add, *So. Lit. Mess.* 6: 567.
- p. 276: Add, Stedman, *The Nature and Elements of Poetry*. Bost. 1892. p. 114.
- p. 278: Add, E. W. Washburn, *Studies in Early Eng. Lit.* N. Y. 1882; 1884. pp. 85-109.  
Add, Barrett Wendell, *Traditions of European Lit.* (See Index). N. Y. 1920.
- p. 280: Under Yeats, the same article in *Coll. Wks* vol. 8, L. 1908, pp. 51-89.
- p. 294: O. Elton's *Modern Studies* contains a valuable essay on *Lit. Fame: a Ren. Note*.  
J. B. Fletcher, *The Visual Image in Lit.* (*Sewanee Rev.* Oct. 1898).
- p. 295: Note, Miss Beale's essays appeared first in the *Cornhill Mag.* 39: 663; idem, *Lit. Liv. Age*, 141: 771. *Heroines of Sp.*
- p. 298: Add, Karl Luick's studies on Eng. Pron., e.g., in *Eng. Studien*. 26: 271. Rob't Nares, *Glossary*, etc. L. 1859.  
Van Dam and Stoffel, *Chapters on Eng. Printing, Prosody, and Pronc.* (1500-1700). In *Hoop's Angl. Forschungen*. no. 9. 1902.
- p. 302: Omitted by an oversight, add, Geo. Milner's *The Versification of Sp's Epith. and Proth.* (*Manch. Quart.* 21: 143-150, 1902).
- p. 303: Add, Schelling's *Poetic and Verse Criticism of Reign of Elizabeth*. Phil. 1891.
- p. 304: Add, Paul Verrier, *Essai sur les principes de la métrique anglaise*. Paris. 1909. 3 vols.
- p. 123: Curiously enough, the Polish volume, in the brief preface to the selections from Sp., names, as its sole instance of influence on the F. Q., Montemayor's "Diana." This source is given also in the preface to the selections from Sidney in the same book. Montemayor is not mentioned in the *Reference Guide*.  
The Italian version of the two Cantos of Mutability, *La Mutabilità*, will be found also in Mathias' *Poesie di scrittori illustri ingless.* Napoli. 1830. pp. 277ff. The same translator's *Poesie liriche e varie*. Napoli. 1825, 2 vols. in one, does not contain any of the Sp. versions.
- p. 124: *Psyche*, and the *Squire of Dames*, together with three other *Poems in the Stanza of Sp.*, are contained in vol. 10 of Bell's *Classical Arrangement of Fugitive Poetry*. Lond. 1789 Vol. II of this work contains nine *Poems Imitative of Sp.* Lond. 1790.
- p. 194: Add, J. Ingram Bryan, *The Feeling for Nature in English Pastoral Poetry*. Tokyo. 1908.
- p. 217: Sargent's tr. of Virgil's *Culex* was issued as a paper-bound pamphlet.
- p. 267: Add, Sidney Lanier, *Shakespeare and His Forerunners*. N. Y. 1905.
- p. 297: For Hoffman read Hoffmann.
- p. 304: Add, Fritz Zschech, *Die Kritik des Reims in England*. Berlin. 1917. pp. 16-18. On Harvey, pp. 18-21.

The only inadequate portion of Carpenter's *Guide* is the sections dealing with Emblem Literature. He mentions only one work by the Rev. Henry Green, who wrote or edited at least a half dozen on this interesting subject. Unfortunately, the bibliography of Emblem Literature is so extensive, that I cannot enter into it here. There is no mention in the *Guide*, of Alciati, the father of Renaissance Emblemism, or of the R. H. Hoe *Catalogue of Emblem-books*, N. Y. 1908; or of Ludwig Rosenthal's *Catalogue 118—Shakespeare: his Works, his Times, his influence, including Emblem Books and Dances of Death*. (München. 189-); or of the G. E. Sears *Catalogue of the Emblem-books*

in his *Library*. N. Y. 1888. It is an enticing field for investigation,—this bypath of Allegory.

Spenser as a Translator is a more substantial topic than is at first apparent. In addition to the renderings, the earlier and the later, of the two sets of Visions, there is his translation of the Ruines of Rome, of Virgil's Gnat, his translations and adaptations from Ariosto and others, incorporated in the *Faerie Queene*, and his three Commendatory Sonnets to works translated by "professionals" in this field. Carpenter gives only two references to the bibliography of this subject. He omits mention of Wm. J. Harris's helpful little book, *The First Printed Translations, etc.* L. 1909; of Flora R. Amos's *Early Theories of Translation*. N. Y. 1920; of F. M. K. Foster's *English Tr. from the Greek* N. Y. 1918; of Chas. Whibley's chapter in vol. 4 of the *Camb. Hist. of English Lit.*; of Miss O. L. Hatcher's *Aims and Methods of Eliz. Translators*, in *Eng. Studien*, vol. 44, 1912; of Miss Mary A. Scott's dour review of Einstein's *Italian Ren. in England* (*Jour. of Eng. and Ger. Phil.* 1903); of Henrietta R. Palmer's *List of Eng. Eds. and Trans. etc.*, L. 1911; of Estienne Dolet's *La manière de bien traduire d'une langue en autre*. Paris 1540; and so on.

It will be noticed that I make no comment on the section in the *Guide* dealing with editions of Spenser. Carpenter gives, as he points out, a representative list, and it is a good one, not aiming at exhaustiveness. A few words about the Index. There are omissions, as is natural in a work of this kind, where so many names and topics have to be listed. Some of the articles appearing in periodicals are listed under the name of the journal containing them; in other cases such mention is omitted. It is a bit confusing. On page 315, of the Index, Düring (p. 296) fails to appear; page 317 does not give the name of Albert Hamann (p. 155), and misspells E. G. Harman, same page in text; page 226, for Schoenich read Schoeneich; page 329 omits mention of Verwey (p. 205). To page 332 add, under date 1627, the Michael Drayton item already noted. Does Dr. Carpenter give the title and date of his own earlier work on Spenserian bibliography?

In fine, as the Frenchmen say, the *Reference Guide* is a valuable book, beautifully gotten up and in dignified form. The author is to be congratulated, and students of English literature will be thankful to him for the great saving of time and energy which possession and mastery of the *Guide* will bring.

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**THE LEGEND OF RODRICK LAST OF THE VISIGOTHIC KINGS AND THE ERMANARICH CYCLE.**

By Alexander Haggerty Krappe. Heidelberg, 1923, Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung. 64 pp.

This is the second of a series of monographs dealing with Old Spanish Legend and Folk-Lore. It is the hope of the author to study thoroughly the body of traditional material in Spain, and to compare it with Teutonic legendary matter.

Part I. Mr. Krappe shows that hitherto the Rodrick (or Roderick) story has been considered to be derived from Saracen and Latin Christian sources. He adduces parallels from other sources, especially from Procopius, Menander Protector, Isidore, Fredegarius, the Formanna Sögur, Snorri Sturluson, and the Thiðreks Saga. On the basis of resemblances in plot, particularly in the rôle of the evil councillor or the treacherous vassal, and in consideration of the common Gothic connections of all versions of the story, Mr. Krappe believes that there is an "extreme likelihood" that the Roderick Legend is an exemplification of the great Gothic story of Ermanarich. It must be admitted that the arguments are plausible. The chief difficulties are the great lapse of time, the possibility of independent invention of similar details, and certain differences in the Spanish legend, discussed in Part II. At least Mr. Krappe's argument shows a strong possibility, if not an "extreme likelihood," of connection.

Part II. Here more detailed proofs are submitted. The Roderick legend is divided into two parts, one possibly historical, and the other probably involved in the Ermanarich legend familiar to the Spanish Visigoths through tradition. The author points out that the sons of Witiza are reported to have helped to bring about the defeat of the Visigothic army by the Moors. Much is made of this incident, and much hinges on the name of Oppas, one of the sons of Witiza. Mr. Krappe finds the variant Orpa or Orpas and connects this with Erp, associated with northern versions of the Ermanarich legend. If this point can be allowed, Mr. Krappe's case is practically proved. The name Orpa is however not thoroughly authenticated.<sup>1</sup> Another strong argument is furnished in the fact that some Spanish versions refer to the violation by Roderick of Julian's wife, and not his daughter. This connects the Roderick story quite closely with northern stories, but it is not the oldest or most common Spanish version. On the whole Mr. Krappe marshals his arguments very skilfully. He is unable to supply final proof, because there are no absolutely convincing docu-

<sup>1</sup> In a review of Mr. Krappe's monograph in the *Revista de filología española*, X, 3, Ramón Menéndez Pidal gives his opinion that Orpa is a late variant of Oppas, explained palaeographically. Although Menéndez Pidal is dubious about the author's theory of relationships he finds great merit in the work.

ments now known. But he has opened a rich field for investigation, and has presented his material in so scholarly and able a fashion that the reader should admit a strong probability that the conclusions are largely correct. Let us hope that Mr. Krappe will continue his present study and find absolutely convincing evidence.

Part III. The final section of the monograph deals with a possible connection of the whole Ermanarich legend with a remote primitive legend of the dioskouroi type. It is hard to see the connection, but here the reviewer is so far out of his depth that he can only say that Mr. Krappe has brought to bear upon this obscure subject an immense amount of learning.

The study ends with an excellent bibliography. Mr. Krappe deserves congratulations for this and for the whole scholarly discussion. He has helped to awaken scholars to the importance of relating more closely Teutonic and Romanic epic legend.

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## FLUGSCHRIFTEN DES 16. JAHRHUNDERTS IN NEU- UND FACSIMILEDRUCKEN\*

Man hat sich daran gewoehnt, die vor 1500 erschienenen Druckwerke als Inkunabeln oder Wiegendrucke abzusondern und ihnen ein besonderes Interesse entgegenzubringen. Nicht nur, dass die Preise fuer Inkunabeln bei Auktionen und im Antiquariatsbuchhandel nach einer eigenen Skala berechnet werden und oft eine schwindelnde Hoehe erklettern, was das kaufende Publikum ganz in der Ordnung findet, auch bei Bibliothekaren und in der wissenschaftlichen Welt geniessen diese Drucke eine besondere Wertschaetzung, das Wort "Inkunabel" wirkt wie eine Zauberformel, Ehrfurcht gebietend, und fuer die Katalogisierung, Beschreibung und Bestimmung der Wiegendrucke und fuer die Erforschung der Geschichte des Buchdrucks bis 1500 ist mehr Zeit, Muhe, Kraft und Geld aufgewandt worden als fuer die ganze uebrige gedruckte Literatur und die Druckgeschichte von 1500 bis zur Gegenwart. Und doch ist der Einschnitt bei der Jahrhundertwende ziemlich mechanisch und willkuerlich. Den Wendepunkt bildet vielmehr, fuer Deutschland wenigstens ganz sicherlich, das Auftreten Luthers. Das zeigt sich in dem Uebergang vom schwerfaelligen Folio—zum handlichen Quart—und Oktavformat, in dem durchschnittlich bedeutend verminderten Umfang und Preis des einzelnen Buchs, in der maechtig gesteigerten Produktion, sowohl was die Hoehe der Auflagen, die Zahl der Nachdrucke, als was die verschiedenen "Sorten" betrifft. Das zeigt sich aber besonders darin, dass jetzt die Flugschrift, das Buechlein mit sensationellem Inhalt, das auf unmittelbare, wenn auch nicht dauernde, so doch dafuer in die Breite und Tiefe gehende Wirkung berechnete Presserzeugnis in den Vordergrund tritt.

Zu dem sensationellen Inhalt und der Berechnung auf unmittelbare Wirkung auf die Volksmasse passt die mannigfache, oft originelle Einkleidung und Sprache. Achtet man

\*This paper was presented before the Germanistic Section at the recent meeting of the Mod. Lang. Association at the University of Michigan.—Ed.

darauf, dann bekommt man besser einen Eindruck von der Fuelle und Bedeutsamkeit dieser Literatur, als wenn man nach dem Inhalt, den behandelten Themen, der Tendenz, der theologischen Stellung der Verfasser und der Entstehungszeit gruppiert. Dann erkennt man wohl auch, dass diese Literatur mindestens dieselbe Wertschaetzung verdient wie die Inkunabeln, von denen wenigstens die scholastischen Waelzer uns so wenig zu sagen haben. Einfache Prosaabhandlungen, Traktate, und Predigten sind verhaeltnismaessig selten, haeufig dagegen echte und fingierte Briefe und Sendschreiben, Zeitungen, Edikte, Erlasse, Thesen, Glossen, kurze Kommentare, Bildererklærungen, ganz besonders beliebt ist die Dialogform. Einige Beispiele: Die erste der beiden von mir herausgegebenen Flugschriftensammlungen, die in *Neudrucken*,<sup>1</sup> eroeffnet ein Brief eines jungen Wittenberger Studenten an seine Eltern im Schwabenland vom 16. Maerz 1523. Man weiss nicht: ist er echt oder erdichtet? Er macht den Eindruck der Echtheit. Der junge Mensch ist von Leipzig, wo er vordem studiert hat—wie so viele Leipziger Studenten nach der Disputation zwischen Luther, Karlstadt und Eck im Juni, Juli 1519—aus Sehnsucht nach dem lauterem Evangelium nach Wittenberg uebergesiedelt; die um das Seelenheil ihres Jungen in dem Ketzerneß besorgte altglæubige Mutter hat ihm durch einen Ulmer Kaufmann einen Brief geschrieben; dieser schickt ihr durch denselben Boten die Antwort; das "Wächslin," ein aus Wachs abgedrucktes geweihtes Agnus Dei, das ihm die Mutter als Amulett mitgesandt hatte, hat er als Verschlussmarke hinten auf den Brief aufgeklebt; er will naechstens nach Leipzig auf die Ostermesse reisen; macht er dort gute Geschaefte, wird er sich einen braunen Filzhut kaufen—alles scheinbar unerfindliche Dinge. Aber kann das nicht alles kuenstlerische Aufmachung sein, um die Echtheit vorzutauschen?

Ein Beispiel fuer fingierte Erlasse ist die in lateinischen Reimversen<sup>2</sup> abgefasste Generalcitation des Papstes Paul III. an

<sup>1</sup> Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation, herausgeg. von Otto Clemen. Band I-IV. Berlin u. NY, Rudolf Haupt, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> Die lateinischen Satiren des 16. Jahrhunderts gehoeren mit den deutschen zusammen und muessen zum Verstaendnis der letzteren herangezogen werden. "Von deutschen Menschen geschrieben und im deutschen Geiste verfasst, gehoeren diese literarischen Werke . . . trotz ihres lateinischen Gewandes zur

den Klerus in aller Welt, zum Konzil in Trient zu erscheinen, wo ueber die von den Laien erhobene Forderung, die Konkubinen zu entlassen, beraten werden solle, worauf ein entsprechendes bischoeffliches Generalmandat, eine Einladung des Dekans an die ihm unterstellten Vikare zu einer Vorbesprechung und endlich das Protokoll der Klerikerkonferenz folgt. Das letzte Stueck ist mittelalterlichen Ursprungs, die einleitenden Stuecke sind c. 1542 hinzugedichtet worden, aber so meisterhaft unter Beibehaltung des Dunkelmaennerstils, dass man den Unterschied der Entstehungszeiten und die Naechte nicht herausmerkt. Das Ganze ist der Inhalt eines seltenen Druckes, den ich als Nr. 5 meiner zweiten Flugschriftensammlung, der in Facsimiledrucken,<sup>3</sup> neu herausgegeben habe. Im Nachwort habe ich eine nuetzliche Arbeit zu leisten gemeint, indem ich die von Matthias Flacius 1556 in Basel herausgegebene reichhaltige Sammlung: "Varia doctorum piorumque virorum de corrupto ecclesiae statu poëmata ante nostram aetatem conscripta" auf ihre Quellen zurueckgefuehrt habe.

Weiter "Bildererklaerungen" betreffend. Viele Flugschriften weisen einen Titelholzschnitt auf, der das Publikum anlocken und den Inhalt andeuten soll. Besonders oft sind bei den Dialogen die sich unterredenden Personen auf dem Titel vorgefuehrt. Es gibt aber auch Flugschriften, die einen Holzschnitt erklæaren, der schon vorher da war, bei denen also das Bild das Primaere ist. Dazu gehoert das "Gespraech zwischen einem Christen und Juden, auch einem Wirte samt seinem Hausknecht, den Eckstein Christus betreffend" vom Februar 1524.<sup>4</sup> Es zerfaellt in zwei Senen. Die erste spielt am Abend bis in die Nacht. Der Christ (hinter dem sich der Verfasser verbirgt) hat in der Naehc von Nürnberg auf der Landstrasse den Juden getroffen und unterhaelt sich dann mit ihm in der Herberge bei einem Glase Wein. Der Wirt ist auf der Ofenbank eingeschlafen und wird erst wieder munter, als der Jude aus

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deutschen Literatur und Geistesgeschichte" (*Paul Merker*, der Verfasser des *Eccius dedolatus* und anderer Reformationsdialoge, Halle a. S. 1923, Vorwort S. VII)

<sup>3</sup> Flugschriften aus der Reformationszeit in Facsimiledrucken, herausgeg. von Otto Clemen. Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz, 1921 u. 22. Es konnten bisher nur 6 Nummern des ersten Bandes erscheinen.

<sup>4</sup> Nr. 14 des I. Bandes der ersten Sammlung.

seinem "Buendelein" ein in einem kursaechsischen Staedtchen gekauftes Bild hervorholt, an das der Christ nun seine Erklaerungen anknuepft. Als der Jude am naechsten Morgen fortgeritten ist, wird das Gespraech—zweite Scene—zwischen dem Christen und dem Wirt fortgesetzt. Auch jetzt dreht sich die Unterhaltung um das Bild, das der Jude in der Gaststube auf dem Tische hat liegen lassen. Der Hausknecht sitzt dabei und protokolliert! Das Bild, die "Figur," soll dem Gespraech "beigedruckt" sein. Es fehlt aber in beiden Ausgaben, die sich erhalten haben. Der Herausgeber aeusserte: "Unmoeglich ist es nicht, dass der Verfasser das ganze Bild nur fingiert, um so ein bequemerer Mittel zur Ausfuehrung seiner Gedanken zu haben, doch scheinen einige Stellen des "Gespraechs" auf ein wirklich vorhandenes Bild zu weisen." Er liefert dann nach den Angaben in der Flugschrift eine Beschreibung des Holzschnitts, wie er aussehen muesste, wenn's ihn gaebe. Es war fuer mich eine grosse Freude, als ich ihn nachtraeglich noch fand (4,366).

Endlich zu den Dialogen, denen ja die eben erwachte Bildererklaerung auch zuzuaehlen ist. Die in diese Form gegossen, oft einem Drama sich naehenden Flugschriften sind besonders reizvoll, volkstuemlich, frisch, lebendig, packend. Wir haben ueber sie eine gute Monographie von *G. Niemann*: Die Dialogliteratur der Reformationszeit nach ihrer Entstehung und Entwicklung (Leipzig 1905). In meiner ersten Sammlung sind eine ganze Reihe solcher Dialoge nachgedruckt. Wie mannigfach sie sind nach Form und Inhalt ergibt ein Ueberblick ueber die allein in dem I. Bande sich findenden: Ein frisch von der Wittenberger Universitaet in sein Thueringer Vaterhaus zurueckkehrender Bauernsohn ueberzeugt seinen Vater von der Wahrheit der lutherischen Lehre. Vier Personen haben ein Gezaenk von der Wallfahrt im Grimmental "(im Sachsen-Meiningschen), was fuer Unrat oder Bueberei daraus entstanden sei." Zwei Brueder unterreden sich ueber den pomphaften Einzug des paepstlichen Legaten Lorenzo Campeggi in Nuernberg zum Reichstag am 14. Maerz 1524. Ein Bauer, Belial, Erasmus und der Generalvikar des Bischofs von Konstanz Dr. Joh. Fabri disputieren mit einander. Der Pfarrherr zu Kunitz bei Jena argumentiert aus der Bibel gegen einen juedischen Rabbi.

Auch von den 6 Nummern, die bisher in meiner zweiten Sammlung erschienen sind, sind nicht weniger als drei in Dialogform eingekleidet. Nr. 3 (*Ludus Sylvani Hessi in defectionem Georgii Wicellii ad Papistos 1534*) ist ein kleines witzspruehendes Drama zur Veraechtlichmachung des Georg Witzel, des gefaehrlichsten Bekaempfers der lutherischen Rechtfertigungslehre, und des wetterwendischen Crotus Rubianus, verfasst von einem Landsmann Witzels, Antonius Corvinus. Und als Nr. 1 und 2 habe ich zwei zusammengehoerige Dialoge facsimilieren lassen, die in Augsburg im Sommer, Herbst 1521 entstanden sind und zu den fruehesten, noch recht ungeschickten, aber gerade durch ihr primitives Stammeln ruhrenden Versuchen auf diesem Gebiete gehoeren.<sup>5</sup>

Damit komme ich zum Schluss dieser kleinen Selbstanzeige. *Karl Schottenloher* hat in einer Besprechung in Nr. 32 der Deutschen Literaturzeitung von 1922, in der er meine zweite Sammlung freudig begruesst, gezeigt, dass jene beiden Dialoge die Nummern 1 und 3 einer aus vier solchen Stuecken bestehenden Folge sind. Eine vollstaendige Reihe besitzt Herr Jacob Beyl in Wuerzburg und (wie ich jetzt hinzusetzen kann) die Dresdner Bibliothek. Es waere sehr zu wuenschen, dass wenigstens die Nummern 2 und 4 dieser Folge noch facsimiliert werden koennten. Nun hat mir aber Herr Prof. Dr. *Ernst Voss* freundlicherweise nahegelegt, den Fachkollegen jenseits des Ozeans die Bitte vorzutragen, durch Gewaehrung einer Subvention ueberhaupt die Weiterfuehrung der beiden Sammlungen ermoeeglichen zu wollen. Jede der beiden Arten der Neuherausgabe hat ihr Fuer und Wider. Ein Neudruck vermag nie voellig das Original zu ersetzen. In gewissen (sprachlichen und technischen) Untersuchungen reicht er nicht aus, man muss da doch das Original einzusehen suchen, was oft nur mit grossen Kosten, mauchmal gar nicht moeglich ist. Ein Facsimiledruck dagegen ersetzt tatsaechlich das Original. Aber andererseits ist es hier schwierig, Lesarten und erlaeuternde Anmerkungen anzubringen, was bei Neudrucken, wo man die Zeilenzahlen, Anmerkungszahlen einfuegen, uebrigens auch die Interpunktion

<sup>5</sup> Einen vortrefflichen Ueberblick, zum guten Teil auf Grund meiner ersten Sammlung, bietet der Aufsatz von *Wilhelm Lucke*; Deutsche Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation, in den "deutschen Geschichtsblaettern" IX. Bd. 8. Heft (Mai 1908).

schonend regeln und offenbare Druckfehler stillschweigend korrigieren kann, ohne weiteres möglich ist. Vielleicht wird es sich empfehlen, beide Methoden zu kombinieren und Flugschriften, die besonders selten und in ihrer Ausstattung besonders interessant sind und nur in einer Ausgabe existieren, in Facsimiledrucken, solche Flugschriften aber, die häufiger vorkommen und von denen es mehrere Nachdrucke gibt, in Neudrucken ihre Auferstehung feiern zu lassen. Eine kleine Serie von Facsimiledrucken in *Oktavformat* wird nicht ausbleiben dürfen. Vielleicht können später auch die zeitlichen Grenzen (1520-1546) nach vorwärts und rückwärts überschritten und nicht nur reformationsgeschichtlich, sondern auch allgemein literatur- und kulturgeschichtlich wichtige Erscheinungen berücksichtigt werden. Es wäre schön, wenn durch Weiterführung des Unternehmens mit amerikanischer Unterstützung ein neues Gemeinschaftsband die deutschen und die amerikanischen Fachkollegen umschlänge.

*Zwickau, Ratsbibliothek.*

OTTO CLEMEN

## THE CLASSICAL TALES IN PAINTER'S *PALACE OF PLEASURE*

The list of sources prefixed to Jacob's edition of the *Palace of Pleasure* contains a number of major and minor errors, of which some have been corrected by scholars and some have not. To mention only one instance of too great reliance upon Jacob's results, Sir Sidney Lee incorporates them in his article on Painter in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. It is the object of this paper to furnish if possible a correct list of sources for the classical tales in Painter's book, and to make a few comments upon his method of translation.

The fifth novel of the first part,<sup>1</sup> the story of Appius and Virginia, is assigned by Jacobs to Giovanni, Day 20, Novel 2, but, as scholars have long known, the source is Livy iii. 31-58. For the tale of Croesus and Salon (i. 7) Jacobs gives Herodotus i. 50 ff.; Painter makes use of Herodotus i. 29 ff., i. 34, 46 ff., 86 ff., and perhaps was guided in his omissions by the version in Plutarch's *Solon*. The story of Chariton and Menalippus (i. 10) is taken from Aelian ii. 4; Jacobs gives ii. 17. For the anecdote of Perillus and the brazen bull, which forms the conclusion of this tenth novel, I have not found a source quite close enough to Painter's to warrant the use of the word "translation"; he might well have told such a well-known fable from memory.<sup>2</sup>

Jacobs names Bandello iii.9 as the source of the eleventh tale, but, as Koeppl pointed out, Painter's version is quite different from Bandello's;<sup>3</sup> the source is Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* v.1, vi.1 ff., vi.4, vii.3, and the opening part of the

<sup>1</sup> I use the word 'part' for each of the two original divisions of the *Palace*, and 'i.7' designates the seventh novel of the first part, and so on. Page references are made in the usual way to Jacob's three-volume edition, London, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> The following versions are more or less close to Painter's—*Gesta Romanorum* 48; Orosius, ed. Cologne, 1561, Bk. i, c. 20, pp. 26-27; Erasmus, *Opera* II. 392, E; Gower, *Confessio Amantis* (ed. Macaulay), II, p. 329; Guevara, *Dial of Princes*, Bk. i, c. 46; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiv. 89; Valerius Maximus ix. 2, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Studien zur Geschichte der Italienischen Novelle in der Englischen Literatur des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, Quellen und Forschungen* LXX. Lee's article on Painter (*D.N.B.*) does not notice Koeppl's correction.

tale is taken from Lodovicus Caelius Rhodoginus, whom Painter mentions.<sup>4</sup> The source of Novel i.13 is Quintus Curtius vii.8, not ix.2, which Jacobs gives; Painter's quotation from Cicero appears to be from *De Officiis* i.19. Jacobs records the correct source of Novel i.14, namely, Aulus Gellius i.6, but he lists as the "origin" Livy ii.32, and as parallels, Plutarch's *Coriolanus* vi., and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, vi.76. What these references have to do with the novel I do not know; the only apparent bond of connection between two of the references themselves is that Livy and Plutarch both allude to the speech of Menenius Agrippa comparing classes in the state to parts of the body! Painter's last sentence, about Titus Castriccius, is translated from Gellius xiii.22. The sources of Novel i.16 are Aulus Gellius iii.8 and i.14; Jacobs gives only the latter.

Jacobs assigns the next novel, of Camillus and the school-master, to "Gellius xvii.24," with Livy v.26 as the origin. There is no "xvii.24" in Gellius, since the seventeenth book contains twenty-one chapters, nor, so far as I know, does Gellius ever allude to the story.<sup>5</sup> The source is Livy v.26-27, and the account of Camillus's later career is condensed from Livy v. 32, 44, 48, 49.

The tale of Androdus (Androcles) and the lion is certainly translated from Gellius v. 14, as Jacobs says. Baptista Fulgosius, whom Painter names among his authorities for Part Two (Painter, II, 158), tells the story at about equal length, but many details differ.<sup>6</sup> There is a longer and freer version in Guevara's *Eptstolas Familiares*, a book from which Painter took three novels of Part Two:<sup>7</sup> I mention it here because in

<sup>4</sup> Lodovicus Caelius Rhodoginus, *Lectonum Antiquarum*, (Lugduni, 1560), II, 231. And see below, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Gellius mentions Camillus twice (xvii. 2. 14 and 21. 20), but briefly and in other connections. Plutarch's version (*Camillus* x) is about as long as Livy's, but differs constantly in details. The versions in Val. Max. vi. 5. 1, Zonaras vii. 22, and Aurelius Victor 23, are of only three or four lines; the last two references Jacobs gives as Zonaras vii. 32 and Victor 33.

<sup>6</sup> Fulgosius v. 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Epistolae*, ed. 1648, Part One, p. 143; ed. Barcelona, 1886, Part One, p. 87. The story was translated by E. Hellowes in his volume of selected letters of Guevara (1574), but not by Fenton in his similar volume (1575). In the 1584 edition of Hellowes, see pp. 83 ff.

Early editions of Gellius (e.g. Lyons, 1546) have Androdus, not the usual modern form of the name.

one detail, the use of salve on the lion's paw, Painter seems to have recalled Guevara.

Novel i.23 is translated from Gellius xii.1; Jacobs gives xvii.12. The twenty-fourth novel is taken from Gellius xv.22; Plutarch's *Sertorius* and Cicero's *Pro Lege Manilia* were also used. The two parts of Novel i.26 are drawn from Gellius v.10 and ix.16.<sup>8</sup> In spite of Painter's explicit statement that he translated the twenty-seventh novel from Bandello, Jacobs names Plutarch's *Demetrius* as the source.<sup>9</sup> The novel of Timon, which Jacobs assigns to Plutarch, is translated from Gruget's French version of Mexia's *Silva*.<sup>10</sup>

The first novel of Part Two, which tells of the Amazons, Jacobs derives from Herodotus iv.110, but there is no connection between the two. Painter's tale is translated with a few brief omissions from Gruget's rendering of Mexia.<sup>11</sup> The omissions consist of references to authorities; those references

<sup>8</sup> There is a slight difficulty here. Painter says (p. 99): "Emonges whiche Aulus Gellius (who reporteth t:enne of the former Histories . . ." As a matter of fact, Painter took eleven of the preceding stories from Gellius—twelve, according to Jacobs, but Novel i. 17, as I said, is from Livy. Painter names Gellius in three novels, 14, 19, 24. He may have been using "tenne" as a round number, or he may have made a slip.

<sup>9</sup> Bandello ii. 55. Plutarch's version (*Demetrius* xxxviii) is brief.

<sup>10</sup> *Les Diverses Lecons de Pierre Messie*, 1557, part one, chap. 18, pp. 69-71; chap. 20 in the Spanish original.

Jacobs names Plutarch, *Antony* lxx. He says also that Erasmus tells of Timon in the *Adagia*, but does not say where. I find nothing in the *Adagia*—though a needle may escape one in that haystack—but there are some brief anecdotes of Timon, those concerning Apeimantus and the fig-tree, in the *Apophthegmata* (*Opera* IV, 248 B).

<sup>11</sup> Part one, chapters 10-11, in both French and Spanish. Painter doubtless had the Spanish before him, but he preferred apparently to follow the French. One bit of evidence will serve.

Mexia: "trataron sus casamientos y paz con los varones de una delas comarcas prouincias. . . ." (*Silva*, ed. 1556, p. 37).

Gruget: "A cete cause elles traiterent mariage auec aucuns de leurs voisins; nommez Gargariens (comme le dit Plinie) . . ."

Painter: "For this cause they treated mariage with their neighbors named Gargarians (as Plinie sayeth) . . ."

In Novel i. 29 (Painter I, 114) Painter mentions Mexia's work under its Spanish title, and of course must have known Spanish, but in this reference he seems to give himself away. He says that the story (i. 29) is set forth "in the 34 Chapter of the first parte of his worke, called La Selua di varie Lezzioni." It is in chap. 34 of Gruget, but chap. 37 in the Spanish—unless in some edition

which Painter gives—to Strabo and Pliny—occur in his source. The conclusion of the novel (after “at this day to be found,” Painter II, 165) is Painter’s own contribution or taken from some source that I have not encountered.

The second novel recounts three episodes in the life of Alexander. Jacobs gives as the source Quintus Curtius x.5, which has no relation to the novel. The source of the first story, that of Sisigambis, is Curtius iii.12; the episode of Thais is from v.7, and the account of Alexander’s adoption of Persian habits of luxury is from vi.6. Jacobs names Plutarch’s *Alexander* as the “source and origin” of the tale of Timoclia (ii.3). Painter himself says at the beginning of the story that he might have taken it from Curtius, but, since Plutarch in *De claris mulieribus* tells it in greater detail, he has followed the latter; in the face of this candid statement the editor’s perversity is inexplicable.<sup>12</sup>

Painter says that Novel ii.8 is “tolde by Titus Liuius, as two of the former be.” Only one of the former stories (ii.6) was taken from Livy, and when Painter says that two are told by Livy he is probably including the story of Sophonisba (ii.7), which he had doubtless read in Livy xxx.12-15, although he used Bandello’s version for his source.

The source of Novel ii.12 (the Trajan-Plutarch letters) is Guevara’s *Eptstolas*.<sup>13</sup> The next novel, of Lamia, Lais, and Flora, Jacobs and Lee assign to “‘Pausanias and Manitus’ (text).” I do not know of any work of that name. The novel is translated from Guevara’s *Eptstolas*.<sup>14</sup> The source of Novel

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that I have not seen. The Latin phrases in Novel i. 29, however, show that the story is based directly on Jerome’s epistle *Ad Gerontiam viduam de monogamia*, to which Painter alludes.

<sup>12</sup> Painter’s source is Plutarch’s *De claris mulieribus* (*Moralia*, ed. Bernardakis, II, 239 ff.). The version in Plutarch’s *Alexander* (xii) is quite short, and so is the one in the prefatory chapter to Brende’s *Curtius*, ed. 1561, p. 10. It is told also in Fulgiosius, vi. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Lee rightly names Guevara’s *Letters*, but Jacobs gives only “Guevara,” which might be misunderstood as referring to the Trajan-Plutarch correspondence in the *Diall of Princes* (Bk. i, c. 36). In the 1648 edition of the *Eptstolas*, see Part Two, pp. 300 ff. The Trajan-Plutarch letters do not appear in Hellowes’s volume, but are in Fenton’s (ed. 1582, pp. 121 ff.), in very much garbled form compared with Painter’s version.

<sup>14</sup> *Eptstolas*, ed. 1648, Part One, pp. 369 ff.; ed. Barcelona, 1886, pp. 254 ff. Neither Hellowes nor Fenton translated the piece.

ii.14 (Zenobia) is said by Jacobs and Lee to be Tacitus, *Annals*, xii.51. Tacitus has a few lines about a Zenobia who died in the middle of the first century A.D., but Painter's Zenobia, and the Roman emperors who have a prominent place in the novel, belong to a period around 266-74 A.D.—some century and a half after Tacitus died. This novel also is translated from Guevara.<sup>15</sup>

It seems best to summarize the facts which have been set forth. The classical tales, according to Jacobs and Lee, are to be distributed among the following sources:

Herodotus.....	Novels i.6, 7; ii.1.
Aelian.....	i.8, 9, 10.
Plutarch's <i>Lives</i> .....	i.27, 28; ii.3
Aulus Gellius.....	i.14-26.
Livy.....	i.1-4; ii.6, 8.
Tactitus.....	ii.14.
Quintus Curtius.....	i.12, 13; ii.2.
Bandello.....	i.11; ii.4, 5, 7, 9, 10.
Cinthio.....	ii.11, 15.
Ser Giovanni.....	i.5.
Guevara's <i>Letters</i> .....	ii.12.
"Pausanias and Manitius".....	ii.13.

Koeppel pointed out that Novels i.11 and i.27 were taken from Xenophon and Bandello respectively, not from Bandello and Plutarch. As we have seen, Painter derived six stories of Part One from Livy, not four, as Jacobs and Lee have it. This result agrees with Painter's own statement: "Sixe of them haue I selected out of Titus Liuius."<sup>16</sup>

What I think is a correct list of sources is the following:

Herodotus.....	i.6, 7.
Aelian.....	i.8, 9, 10.
Plutarch's <i>Moralia</i> .....	ii.3.
Aulus Gellius.....	i.14-16, 18-26.
Livy.....	i.1-5, 17; ii.6, 8.
Quintus Curtius.....	i.12, 13; ii.2.
Xenophon.....	i.11.
P. Mexia.....	i.28; ii.1.
Guevara's <i>Letters</i> .....	ii.12, 13, 14.
Bandello.....	i.27; ii.4, 5, 7, 9, 10.
Cinthio.....	ii.11, 15.

<sup>15</sup> *Epistolae*, ed. 1648, Part Two, pp. 260 ff. This material does not appear in Hellowes, but is in Fenton (ed. 1582, pp. 232 ff.). Fenton treats it with even more than his usual freedom.

<sup>16</sup> Painter, I, 10.

As for Painter's method of translation, it would need far too much space to go into any detail, and I can only summarize a discussion given elsewhere.<sup>17</sup> His accuracy is seldom at fault. His additions to stories taken from classical sources are nearly all in the nature of 'morals.' His didactic aims are expounded with fervor and fluency in his preface, and are relentlessly carried out in the novels; as an Elizabethan he readily adopts the attitude of a preacher with *exempla*. But while Painter has a Pumblechookian eye for 'deducting' moral lessons, the sermons are not always of his own devising, and a number of the longest ones—introducing tales translated from Belleforest—are taken over from his original.

Painter's other additions to the classical stories are comparatively slight, and consist mainly of phrases explaining allusions in his sources which might be unfamiliar to his readers.

His omissions, especially when his source is an historian, seem in general to be prompted by a desire to instruct and edify, and yet not to swamp the reader with history. To take one example, in translating the first novel Painter leaves out Livy's two lines regarding the Cluilian trench; the account of the debate about the nationality of the Horatii and Curiatii; all of Livy's twenty-fourth chapter, which describes the ceremonial of treaty-making; two sentences concerning the burial and sepulchres of the dead; about fifteen lines describing the trial, condemnation and appeal of Horatius; eight lines about the expiatory sacrifices required of the young man on his acquittal. Apart from these and a number of minor omissions, the tale is literally translated. Ordinarily the sources chosen offer much less occasion for abridgment. What Painter retains, he generally translates with close fidelity—for an Elizabethan—and, when his material is somewhat scattered, he secures a continuous narrative by simple skipping rather than by means of a condensed paraphrase of the omitted passages. Of course these remarks, as generalizations about some forty novels drawn from various sources, need to be qualified in certain cases.

<sup>17</sup> In an unpublished dissertation on *Classical Themes in English Non-Dramatic Literature of the Sixteenth Century* (1923), in the Harvard University Library.

We are accustomed to think of Painter's *Palace* in the light of what proved to be its historical importance, as a source-book of Italian plots for Elizabethan dramatists. But, in his first part at least, Painter was feeling his way, and this first part is a miscellany intended, as he says, for "all states and degrees," to be "delectable . . . for all sortes of men." Thus the first part has a distinct affinity with the jest-books. Painter not only tells a number of brief anecdotes of clever repartee, of precisely the jest-book pattern, but makes the relationship more tangible by repeating three stories which were in the *Mery Tales*, *Wittie Questions*, and *Quicke Answers*.<sup>18</sup>

Painter evidently learned from the sale of his first venture what the public wanted, and proceeded to satisfy the craving in his second part. With two exceptions (i.27, 28) the twenty-eight classical tales of the first part are from sober ancient sources. In the second part there are thirteen classical novels—for the eleventh and fifteenth are only nominally classical—and only four are taken from classical sources; the other eight are from Bandello and Guevara and Maxia. Apparently sedate British readers liked the warmth which Bandello imparted to his classical plots, and stories with a 'love-interest' bulk more largely in the second than in the first part.

In the case of stories from Greek sources Painter almost certainly used Latin versions. Before discussing the abundant internal evidence for this opinion I may quote a rather significant remark of Painter's:<sup>19</sup>

"Referring the studious reader, desirous to know the state of his life and doinges, to the plentifull recorders of such memorable and worthie personages: Plutarche *de vitis ulustrium*, and Appianu's *de ciuili Romanorum bello*. Which beinge Greeke authours, be very eloquently translated in the Latine, thone by Gulielmus Xilander 1561, and thother by Sigismundus Gelenius 1554."

Painter might here be offering a crib to uneducated readers which he did not need himself, and it is not possible of course to prove that he did not *know* Greek. But in almost every instance a sufficient number of parallel passages can be brought together to show that, whether or not he had any knowledge of Greek, he translated from Latin. There is no space for pre-

<sup>18</sup> Painter's i.18, 21, 26, are Tales 21, 63, 136, in the *Mery Tales*.

<sup>19</sup> Painter, I, 96.

senting the array of parallels which form a convincing proof, but I may perhaps give one specimen.<sup>20</sup> The three renderings offered for comparison are from Herodotus, Valla's translation of Herodotus, and Novel i.7 of Painter.

ὁ δὲ τοῖσιδε προέχει ἐκείνου· ἄτην μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμίην οὐκ ὁμοίως δυνατὸς ἐκείνῳ ἐνέικαι, ταῦτα δὲ ἡ εὐτοχίη οἱ ἀπερύκει, ἀπῆρος δὲ ἐστὶ, ἀνουςος, ἀπαθὴς κακῶν, εὖπαις, εὐειδὴς· ἐὶ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτοις ἐτι τελευτήσῃ τὸν βίον εὖ, οὗτος ἐκείνος . . . τὰ πάντα μὲν νυν ταῦτα συλλαβεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἔοντα ἀδύνατόν ἐστι . . .

Hic etsi illo *inferior* est in his duobus *quae* bene illi *fortuna* denegantur, tamen excellit quod illorum *inexpertus* est, quod *prospera* fruitur valetudine quod malorum *expers*, quod *bonorum liberorum parens*, quod *formosus* est; qui si praeter haec diem quoque suum recte obierit, is est . . . : *quae* omnia consequi quamdiu sis homo impossibile est.

"And as the meane man is *inferiour* to the rich in these two points, *which by fortune be denied him*, yet he doth *excel* him, because he neuer hath *experience* of them; he liueth in good and *prosperous* health, he neuer feeleth aduersitie, he doth nothing that is wicked, he is a *father of good children*, he is endued with *formosity* and beauty, who if (besides all those thinges) he die well, it is he . . . For to obtaine all (whiles you be a liuing man) it is impossible."

The verbal resemblance between Valla and Painter is much too close to be accidental, and it will be noted that the structure of the English follows the Latin, not the Greek—"which be denied . . . yet he doth excel . . . because . . . who if"; "*quae* denegantur . . . tamen excellit . . . quod . . . qui si." Further, the phrase "whiles you be a liuing man" is a natural rendering of the Latin, but would be a mistranslation of the Greek.

To sum up the result of a mass of evidence of this sort, it seems clear that Painter used Valla for the two novels from Herodotus; that the three novels from Aelian were translated from the Latin of Justus Vulteius; that Novel ii.3, from Plutarch's *Moralia*, was taken from the Latin of Ranutinus.<sup>21</sup> Jacobs says two or three times that Painter borrowed his Plutarchan stories from Amyot's translation. There is abundant evidence that Amyot was not used for Novel ii.3, the only tale which Painter took from Plutarch.

<sup>20</sup> The evidence is given in full in my dissertation cited above. The passages quoted here are from Herodotus i.32, Valla's *Herodotus*, ed. Paris, 1510, fol. vi.

<sup>21</sup> Editions of Justus Vulteius appeared from 1548 on. For the *Moralia* I have used the *Opuscula Plutarchi* . . . *sub Prelo Ascensiano* etc. MDXXXVI (p. lix). Xilander's version of the *Moralia* did not come out until 1570.

Regarding Novel i.11, I cannot say positively that Painter used a Latin version of Xenophon—such as the very popular one by Filelfo—for the case is complicated by what is a positive fact, that Painter made free use of an English translation as far as it could carry him. There was available an English version by William Barkar, which contained, however, only six books.<sup>22</sup> One or two passages, out of many which might be quoted, may be offered for comparison.

Painter (I, 61): "I warrant you Cyrus (said Araspas) . . . You saye well sayd Cyrus, Therefore keepe this woman as I bid you, and loke wel unto her: For peradventure she is taken in good time." And so they departed: The yong gentleman marking the singuler beautie of the Lady, and perceyuing her great honesty, he hauing custodie of her, thoughte he woulde do her pleasure, and by gesture sawe that she was not ingrate and unthackfull, but very diligent: She caused her seruantes to prepare all thinges in readines at his comming in: and if he were by chaunce sicke, shee tooke order that he shoulde lacke nothinge.'

Barkar (bk. v): "I warraunt you Cyrus sayde he . . . Yee saye well, sayde Cyrus, therefore keepe this woman as I bydde, and see well unto hyr: for par- adventure this woman is taken in good tyme. Thus they talkyng, departed: The yonge man notyng both the synguler beuty, and perceauynge the greates honesty of this woman, thought he would do hyr pleasure, and by continnaunce understandynge that shee was not unthankfull, but very diligent on his part, to cause hir seruants that all thinges at his comyng should be readye, and yf he were by chaunce sycke, lacked no keping."

Painter (I, 64): 'Abradatas knowing his wiues tokens . . . spedely came to Cyrus with two thousand horsemen. They that were the Persian spies, sent to Cyrus, declaring what he was . . . Then Panthea told her husbände the goodnes, temperance, and clemencie of Cyrus towarde her. Who hearing of her interteignement, sayde: "What shall I doe Panthea, to render thanks to Cyrus, for you and mee?" "What other thing (saide Panthea) but to indeuour your selfe, to bee suche a trustie frende to him, as he hath bene to you." Then Abradatas went to Cyrus, and when he sawe hym, he tooke him by the right hande and sayde: "For the pleasures that you haue done mee, O Cyrus, I haue no more to saye . . . "'

Barkar (bk. vi): "Abradates knowyng his wyues tokens . . . spedely came to Cyrus, hauing ii. M. horsmen. They that were the Persian espies, sent to Cyrus, declaryng what he was . . . Then Pantheia declared ye goodnes, the temperancy and the clemency of Cyrus toward hyr. Abradatas hearing it, sayd: What shall I do Pantheia, to rendre thanks to Cyrus, for you and me? What other thing sayd Pantheia, but to endeour your selfe, to be such a one toward hym, as he hath been toward you. Then Abradatas went to Cyrus, and when he sawe hym, hee tooke him by the ryght hand and sayd: For the pleasures that you haue doone me (O Cyrus) I haue no more to say . . . "

<sup>22</sup> Dated "1560?" in H. R. Palmer, *List of Editions and Translations of the Greek and Latin Classics published in England* etc., and in Brit. Mus. Cat.

But Barkar's translation, as I have said, ended with the sixth book, in the middle of the story of Panthea, so that for the rest of the novel Painter had to translate directly from the Greek or from a Latin version—and of course in writing that part of the novel in which Barkar could be of service Painter must have had the Greek or Latin or both before him.<sup>23</sup> This second half of the novel yields very little evidence of any sort, but a few straws seem to show how the wind blows.<sup>24</sup>

Painter: "a frende of worthy remembraunce."

Filelfo: "amicus dignus memoratu."

Xenophon: φίλος δέσιος.

Painter: "Cyrus for a certayn space holding his peace, powred forth abundance of teares, and then said . . ."

Filelfo: "Tum Cyrus aliquantum temporis tacens collachrymauit, deinde ita est loquutus . . ."

Xenophon: καὶ ὁ κύριος χρόνον μὲν τινα σιωπῇ κατεδάκρυσεν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐφθέγγετο.

Painter: "A monument also, according to his worthinesse, shal be erected upon his graue."

Filelfo: "monumētum multi nostrum pro dignitate in tumulum erigent."

Xenophon: τὸ μνημα πολλοὶ χάσουσιν ἄλως ἡμῶν.

Painter: "thy great chastitie and vertue."

Filelfo: "pudicitiae & omnis virtutis gratia."

Xenophon: σωφροσύνης ἕνεκα καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς.

One's conclusion therefore is that in no case did Painter translate directly from Greek.<sup>25</sup>

Painter was not above borrowing from an English translation of a Latin classic. In every one of the three novels taken from Quintus Curtius (i.12, 13, ii.2) he took over a considerable number of passages, large and small, from John Brende's version of 1553. The longest verbatim quotations occur in Novel ii.2,

<sup>23</sup> In 1567 Barkar published a translation of the eight books of the *Cyropaedia*. This came too late for Painter of course. Barkar evidently disdained to lean on one who had already leaned on him, for his rendering of the rest of the story of Panthea, in book vii, shows no parallels with Painter; two or three isolated and insignificant words agree, but that seems accidental.

<sup>24</sup> Incidentally, this second part of the novel of Panthea where Painter is not following Barkar (which begins with the paragraph beginning on p. 66) contains several grotesque errors in translation.

<sup>25</sup> Quotations from Filelfo are from Xenophon, *Opera*, ed. H. Stephanus, 1562, (Greek and Latin), Latin version of *Cyropaedia*, p. 78, sections 109-110. Extracts from Xenophon are from Bk. vii, c. 3, sec. 5 ff.

where two passages of a hundred and two words and ninety-three words are calmly appropriated.<sup>26</sup>

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\* Some details may be added. Painter names Dionysius of Halicarnassus among his authorities for Part Two, but I find no evidence of his having been used as a source, at least directly, and in any case Latin translations were available. Appian is mentioned in the list of authorities and again in the passage cited above, where Painter refers the reader to a Latin translation. Painter alludes to Homer (Novel ii.20, II, 364), but if he had any first-hand knowledge he might have gained it through Latin. The Greek epigram and the allusion to Plato in the novel of Don Diego are translated from the French, and so is a quotation from Euripides (Painter, III, 250, 286; I, 283). The references to Plato and Aristophanes in the novel of Timon are translated from the source. (26) Painter, II, 169; Brende, p. 87.

# UUERDAN UND UUESAN MIT DEM PARTIZIP PASSIV IN DER ALTHOCHDEUTSCHEN TATIANÜBER- SETZUNG

Vorliegende Untersuchung soll sich mit *uuerdan* und *uuesan* in Verbindung mit dem Partizip Passiv in der althochdeutschen Tatianübersetzung befassen. Es soll darin der Versuch gemacht werden festzustellen, welches der Unterschied ist in 1. der Anwendung, 2. der Bedeutung, 3. dem Ursprung, 4. dem temporalen Wert, and 5. dem syntaktischen Gebrauch von *uuerdan* und *uuesan* in diesen Verbindungen.

Ehe man aber zur eigentlichen Betrachtung übergehen kann, muss man sich klar werden über den Gebrauch von A. *uuesan*, B. *uuerdan*, und C. dem Partizip Passiv im allgemeinen.

A. Uuesan. Uuesan bedarf keiner weiteren Besprechung. Es wird gebraucht um Zustände oder Tatsachen auszudrücken, die bestehen oder als bestehend gedacht werden.

B. Uuerdan. Uuerdan wird bebraucht,

I. Absolut in der Bedeutung von,

1. werden, geschehen, eintreten, sich begeben. Vergl. Präs. 2, 9; 25, 5; 146, 3; Prät. 12, 4; 14, 3; 44, 28; 49, 1; 56, 2; 63, 1; 228, 3 &.

2. werden, geschehen, eintreten, sich begeben, mit Anlage zur Bedeutung, anfangen zu sein. Präs. 15, 3; 38, 7; 96, 2; Prät. 52, 2; 97, 2; 2, 2.

3. werden, geschehen, eintreten, sich begeben, anfangen zu sein. Vom neuhochdeut. Standpunkt stark futurisch gefärbt (sein werden); jedoch im Althochdeutschen ohne zweifel Präsens. 77, 4; 77, 4; 147, 2; 153, 2.

II. Mit prädikativer Ergänzung in der Bedeutung von

1. werden, eintreten in einen Zustand. (Es begibt sich, dass etwas so ist. Es fängt an zu sein.) Präs. 13, 3; 36, 3; 113, 1; 127, 1; 135, 15; 139, 3; 242, 4. Prät. 5, 10; 82, 1; 82, 4; 88, 4.

2. werden, eintreten in einen Zustand, sich begeben, mit Hervorkehrung der Bedeutung, anfangen zu sein. Präs.

2, 9; 47, 4; 60, 4; 60, 11; 146, 1. Prät. 91, 1; 92, 6; 135, 1; 182, 3; 217, 4.

3. werden, eintreten in einen Zustand, anfangen zu sein. Vom neuhochdeutschen Standpunkt stark futurisch gefärbt (sein werden). Präs. 44, 8; 65, 3; 65, 5; 82, 7; 82, 7; 82, 9.

Aus dieser Zusammenstellung geht hervor, dass *uuerdan* nie einen schon bestehenden Zustand oder eine schon bestehende Tatsache bezeichnet. Es bedeutet stets, dass der Zustand erst angetreten wird oder, dass die Tatsache erst eintritt. Es legt also den Nachdruck auf den Anfang. Deshalb ist seine Bedeutung gewöhnlich, werden, geschehen, eintreten, sich begeben, anfangen.

Was den temporalen Wert betrifft, so sind diese Formen entweder Präsens oder Präterita. Die Beispiele, die je unter Rubrik drei stehen, sind vom neuhochd. Standpunkt stark futurisch gefärbt; jedoch liegt kein zwingender Grund vor anzunehmen, dass sie auch im Althochdeutschen als Futura empfunden wurden. Ebenso wenig wie man annehmen darf, dass alle Verba Perfektiva Futura sind.

C. Partizip Passiv. I. Bedeutung. Das Partizip Passiv ist von haus aus verbales Adjektiv und kann demnach gebraucht werden,

1. als Adjektiv und bezeichnet dann *den bestehenden Zustand*. 199, 8 *uuas gibuntan* (gebunden seiender.)

2. Zweitens kann es seinen verbalen Charakter hervorkehren und wird dann, a) *präsentisch* gebraucht und bezeichnet "das sich-befinden in dem durch die im Zeitwort ausgedrückte Handlung verursachtwerdenden Zustand."

142, 1 *gisentite sind* (gesandt werdende)

b) *perfektisch* gebraucht und bezeichnet "das Erreichen des durch die im Zeitwort ausgedrückte Handlung bewirkt worden Zustandes."

2, 9. *bim gisentit* (gesandt wordener)<sup>1,2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Das Partizip Passiv kann, wo es präsentisch oder perfektisch gebraucht wird, mit dem Hilfszeitwort zu einer Einheit zusammenschmelzen und verliert dann seine Zustandsbedeutung und drückt die reine Handlung aus. Die Umschreibung mit dem Partizip Präsens (und *uuesan*) bezeichnet dann die vor sich gehende Handlung; die mit dem Partizip Perfekt die vollendete Handlung.

<sup>2</sup> Um alle Vorurteile zu beseitigen sei hier bemerkt, a) dass der Gebrauch von *uuerdan* in den althochdeutschen Umschreibungen sich nicht mit dem

Es ist nicht immer leicht zu entscheiden, wie man in jedem Falle das Partizip Passiv aufzufassen hat. Eine Umschreibung wie z.B. 117, 5 *gizimbrot uwas thiz tempal*, kann vom althochd. Standpunkte aus heißen,<sup>3</sup> 1. Ein gebaut werdender, d.h. einer an dem die Handlung des Bauens von Anfang bis zu Ende vollzogen wird (wurde gebaut); 2. ein gebaut wordener, d.h. einer an dem die Handlung des Bauens vollzogen worden ist. (Braucht nicht identisch zu sein mit, war gebaut worden); 3. ein gebaut seiender, d.h. einer der sich im Zustande des Gebautseins befindet, z.B. Er war aus Holz gebaut.

Wie soll man nun aber bei diesem Sachverhalt in den einzelnen Fällen mit einiger Sicherheit bestimmen, wie das Partizip Passiv aufgefasst werden muss?

*Partizip Präsens vs. Partizip Perfekt (bezw. Part. Adjektiv).*

Das Partizip Präsens bezeichnet, wie oben bemerkt wurde, das Sich-befinden in dem durch die im Zeitwort ausgedrückte Handlung verursacht werdenden Zustände, oder, wo es mit dem Hilfszeitwort zu einer Einheit zusammengeschmolzen ist, die vor sich gehende Handlung. Daher kann man, um festzustellen, ob das Partizip Passiv präsentisch gebraucht ist oder nicht, 1. erstens, ganz objektiv verfahren, indem man sich nach der lateinischen Vorlage richtet. Wo nämlich die althochdeut. Umschreibung einem latein. Präsens, Imperf., Perfekt Historicum, oder irgend einer Futurform (das Althochdeut. unterscheidet nicht wie das Latein zwischen den verschiedenen Futurformen,) entspricht, ist das Partizip Passiv *präsentisch* aufzufassen, da diese lateinischen Formen alle (vom althochdeutsch. Standpunkte aus) eine vor sich gehende Handlung (bezw. einen bewirkt werdenden Zustand) ausdrücken.

Wo die althochdeut. Umschreibung hingegen einer latein. Umschreibung mit *esse* (ausgenommen Perf. Hist., und die Futurformen) entspricht, ist das Partizip Passiv *perfektisch* (bezw. adjektivisch) aufzufassen, da diese latein. Formen

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Gebrauch von *werden* im Neuhochdeutschen deckt. b) dass der Gebrauch von *uesan* im althochdeutschen Tatian dem Gebrauch von "to be" in den englischen Passiv-Umschreibungen sehr nahe steht; sowie dem von "werden" im Neuhochdeutschen.

<sup>3</sup> zimbron, ist hier terminativ aufzufassen. Vergl. Pollak, P.B.B.; XLIV, 353-425 über "bauen."

entweder den erreichten Zustand (bezw. vollendete Handlung) oder den bestehenden Zustand ausdrücken.

In einem Satze wie z.B. 117, 5 in fierzug inti in sehs iaron *gizimbrot* uuas thiz tempal (XL et VI annis aedificatum est templum hoc) ist das Partizip Pass. präsentisch aufzufassen, weil *gizimbrot uuas* einem latein. Perf. Hist. entspricht und deshalb soviel heisst wie, "war ein von Anfang zu Ende gebaut werdender" oder aber so viel wie im Englischen "was built," oder neuhochdeut. "wurde gebaut."

An folgender Stelle, hingegen, 78, 9 inti leitun inan zi thero bravvu thes berges ufan then iro burg *uuas gizimbrotiu* (et duxerunt illum usque ad supercilium montis supra quem civitas illorum erat aedificata), kann das Partizip Pass. nicht präsentisch sein, da die Umschreibung einer der latein. Umschreibungen mit *esse* (ausgenommen Perf. Hist. und die Futurformen) entspricht, und diese keine vor-sichgehende Handlung ausdrücken. Vergl. 148, 6 inti bislozzano uuarun thio duri, mit 230, 1 inti duri uuarun bislozzan; und 134, 1 uuarun gitan, mit 99, 4 thi u gitanu uuarun.

2. Zweitens kann man subjektiv verfahren, indem man sich nach dem Zusammenhang richtet. In den meisten Fällen bestätigt die subjektive die objektive Auffassung. *Gizimbrot uuas* (117, 5) liesse sich ebensogut aus dem Zusammenhang als aus der latein. Vorlage erklären.

Jedoch kommen Fälle vor, die Schwierigkeiten bieten. Es sind dies, zunächst, die Fälle, in denen die subjektive Auffassung die objektive nicht bestätigt, z.B. 108, 7 *bin gitruobit* (turbor). Hier entspricht die althochdeut. Umschreibung einem latein. Präsens und doch kann das Part. Pass. nicht Präsentisch aufgefasst werden. Es muss schlechterdings als Adjektiv betrachtet werden. In solchen Fällen wurde in dieser Arbeit stets zu Gunsten der subjektiven Auffassung entschieden.<sup>4</sup>

Sodann kommen Fälle vor, in denen das objektive Kriterium nur eine Auffassung zulässt, während vom subjektiven Standpunkte aus zwei oder sogar drei möglich wären. In einem

<sup>4</sup> Diese Fälle lassen sich dadurch erklären, dass das latein. Zeitwort eine zweifache Bedeutung in sich begreift, z.B.

turbor, ich werde betrübt (158, 3)

ich bin betrübt (108, 7)

Sätze wie 229, 3 *Inti sie sagetu thi u dar gitanu uuarun in uege* (gesta fuerant), kann das Part. Pass. nach dem objektiven Kriterium nur perfektisch aufgefasst werden. Subjektiv betrachtet, hingegen, liesse sich das Part. Pass. ebensogut präsentisch als perfektisch auffassen. In solchen Fällen wurde natürlich zu Gunsten der Auffassung entschieden, die sich sowohl objektiv als auch subjektiv bestätigen liess.

*Partizip Perfekt vs. Partizipales Adjektiv.*

Um zwischen dem Part. Perf. und dem Partiz. Adjektiv zu unterscheiden, kann nur subjektiv verfahren werden, da im Latein. ebenso wenig wie im Althochdeut. ein Unterschied in der äusseren Form besteht zwischen einer Umschreibung mit Part. Perf. und einer mit Partizip. Adjek. Deshalb ermangelt jeder äussere Anhaltspunkt. Zudem wird die Sache noch dadurch erschwert, dass der Unterschied zwischen dem Part. Perf. und dem Partiz. Adjek. ein rein subjektiver ist und deshalb in vielen Fällen sowohl die eine als die andere Auffassung möglich wäre. Näheres folgt jedoch unten.

II. Das Partizip Passiv im Verhältnis zu den Aktionsarten. A. *Durativ*. Das Part. Pass. von Durativen kommt nie perfektisch vor. Es kommt nur präsentisch oder adjektivisch vor. Wo es präsentisch gebraucht wird, bezeichnet es das Verweilen in einem durch die im Zeitwort ausgedrückte Handlung verursacht werdenden, ohne Bezug auf Anfang oder Ende gedachten (i.e. dauernden) Zustände. Grafisch liesse sich dies durch eine unbegrenzte Linie darstellen. (————). Adjektivisch gebraucht bezeichnet es den bestehenden Zustand. (grafisch: (O)).

Der Unterschied zwischen dem Part. Präs. und dem Adjekt. ist der, dass in ersterem Falle das betreffende Subjekt sich in einem bewirkt-werdenden Zustande befindet, während es sich in letzterem in einem ruhenden Zustand befindet. Vergl. 224, 3 *iro ougun uuarun bihabetiu* (tenebantur) Luther: wurden gehalten. 232, 6 *inti then ir sio bihabet, bihabeto sint* (detenta sunt) Luther: sind behalten.

Der Unterschied ist im Falle der Durative weniger deutlich erkennbar als im Falle der Terminative und Perfektive. Man vergleiche folgenden Satz aus Stifters "Katzensilber": "Die Wolken wurden nach und nach immer deutlicher, und an ihren

oberen Rändern *waren* sie von der Sonne *beschiene*n und glänzten als ob geschmolzenes Silber herabflösse." Dies ist Zustandsbezeichnung. *Wurden beschiene*n würde die Handlung ausdrücken.

**B. Terminative.** Das Part. Pass. von Terminativen kommt sowohl präsentisch als auch perfektisch und adjektivisch vor. Präsentisch gebraucht drückt es das Sich-befinden in dem durch die im Zeitwort ausgedrückte mit Anfang und Ende gedachte Handlung verursacht werdenden Zustände aus. Grafisch liesse sich dies durch eine am Anfang und Ende begrenzte Linie darstellen (|————|). 41, 7 *ist gisentit*. Perfektisch gebraucht bezeichnet es den durch die im Zeitwort ausgedrückte, voraufgehende Handlung erreichten Zustand. Grafisch liesse sich dies durch eine am Ende begrenzte Linie darstellen. (———|) 2, 9. *bim gisentit* zi thir. Adjektivisch gebraucht bezeichnet es den bestehenden, ruhenden Zustand. Grafisch dargestellt durch (O) 199, 8 *uwas gibuntan*.

**C. Perfektive.** Bei Perfektiven kann das Par. Pass. gerade wie bei den Terminativen präsentisch, perfektisch, und adjektivisch gebraucht werden. Im Unterschied zu den Terminativen ist hier jedoch zu bemerken, dass während bei den Terminativen von einer gewissen obwohl begrenzten Zeitdauer der Handlung die Rede sein konnte, die Handlung bei den Perfektiven nur einen Augenblick dauert. Die Handlung stellt nur einen Punkt in der Zeit dar und geht sofort in den Zustand über. Grafisch liessen sich diese Verhältnisse im Unterschied zu den Terminativen so darstellen; Präsentisch (II) 119, 11 *nist furtuomt*; Perfektisch (I) 111, 3 *nist fundan*; Adjektivisch (O) 230, 4 *birut gitruoble*.

Zunächst folgt nun unter Berücksichtigung der Aktionsarten eine Zusammenstellung der mit dem Par. Pass. zusammengesetzten Umschreibungen in der althochdeut. Tatianübersetzung. Es wird hier wohl nicht befremden, dass ein und dasselbe Zeitwort sich unter verschiedenen Aktionsarten eingereiht finden. Kann doch ein Zeitwort unter Umständen seine Bedeutung verändern, und so zu verschiedenen Aktionsarten gehören. Man vergleiche z.B. folgende Zeitwörter; *Gifullen*: Term.—anfüllen, vollenden; Perf. -erfüllen. *Tuon*: Term. -tun, machen, handeln, bereiten, hervorbringen. Perf. -vollbringen, geschehen, sich ereignen, begehen.

Besonders häufig werden Term. zu Perf., wenn sie in übertragener Bedeutung gebraucht werden: *giodmuotigon*: Term—niedrig machen, ebnen, 13, 3 *iogiueelih* berg—*uuerde giodmuotigot*; Perf. -erniedrigen, 118, 3 *iogiueelih* thie dar sich arheuit *uuirdit giotmotigot*. Man vergleiche auch folgendes: Durat., *horen-* hören; Term., *gihoren*, anfangen zu hören; Perf., *gihoren*, erhören.

#### A. Mit Partizip Präsens.

##### 1. Durative.

Ahd. Infin. (Lat. Inf.) 141, 6 *ni curit giheizan* (nolite vocari).

Ahd. Präs. Ind. (Lat. Präs. Ind.) 16, 4 *bist giheizan* (vocaris)-67, 9; 11, 4; 19, 1; 22, 6; 49, 1; 202, 1; 64, 3; 107, 3; 93, 2; 96, 2; 123, 4; 128, 10; 130, 1; 149, 8. (Lat. Fut.) 127, 3 *gihabete sint* (habebuntur) 25, 6; 25, 6; 146, 6; 145, 19; 112, 1.

Ahd. Präs. Conj. (Lat. Conj. Präs.) 33, 2 *sin gierete* (honorificentur) 146, 5; 141, 8; 34, 6; 128, 4; 33, 1; 34, 1; 141, 3; 35, 2; 126, 1.

Ahd. Prät. Ind. (Lat. Imperf. Ind.) 202, 1 *uuarun gileittit* (ducebantur) 224, 3; 88, 1; 14, 1; 17, 8; 49, 2; 81, 1. (Lat. Perf. Hist) 193, 5 *uuas giheizan* (vocatus est) 209, 2; Prol. 3; 223, 5. (Lat. Conj. Imperf.) 79, 11 *gisprohhan uuas* (diceretur) Vergl. 7, 4 *uuas giheizan* (cui nomen); 20, 1 (nomine); 13, 1—.

##### 2. Terminative

Ahd. Infin. (Lat. Infin.) 145, 1 *gientot uuesan* (consummari); 60, 3; 4, 12; 97, 3; 97, 4; 112, 2.

Ahd. Präs. Ind. (Lat. Präs. Ind.) 107, 3 *ist gifluobrit<sup>s</sup>* (consolatur); 106, 1; 5, 4<sup>s</sup>; 3, 8; 140, 2; 78, 3; 154, 1; 199, 3; 88, 1; 41, 7; 142, 1; 64, 3; 85, 2<sup>s</sup>; 47, 2<sup>s</sup>. (Lat. Fut.) 39, 4 *ist gimezzan* (metietur); 3, 5; 117, 3; 4, 17; 22, 14; 147, 4; 145, 13. (Lat. Conj. Präs.) 110, 4 *ist gilonot* (fiat retributio).

Ahd. Conj. Präs. (Lat. Conj. Präs.) 168, 1 *si gifullit* (impleatur) 4, 11; 115, 2; 28, 2; 244, 1.

Ahd. Prät. Ind. (Lat. Imperf. Ind.) 244, 2 *uuas braht* (ferebatur) 199, 2; 138, 3. (Lat. Perf. Hist.) 15, 1 *uuas gileitit* (ductus est) 38, 4 69, 7; 125, 11; 138, 1; 13, 3; 222, 4; 70, 2; 78, 7; 209, 2; 6, 7; 1, 2; 117, 5. (Lat. Conj. Imperf.) 136, 1 *gifullte uuarun* (complerentur) 14, 3; 107, 2. (Lat. Präs. Ind.) 5, 12 *uuas ginemnit* (vocatur).

<sup>s</sup> Vielleicht auch Durativ.

3. Perfektive.

Ahd. Infin. (Lat. Inf.) 90, 4 *arslagan uuesan* (occidi) 145, 4.

Ahd. Präs. Ind. (Lat. Präs. Ind.) 76, 4 *arlesene sint* (colliguntur) 16, 4; 132, 4; 148, 5; 54, 6; 138, 13; 119, 11; 75, 3; 74, 6; 87, 1; 87, 6; 132, 6; 135, 8; 135, 32; 180, 1; 198, 2; 199, 9; 233, 1; 135, 2; 67, 3; 67, 7. (Lat. Fut.) 76, 4 *sint furbrennit* (comburentur) 41, 7; 145, 9; 138, 13; 147, 4; 147, 4; 47, 7; 44, 13; 133, 10; 138, 6; 174, 4.

Ahd. Conj. Präs. (Lat. Conj. Präs.) 171, 3 *sit bisuihan* (scandalizemini) 24, 3; 135, 2; 164, 1; 167, 7; 119, 10; 146, 4; 34, 4; 162, 1; 165, 6; 74, 6; 94, 4; 94, 4; 104, 6; 144, 2. (Lat. Fut.) 39, 2 *sit furnidarite* (condemnabimini).

Ahd. Prät. Ind. (Lat. Imperf. Ind.) 78, 3 *uuaran bisuihan* (scandalizabantur) 7, 7; 155, 3. (Lat. Perf. Hist.) 14, 4 *aroffanota uuarun* (aperti sunt) 224, 1; 53, 10; 53, 10; 148, 6; 78, 7; 217, 4; 204, 2; 211, 2; 205, 1; 5, 7; 13, 6; 193, 6; 45, 1; 237, 6; 5, 9; 9, 4; 10, 2; 11, 5; 20, 12; 26, 1; 30, 1; 50, 2; 116, 3; 127, 4; 193, 6; 111, 12; 65, 1; 225, 1; 45, 1; 134, 1; 133, 15; 3, 3; 93, 1; 158, 3; 238, 3; 209, 1.<sup>6</sup>

Ahd. Conj. Prät. (Lat. Conj. Imperf.) 192, 3 *uuarin biunsubrite* (contaminarentur) 199, 13; 202, 1; 8, 2; 5, 9; 69, 9; 185, 9. (Lat. Conj. Präs.) 211, 4 *uuari gifullit* (impleteur.)

Dass die Part. Pass. in den vorstehenden Beispielen alle präsent. aufzufassen sind, geht daraus hervor, dass sie unserem objektiven Kriterium gemäss alle einem latein. Präs., Imperf., Perf. Hist. oder Futur entsprechen. Dass die meisten auch vom subjektiven Standpunkte aus betrachtet, für präsentisch gehalten werden müssen, erweist sich dadurch, dass sie falls man den Versuch macht sie im Neuhochdeutschen passivisch auszudrücken, sich nur durch die passive Umschreibung mit werden- wiedergeben lassen.

Nur einige Fälle bedürfen hier einer besonderen Berücksichtigung. Es sind dies die Fälle, in denen das Part. Pass. in der althochdeut. Umschreibung vom subjektiven Standpunkt aus betrachtet, an und für sich sowohl präsent. als auch adjektivisch oder aber perfektisch aufgefasst werden könnte. Bei einer genaueren Betrachtung muss man aber zu Gunsten der präsentischen Auffassung entscheiden. Diese Fälle ent-

<sup>6</sup> Könnte auch terminativisch aufgefasset werden. Jedoch halte ich 209, 2 "gislizane" für term.; und 209, 1 "zislizzan" für perfektivisch.

sprechen nämlich erstens alle einem latein. Präsens, Imperfekt., Perf. Hist., oder Futur. Sodann vom subjektive Standpunkte aus betrachtet, ergibt sich, dass unter all diesen Fällen kein einziger vorkommt, in dem das Part. sich nur adjektivisch auffassen liesse. In allen Fällen ist sowohl die präsentische als auch die adjektivische (bez. perfektische) möglich.

Zudem muss der Umstand mit in Betracht gezogen werden, dass diese Umschreibung mit *uuesan und dem Part. Pass* eine geläufige Umschreibung im Althochdeutschen ist, um die Handlung auszudrücken.

Da also das objektive Kriterium die präsentische Auffassung verlangt und die subjektive Auffassung die adjektivische nicht unbedingt nötig macht, sondern nach Analogie anderer Beispiele die präsentische nahe legt, so ist man gewiss berechtigt diese Partizipia Passivi für präsentisch zu halten.

Diese Auffassung wird dann auch noch durch das Englische, dem das Althochdeutsche der Tatianübersetzung in dieser Beziehung nahe steht, unterstützt. Auch Luther hat viele dieser Stellen als Ausdruck einer Handlung und nicht als eines Zustandes aufgefasst. Durative. 88, 1 *uuas bihabet* (tenebatur). Dieser Satz heisst im Englischen, with which he *was being afflicted*; oder with which he *was afflicted*.—67, 9 *quemet zi mir alle thie giarbeitite birut* (laboratis) Englisch: all that are being labored i.e. being made to labor; oder aber Medio- Passiv.—33, 2 *sin gierete foramannun* (honorificentur) Luther: dass sie von den Leuten gepreiset werden.—127, 3 *gihabete sint* (digni habebuntur) Engl., shall be accounted worthy, daher wohl, für würdig gehalten werden.—ebenso 146, 5.—34, 6 *si giheilagot* (sanctificetur) Luther: geheiliget werde; Engl., hallowed be.—141, 6 *giheizzan uuesan* (vocari) gehiessen werden, nicht gehiessen sein. Ebenso, 16, 4—107, 3 *bist giquelüt* (cruciaris) Luther, wirst gepeiniget; Engl., are tormented.—112, 1 *ist gischinfit* (inludetur) Luth., wird verspottet werden; Engl., shall be mocked.—93, 2 *ist gischan* (videtur) deucht. Ebenso, 96, 2.

Terminate 38, 4 *uuas bihekkit* (coopertus est) gekleidet wurde (konstatierend) Vielleicht auch Adjektiv.—168, 1 *si gifüllit* (impleatur) dass eure Freude gefüllt werde (voll gemacht werde)—136, 1 *gifülte uuarun* (implerentur) erfüllt würde.—

107, 3 *ist gifluobrit* (consolatur) Luther, wird getröstet; Engl. Is comforted.—4, 12 *ginemnilan uuesan* (vocari), genannt werden, nicht genannt sein; 97, 3—142, 1 *gisentile sint* (mittuntur) gesandt werden. Ebenso. 41, 7; 138, 3; 78, 7.—6, 7 *gisprohhan uuas* (dictum est) gesprochen wurde (konstatierend nicht Plusquamperf.)—64, 3 *sint gisubrite* (mundatur) gereinigt werden, are cleansed.—85, 2 *giuueigit ist* (vexatur) wird geplaget, is grievously vexed.—47, 2 *ist giuuzinot* (torquetur) wird gequälet. Vergl. 107, 3.—244, 1 *sit giuualite* (induamini) angetan werdet.

Perfektive. 132, 4 *ist arrekit* (interpraetatur) wird verdolmetschet. Ebenso 16, 4.—145, 9 *sint bisuihane* (scandalizabuntur) Luther, werden sich ärgern, Engl. shall be offended.—Vergl. 171, 9; 78, 3. Alle reflexiv im Deutschen, deshalb ist hier an die Handlung zu denken. Vergleiche aus dem Englischen: I was grieved when I heard this.—78, 7 *bitan uuas* (clausum est) Nicht war drei Jahre lang geschlossen, sondern wurde auf drei Jahre geschlossen.—217, 4 *erbruogile uuarun* (exterriti sunt) wurden erschreckt.—211, 2 *erhangan uuas* (crucifixus est) wurde gekreuzigt. Diese Stelle ist rein konstatierend. Vergl 204, 2; 205, 1.—148, 5 *sint erlos-ganu* (extinguuntur) In der engl. Bibel steht hier, are gone out, mit der Anmerkung: eigentlich, are going out. Letzteres ist die richtige Auffassung der Stelle. Sie lautet eigentlich, Unsere Lampen werden erloscht. (Vergl. griech. Text.) 54, 6 *sint furlazzano* (dimittuntur) Das Passiv zu, Ich vergebe dir in diesem Augenblicke deine Sünden. Also wäre die Stelle eigentlich zu geben; werden vergeben. Vergl. 147, 4; 138, 13; 138, 13.—145, 4 *ni curet uuesan gibruogile* (nolite terreri) Luther, entsetzet euch nicht. Engl. be not terrified (become). 75, 3 *ist gifremit* (efficitur) wird gemacht. Engl. becometh unfruitful.—146, 4 *sin giheuigiliu* (graventur) Luther, beschweret werden.—87, 1 *ist giquetan* (dicitur); 87, 6. Diese können alle konstatierend aufgefasst werden: genannt wird. Vergl. 199, 9 wo Luther übersetzt "von dem gesagt wird"—111, 2 *gireinit uuas* (mundatus est). Das Natürlichste wäre diese Stelle als Zustandsbezeichnung aufzufassen. Jedoch ist es nicht unmöglich sie als konstatierend aufzufassen. Er sah dass er geheilt wurde. Vergl. das Englische: When I saw that the house was built

yesterday, I said no more. Hier sollte eigentlich das Plusquamperfekt stehen, jedoch findet sich auch zuweilen das Präteritum.—162, 1 *ni si gitruobit* (turbetur), 165, 6; 3, 3; 158, 3; 238, 3; 93, 1; 174, 4; erschreckt werden, betrübt werden.—67, 3 *sint untarhiutite* (subiciuntur) 67, 6 werden unterworfen.

### B. Mit Partizip Perfekt.

#### 1, Durative.

(Kommt nicht vor.)

#### 2, Terminative.

Ahd. Präs. Ind. (Lat. Perf. Ind.) 208, 4 *gientot ist* (consummatus est); 107, 3; 1, 1; 18, 5; 21, 6; 13, 9; 242, 1; 108, 6; 84, 4; 1, 4; 75, 1; 75, 3; 75, 4; 112, 1; 231, 3; 234, 1; 145, 12; 234, 2; 8, 3; 64, 6; 232, 2; 67, 8; 2, 9; 21, 5; 22, 4; 85, 3; 7, 8; 13, 15; 237, 73; 68, 5; 125, 1; 13, 8; 124, 5; 88, 5; 100, 6.

Ahd. Conj. Präs. (Lat. Perf. Ind.) 13, 7 *gisezzit si* (constitutum est).

Ahd. Prät. Ind. (Lat. Plusq. Ind.) 43, 1 *gifestinot uwas* (fundata erat); 129, 6; 214, 1; 217, 6; 222, 4; 116, 3; 78, 9; (Lat. Perf. Ind.) 208, 1 *gientotu uwarun* (consummata sunt); 7, 2;<sup>8</sup> (Lat. Plusq. Ind. II) 13, 21 *gisanta uwarun* (missi fuerant); 21, 2; 88, 4; 213, 1; (Lat. Plusq. Conj. I.) 77, 3 *gifullit uwas* (impleta esset); 5, 7; 223, 5; 21, 10; 21, 11.

Ahd. Conj. Prät. (Lat. Conj. Plusq. I.) 83, 1 *uuari githuuagan* (baptizatus esset).

#### 3. Perfektive.

Ahd. Präs. Ind. (Lat. Perf. Ind.) 217, 5 *erhangen ist* (crucifixus est); 40, 2; 125, 6; 84, 7; 166, 3; 172, 5; 104, 2; 103, 2; 111, 3; 129, 9; 119, 11; 5, 4; 6, 2; 8, 1; 119, 4; 132, 12; 174, 5; 5, 8; 119, 3; 132, 20; 195, 6; 100, 6; 105, 2; 131, 17; 159, 8; 159, 8; 167, 7; 178, 2; 18, 4; 74, 4; 74, 4; 100, 6; 2, 5; 125, 11; 28, 1; 29, 1; 32, 1; 31, 1; 69, 9; 145, 11; 6, 4; 5, 9; 165, 1; 124, 5; 114, 2; 13, 9; 138, 4; 134, 8; 197, 3; 65, 2; 65, 4; 119, 12; 225, 3; 132, 6; 143, 8.

Ahd. Conj. Präs. (Lat. Perf. Conj.) 110, 3 *si giladot* (sit invitatus).

<sup>7</sup> Vielleicht Aktiv. <sup>8</sup>Vielleicht Adjektiv oder gar Präsensisch.

Ahd. Prät. Ind. (Lat. Plusquam. Ind.) 6, 5 *giquetan uuas* (dictum erat); 74, 3; 229, 3; 18, 1. (Lat. Plusquam. Ind.

II.) 129, 6 *uwas gidiuriset* (fuerat glorificatus); 99, 4 *gitani uuarun*. (Lat. Plusq. Conj. I) 218, 1 *arforhte uuarun* (consternati essent); 10, 1; 193, 1.

Ahd. Prät. Conj. (Lat. Plusq. Conj. I) 197, 9 *gigeban uuari* (esset datum) (Lat. Plusq. Conj. II.) 158, 6 *giboran uuari* (natus fuisse); 65, 2; 65, 4. (Lat. Perf. Ind.) 132, 11 *giboran uuari* (natus est). (Lat. Perf. Inf.) 139, 7 *gitan uuari* (factum esse.)

### C. Mit Partizipalem Adjektiv.

#### 1. Durative.

232, 6 *bihabeto sint*; 178, 9 *sin giheilagot*.

#### 2. Terminative.

155, 2 *uwas bigurtit*; 67, 9 *biladane birut*; 74, 6 *githiket ist*; 199, 8 *uwas gibuntan*; 85, 4 *uwas giheilil* (Vergl. 92, 7-111, 2); 44, 20 *girimitu sint*; 98, 3 *sint gisamanote*; 23, 2 *gisatote birut*; 7, 2 *giscriban ist* (steht geschrieben); 15, 3; 15, 4; 15, 5; 82, 5; 82, 9; 117, 3; 117, 3; 131, 5; 134, 8; 158, 6; 161, 2; 166, 3; 170, 6; 18, 2 *uwas giscriban*; 67, 6 *sint giscribane*; 45, 4 *uuarun gisezitu*; 135, 23 *uwas gisezzit*; 208, 2 *uwas gisezzit*; 185, 12 *uwas giuualit*; 44, 1 *uuarun giuueigile*; 87, 1 *uwas giuueigil*.

#### 3. Perfektive.

68, 2 *arloubit ist*; 79, 1; 88, 4; 109, 3; 193, 4; 194, 3; 100, 2; 110, 1; 126, 1; 68, 3 *erloubit uuarun*; 69, 4 *arloubit si*; 5, 9 *ist arrekil*; 16, 4; 60, 15; 202, 2; 207, 2; 16, 2; 22, 6; 145, 16 *bicurcile uuarin*; 60, 8 *bimitan uwas*; 230, 1 *uuarun bislozzan*; 135, 30 *uuarun cispreitiu*; 129, 9 *ist furuuergit*; 99, 1 *gibilidot ist*;<sup>9</sup> 116, 6 *sint giborganiu*; 109, 3 *sint giladote*; 109, 3 *sint gicorone*; 125, 11 *sint giladote*; 125, 11 *sint gicorone*; 125, 9 *giladote uuarun*; 7, 3 *giquetan ist* (is stated); 221, 5 *ist giquetan* (verdolmetschet); 64, 14 *rehtfestigot ist*; 151, 4 *giscazzot uuari*; 3, 2 *gisengenot sis*; 4, 3; 116, 4; 116, 5; 142, 2; 182, 5 *uuarun gisuaretiu*; 63, 4 *bis gitruobit*; 108, 7; 139, 5; 230, 4;<sup>10</sup>

\* Vergleiche hiermit folgende Stellen, wo im Lat. das Adj. steht.

tristis est—180, 5 *gitruobit ist*.

estis tristes—224, 4 *birut gitruobit* (Auch 35, 1).

Für Verbalformen hingegen zu halten sind:

turbata est—3, 3 *uwas gitruobit*,

contristati sunt—93, 1 *gitruobla uuarun*.

<sup>10</sup> Vielleicht auch Terminative.

4, 14 *giuuuilit si*; 103, 1 *uuas nidargineigit*; 179, 2 *sin thuruh-frenit*; 32, 10 *uueset thuruhthigane*; 32, 10; 106, 3; 12, 8 *uuas untarhiutit*; 44, 22 *sint ziteille*; 62, 3.

Bei der Beurteilung dieser unter B. und C. angeführten Beispiele muss man, wie oben bemerkt, rein subjektiv verfahren, um zu entscheiden, welches Partizipia Perfecti und welches adjektivische Partizipia sind. Die latein. Vorlage lässt einen hier nicht nur im Stiche, indem sie, da die lateinische Sprache keinen Unterschied in der äusseren Form zwischen einer Umschreibung mit Partizip Perfekt und einer mit adjektivischem Partizip macht, einem keinen objektiven Anhaltspunkt gibt, sondern sie erschwert vielmehr das Problem noch dadurch, dass sie subjektiv verfährt in dem Gebrauch der umschriebenen Tempora und in der Anwendung der Hilfszeitwörter. So z.B. findet man einerseits unter ganz gleichen Verhältnissen manchmal das Plusquamperfekt manchmal das Perfekt. Mt. 12, 17 *Ut adimpleretur quod dictum est per Essiam prophetam dicentem* (69, 9). Mt. 11, 35 *Ut Impleret quod dictum erat per prophetam dicentem* (74, 3) Andererseits findet sich unter ganz ähnlichen Umständen manchmal die literarische Umschreibung mit *esse* manchmal die volkstümliche mit *fuisse*. J. 12, 16 *Haec non congnoverunt discipuli eius primum, sed quando glorificatus est Ihesus tunc recordati sunt quia haec erant scripta de eo.* (116, 3). Mt. 18, 31 *et venerunt et narraverunt domino omnia quae facta fuerant.* (99, 4).

Schliesslich bietet der Umstand auch noch Schwierigkeiten, dass man zuweilen Bedenken tragen muss, ob bei der Übersetzung ins Althochdeutsche auch immer richtig unterschieden wurde zwischen dem latein. Perf. Hist. und dem Perf. Präs.

Es handelt sich also hier offenbar darum, einen subjektiven Unterschied festzustellen, der auf der subjektiven Auffassung einer latein. Stelle beruht, die ihrerseits wiederum nur einen subjektiven Unterschied zum Ausdruck bringt. Man ist demnach gezwungen rein subjektiv zu verfahren in der Unterscheidung zwischen dem Part. Perf. und dem Partizipalen Adjektiv, und zwar muss man sich dabei allein auf das Althochdeutsche stützen. Voraufgehende Zusammenstellung soll daher nicht als einwandfrei gelten, sondern nur als eine subjektive Auffassung betrachtet werden.

Ehe man aber näher auf die Unterscheidung zwischen dem Part. Perf. und dem partizipialen Adjektiv eingehen kann, muss man sich vergewissern, ob auch all diese Partizipia Passivi wirklich perfektisch und adjektivisch gebraucht sind. In den meisten Fällen liegt hier kein Zweifel vor. Nur einige Fälle dürften Bedenken erregen, da sie die präsentische Auffassung nahe legen. Indes verlangt das objektive Kriterium hier die perfektische Auffassung, während die subjektive diese auch zulässt. Also ist es wohl berechtigt zu Gunsten der perfektischen Auffassung zu entscheiden. Es sind dies vornehmlich folgende Fälle: 214, 1 Uuas thar Maria Magdalene inti ander Maria sizzenti uuidar thaz grab, gisahun uuio *gilegit uuas* sin lichamo (positum erat); 217, 6 quaemet inti gisehet thia stat uuar trohtin *gilegit uuas* (positus erat); 83, 1 Bigonda the Phariseus innan imo hahonti queden: bi hiu ni *uuari thu githuuagan* eer goumo? (baptizatus esset).

Was nun die Unterscheidung zwischen dem Part. Perf. und dem partizipialen Adjektiv betrifft, so lassen sich die Fälle, die an den entgegengesetzten Extremen liegen, mit ziemlicher Sicherheit bestimmen. Es handelt sich hier nämlich darum, zu unterscheiden zwischen der *vollendeten Handlung* und dem *bestehenden Zustand*, z.B. 68, 5 Sambaztag thuruh man gitan ist nalles man thuruh then sambaztag. (vollendete Handlung) 230, 4 Tho quad her in: uuas *birut ir gitruobte*, (Adjektiv; man denkt hier an keine Handlung).

In der Mitte zwischen diesen beiden Extremen kommen aber Fälle vor, die wohl ursprünglicher sind als die, welche die vollendete Handlung bezeichnen, und aus denen sich letztere Bedeutung entwickelt hat. Diese bezeichnen den *erreichten Zustand*. Sie stehen den Adjektiven nahe indem sie den Zustand bezeichnen, den Umschreibungen hingegen, die die vollendete Handlung ausdrücken, indem sie den *erreichten Zustand* bezeichnen, also eine voraufgehende Handlung in sich schliessen. Diese Fälle, die den erreichten Zustand bezeichnen, wurden alle als Partizipia Perfecti aufgefasst.

Der Unterschied unter diesen drei geht aus folgenden Beispielen hervor: 98, 3 Thar dar *sint* zuuena odo thri *gisamonate* in minemo namen, thar bin ih in mitten iro. (Adjektiv, da man an keine Handlung denkt.) 69, 9 Thaz uuari gifullit thaz thar *giquetan ist* thuruh Essiam then uuizagon sus quedantan:

Vollendete Handlung.) 40, 2 *ni curi mir heuig uuesan*, *giu sint mino turi bislozano*. (Erreichten Zustand).

b) Uerdan.

A. Mit Partizip Präsens.

1. Durative.

Uerdan kommt nie bei Durativen vor.

2. Terminative.

Ahd. Inf. (Lat. Inf.) 14, 2 *gitoufit uuerdan* (baptizari); 95, 5; 95, 4;<sup>11</sup> 108, 7; 85, 4.

Ahd. Präs. Ind. (Lat. Präs. Ind.) 56, 9 *uuerdent gihaltan* (conservantur);<sup>12</sup> 103, 3; 44, 12; 182, 7; 38, 5; 84, 8; 112, 2; 112, 2. (Lat. Fut. Ind.) 112, 1 *uuirdit bifillit* (flagellabitur); 112, 1; 108, 6; 112, 1; 22, 10; 2, 6; 57, 2; 124, 5; 149, 8; 151, 11; 145, 13; 110, 4; 3, 7; 11, 5; 40, 5; 145, 10; 95, 5; 95, 5; 152, 2; 22, 11; 112, 1; 153, 2; 158, 6; 13, 15; 112, 2. (Lat. Fut. Perf. II.) 222, 3 *Gihorit uuirdit* (auditum fuerit); 138, 6; 88, 2; 242, 4. (Lat. Präs. Conj.) 145, 13 *gifulto uuerdent* (impleantur); 145, 17. (Lat. Perf. Ind.) 138, 2 *uuirdit gigeбан* (datum est). (Lat. Präs. mit Adjek.) 83, 2 *gisubritu uuerdant* (munda sunt).

Ahd. Präs. Conj. (Lat. Präs. Conj.) 125, 11 *uuerde gifullit* (impleatur); (Lat. Fut. Ind.) 13, 3 *uuerde gifullit* (implebitur); 13, 3. (Lat. Fut. Perf. II.) 21, 5 *gigeбан uuerde* (fuerit datum); 88, 11.<sup>a</sup>

Ahd. Prät. Ind. (Lat. Imperf. Ind.) 4, 13 *vurduг gimarrit* (divulgabantur); 4, 19; 13, 12; 21, 2. (Lat. Perf. Hist.) 79, 9 *uuard brungan* (allatum est); 79, 9; 99, 1; 2, 11; 4, 3; 4, 9; 4, 14; 5, 13; 54, 9; 78, 9; 47, 8; 111, 3; 10, 3; 132, 19; 7, 1; 7, 1; 209, 2; 228, 4; 117, 1; 153, 3; 80, 6; 3, 1; 111, 2; 21, 3; 1, 2; 13, 5; 13, 7.

Ahd. Conj. Prät. (Lat. Conj. Imperf.) 7, 1 *bisnitan vurdi* (circumcideretur); 5, 11; 15, 1; 211, 1; 195, 4; 13, 17; 14, 1. (Lat. Imperf. Ind.) 240, 1 *giscribanu vurdin* (scribantur).

3. Perfektive.

Ahd. Infin. (Lat. Inf.) 218, 4 *arhangан uuerdan* (crucifigi); 119, 2; 119, 4; 119, 2 (fehlerhaft, sollte wohl sein *giboran uuerdan*); 25, 1;<sup>13</sup> 166, 3; 134, 8.

<sup>11</sup> *gisentit uuerde*-fehlerhaft. Sollte wohl sein "uuerdan."

<sup>12</sup> Nicht Durativ. Vergl. Gebrauch von *uuerdan* unten.

<sup>13</sup> Vielleicht auch Terminativ.

Ahd. Präs. Ind. (Lat. Präs. Ind.) 112, 1 *arhangan uuirđit* (cricifigetur); 92, 8; 75, 2; 56, 8; 54, 4; 232, 6; 138, 13; 142, 1; 127, 3; 62, 9; 78, 2; (Lat. Fut. Ind.) 56, 6 *arfirrit uuirđit* (auferetur); 63, 4; 124, 5; 118, 3; 84, 7; 145, 19; 161, 3; 151, 11; 149, 8; 160, 2; 141, 9; 139, 8; 144, 2; 147, 4; 62, 12; 242, 4; 13, 15; 62, 8; 62, 8; 62, 8; 62, 8; 3, 7; 145, 16; 4, 4; 2, 9; 185, 5; 110, 3; 118, 3; 141, 9; 62, 12; 174, 4; 147, 2; 110, 3; 167, 5; 124, 5; 161, 2; 44, 22; 62, 2. (Lat. Fut. Perf.) 90, 3 *uuirđit gibuntan* (erit ligatum); 98, 3; 98, 3; 90, 3. (Lat. Fut. Perf. II.) 36, 3 *aruuertit uuirđit* (nequam fuerit-Adj!) 108, 2 *aruuorfan uuirdu* (amotus fuero); 64, 3; 161, 3; 139, 8; 146, 1; 110, 3; 141, 13; 156, 6; 94, 2. (Lat. Conj. Präs.) 139, 2 *gidiurit uuirđit* (glorificetur); 94, 2; 108, 7; 158, 2. (Lat. Perf. Ind.) 138, 2 *uuirđit forcoufit* (venit); 74, 1 *githeismit uuirđit* (fermentatun est).

Ahd. Conj. Präs. (Lat. Präs. Conj.) 121, 1 *arboran uuerde* (nascatur); 119, 12; 153, 2; 156, 5; 170, 6; 178, 4; 203, 4; 145, 12; 119, 12; 108, 7; 7, 8; 176, 3. (Lat. Fut.) 44, 17 *inthekit uuerde* (revelabitur). (Lat. Fut. Perf. II.) 119, 2 *giboran uuerde* (natus fuerit); 119, 3; 110, 3; 165, 7.

Ahd. Prät. Ind. (Lat. Imperf. Ind.) Kommt nicht vor. (Lat. Perf. Hist.) 99, 5 *arbolgan uuard* (iratus); 213, 1 *arhangan uuard* (crucifixus est); 103, 2; 69, 5; 107, 2; 120, 2; 141, 29; 97, 5; 97, 8; 71, 3; 71, 2; 10, 2; 46, 3; 4, 4; 78, 8; 97, 4; 128, 9; 5, 11; 52, 6; 78, 7; 148, 3; 88, 3; 116, 3; 5, 11; 19, 4; 58, 1; 100, 1; 123, 1; 107, 2; 111, 1; 13, 25; 2, 4; 8, 2; 81, 2; 79, 8; 99, 4; 116, 3; 182, 1. (Lat. Plusq. Ind.) 6, 5 *giquetanu vurdun* (dicta erant); (Lat. Plusq. Ind. II.) 222, 1 *gitan uurdun* (facta fuerant). (Lat. Imperf. Conj.) 52, 2 *uuard bithekit* (operiretur). (Lat. Perf. Conj.) 60, 8 *giheilil uuard* (sanata sit.) (Lat. Plusq. Conj. 8, 1 *giboran uuard* (natus esset).

Ahd. Prät. Conj. (Lat. Imperf. Conj.) 7, 1 *inphangan vurdi* (conciperetur.); 132, 1; 9, 4; 11, 5; 50, 2; 21, 12; 74, 3; 143, 8; 184, 5; 194, 3; 116, 3; 208, 1; 143, 1. (Lat. Präs. Conj.) 132, 2 *vurdi arougit* (manifestetur).

B. Mit Partizip Perf.  
(Kommt nicht vor.)

C. Mit partizipialem Adjektiv.  
curatus est 92, 7 *giheilil uuard*.

Betreffs dieser Beispiele besteht wohl kein Zweifel. Das Partizip ist stets präsentisch aufzufassen. Zwischen dem Futur, Futur Perf. und dem Fut. Perf. II einerseits und dem

Präsens anderseits besteht im althochdeutschen Tatian kein Unterschied, wie aus den Beispielen hervorgeht. Dass in vereinzelt Fällen das latein Plusquamperfekt mit *uuerdan* umschrieben wird, beruht wohl auf der subjektiven Auffassung des Übersetzers.

*Folgerungen, die sich aus dieser Zusammenstellung ziehen lassen.*

#### I. Anwendung:

##### A. Uuerdan.

1. Uuerdan kommt nur bei Terminativen und Perfektiven vor.
2. Es kommt nur mit Partizip Präsens vor.
3. Es entspricht mit Partizip Präsens:  
im Präsens einem latein. Präs., Fut., Fut. Perf., Fut. Perf. II.  
im Prät. einem latein. Imperfekt, Perfekt Hist.

##### Ausnahmen.

Das. Präsens mit Part. Präs. gibt ein lat. Perf. (Hist.) wieder, bei Terminativen, 138, 2 *uuirddit ggeben* (datum est).  
bei Perfektiven, 138, 2 *uuirddit forcoufit* (venit); 74, 1 *githeismit uuirddit* (fermentatum est).

Das Präteritum mit Part. Präs. steht bei Perfektiven, für lat. Plusquamperf. 6, 5 *giquetanu vurdun* (dicta erant); für lat. Plusquam. II. 222, 1 *gitan uurdun* (facta fuerant); für lat. Conj. Perf. 60, 8 *giheilil uuard* (sanata sit); für lat. Conj. Plusquam. 8, 1 *giboran uuard* (natus esset).

An einer Stelle gibt das Präsens von *uuerdan* mit dem Part. Präs. ein lat. Adjektiv mit *sunt* wieder, 83.2 *gisubritu uuerdant* (munda sunt).

An folgender Stelle ist das Part. wohl adjektivisch aufzufassen, 92, 7 *inti giheilil uuard* der cneht fon theru ziti (curatus est ex illa hora).

Diese Ausnahmen beruhen wohl alle auf der subjektiven Auffassung der latein. Vorlage seitens des Übersetzers.

##### B. Uuesan.

1. Uuesan kommt bei Durativen, Terminativen, und Perfektiven vor.
2. Es kommt mit dem Part. Präs., Part. Perf., und dem partizip. Adj. vor.
3. Es entspricht,
  - a) mit Part. Präsens:  
im Präsens einem lat. Präs. oder Fut.  
im Prät. einem lat. Imperfekt oder Perf. Hist.
  - b) mit Part. Perfekt:  
im Präsens einem lat. Perfekt,  
im Präterit. einem lat. Plusquam. oder Plusquam II.
  - c) mit partizip. Adjektiv einem lat. Partiz. Adjektiv.

## II. Bedeutung:

## Partizip Präsens.

## A. Uuerdan.

Uuerdan mit dem Part. Präs. betont,

- a) den Eintritt in den durch die im Zeitwort ausgedrückte Handlung verursacht werdenden Zustand.
- b) Das Anheben der im Zeitwort ausgedrückten Handlung.  
(Hieraus ergibt sich die Bedeutung: Es begibt sich, dass-).

## B. Uuesan.

Uuesan mit dem Part. Präs. drückt aus,

- a) das Sichfinden in dem durch die im Zeitwort ausgedrückte Handlung verursacht werdenden Zustand.
- b) die vor sich gehende Handlung.

Diese Umschreibung entspricht also den englischen Umschreibungen mit "to be" und dem Part. Pass., oder den deutschen mit "werden" und dem Part. Pass. im Präsens und Präteritum.

Dass dies die richtige Auffassung der Umschreibungen mit *uuesan* und dem Part. Präs. ist, lässt sich durch den Umstand beweisen, dass die Beispiele alle diese Auffassung unbedingt nötig machen. Nimmt man nämlich an, dass der Übersetzer aus mangelhafter Kenntnis des Althochdeutschen hier *uuesan* statt *uuerdan* angewandt hat, so muss man gestehen, dass er in allen Fällen, wo es galt eine in der Gegenwart vor sich gehende Handlung auszudrücken, mit auffallender Konsequenz denselben Fehler begangen hat.

Der schlagendste Beweis ist jedoch der: Nimmt man an, dass *uuesan* entweder unrichtig gebraucht ist, oder dass es nur den *ruhenden* Zustand bezeichnet, während *uuerdan* die vor sich gehende Handlung ausdrückt, so kämen im Tatian überhaupt nur vier Fälle vor, in denen die in der Gegenwart vor sich gehende Handlung richtig ausgedrückt wäre. Alle die anderen Umschreibungen mit *uuerdan* bezeichnen nie die in der Gegenwart vor sich gehende Handlung. Fasst man aber die Sache so auf, dass *uuesan* die vor sich gehende Handlung ausdrückt, so erklärt dies den Gebrauch von *uuesan* und *uuerdan* im Präsens sowohl wie auch im Präteritum.

Ob der Zustand (bez. die Handlung) dauerend, begrenzt oder momentan gedacht wird, hängt von der Aktionsart des Zeitwortes ab. Welche dieser Umschreibungen als Bezeichnung des bewirkt werdenden Zustandes, welche als Bezeichnung

der Handlung im Althochdeutschen galten, lässt sich nicht bestimmt nachweisen. Die Flexion (bez. Flexionslosigkeit) kann hier nicht als Kriterium dienen.

Der Bedeutungsunterschied Zwischen diesen beiden Umschreibungen, nämlich *uuerdan* und *uuesan* mit dem Part. Präs., lässt sich im Präsens deutlicher erkennen als im Präteritum, und zwar tritt er im Falle der Terminative am klarsten hervor. Bei den Perfektiven kommt der Unterschied naturgemäss weniger deutlich zum Ausdruck, da hier von einer Dauer des bewirkt werdenden Zustandes oder der vor sich gehenden Handlung keine Rede sein kann. Jedoch zieht man zum Vergleiche den Gebrauch von "to get" und "to be" mit dem Part. Pass. im Englischen heran, z.B. *He got lost in the woods; He was lost in the woods*, so kann man sich einen ungefähren Begriff machen von dem Unterschied zwischen; *uuirdit forlazan* und *ist forlazan*.

Dass einige dieser Umschreibungen in futurischer Funktion gebraucht werden oder einen nur gedachten Fall ausdrücken, ändert vom althochdeutschen Standpunkte aus nichts an der Sache.

Folgende Umschreibungen mit *uuerdan*, welche die in der Gegenwart vor sich gehende Handlung ausdrücken, bedeuten nichts anderes als einen Übergriff von *uuerdan* auf das Gebiet von *uuesan*, also einen Ansatz zu dem neuhochdeutschen Gebrauch von *werden*. Man beachte, dass es die Perfektiva sind, die diese Neigung zeigen, da der Unterschied zwischen *uuerdan* und *uuesan* hier am geringsten ist. 92, 8 *uuirdit aruunorfan* (eicitur); 127, 3 *uuerdent furselit* (traduntur); 62, 9 *uuirdit furstantan* (agnoscitur); 78, 2 *uuerdent gifremit* (efficiuntur).<sup>14</sup>

Der Bedeutungsunterschied zwischen *uuerdan* mit dem Part. Präs. und *uuesan* mit dem Part. Präs. lässt sich im Präteritum weniger deutlich erkennen als im Präsens, da es schwieriger zu unterscheiden ist, ob die Handlung der Vergangenheit als "vor sich gehend" oder nur in Bezug auf ihren Anfang gedacht wird (bez. ob der Zustand als schon bewirkt werdend oder als eintretend gedacht wird. Der Unterschied wäre ungefähr

<sup>14</sup> 56, 9 *uuerdent gihaltan* (conservantur); 84, 8 *uuirdit gisentit* (emittitur) erklären sich aus der Syntax.

wie zwischen, *Es begab sich, dass er gesandt wurde*, und *Er wurde gesandt*.

Dass aber im Präteritum derselbe Unterschied wie im Präsens zu Grunde liegt, lässt sich nicht nur durch den Rückschluss beweisen, dass nämlich die präteriale Umschreibung aus denselben Bestandteilen besteht wie das Präsens, sondern es geht auch aus einigen Beispielen hervor, z.B. 1. das latein. *factum est* wird stets durch *uuard* wiedergegeben, also, *Es begab sich*; 2. zeigt ein Satz wie, 2, 11 *Et factum est ut inpleti sunt dies officii eius, abiit in domum* (*Inti gifulte uurden tho taga sines ambahtes, gieng in sin hus*), dass *uuerdan* und das *Part. Präs.* allein genügten um diese Bedeutung zum Ausdrucke zu bringen, also, *Es begab sich, dass—*. Weitere Unterschiede zwischen *uuerdan* und *uuesan* ergeben sich aus dem syntaktischen Gebrauche.

#### Partizip Perfekt.

Das Part. Perf. kommt wie oben gesagt mit *uuerdan* nicht vor.

Die Umschreibung mit *uuesan* und dem Part. Perf. bezeichnet,

- a) den durch die im Zeitwort ausgedrückte Handlung erreicht wordenen Zustand, oder
- b) die im Zeitwort ausgedrückte vollendete Handlung.

105, 2 *inti thara gisamanon alliu thiu dar giboraniu sint* mir. (erreichter Zustand).

5, 9 *Iacob gibar Ioseben gomman Mariun, fon thero giboran ist* Heiland). (vollendete Handlung.)

#### Partizipiales Adjektiv.

*Uuerdan* mit dem Part. Adjektiv bezeichnet den Anfang des bestehenden Zustandes, 92, 7 *inti giheilil uuard* der cneht fon theru ziti, i.e. fing an gesund zu sein von der Zeit.

*Uuesan* mit dem part. Adjektiv drückt aus, dass der im Part. Adjektiv ausgedrückte Zustand wirklich vor handen ist oder war, 87, 1 *Der heilant uuas giuucigit fon dero uuergeuerti*.

#### III. Ursprung dieser Umschreibungen.

Aus dem, was oben über die Verwendung und die Bedeutung dieser Umschreibungen gesagt worden ist, lässt sich nun auch

der Ursprung dieser Umschreibungen ermitteln. Es handelte sich ursprünglich um eine Umschreibung der Aktionsarten.

Die Formen mit *uuerdan* und dem Part. Präs. von Terminat. sind Term. Init.

"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	Perfektiv.	"	Perf. Ingres.
"	"	"	<i>uuesan</i>	"	"	"	"	"	Terminat.	"	Term. Defin.
"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	Perfektiv.	"	Perf. Momen
"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	Perf.	Terminat.	"	Term. Finit.
"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	Perfektiv.	"	Perf. Effekt.

Durative kommen sachgemäss nur mit dem Part. Präs. und mit *uuesan* vor. Das Partiz. Adjektiv kommt hier nicht mit in Betracht.

#### IV. Temporaler Wert dieser Umschreibungen.

Ursprünglich konnten diese Umschreibungen natürlich nichts anderes als Präsens und Präterita sein, da das Germanische von haus aus keine anderen Tempora kannte. Damit ist aber die Frage betreffs des temporalen Wertes dieser Umschreibungen im althochdeutschen Tatian noch nicht entschieden. Es gilt hier nämlich festzustellen, 1. ob nicht einige dieser mit dem Präsens von *uuerdan* und dem Part. Präs. umschriebenen Formen als Futura empfunden wurden; 2. ob nicht einige der Umschreibungen mit *uuesan* und dem Part. Perf. als Perfekta (bez. Plusquamperfekta) empfunden wurden.

Was die erste Frage anbetrifft, so zeigt ein Vergleich mit der latein. Vorlage, dass das latein. Präsens 50 mal mit *uuesan* umschrieben wird und nur 19 mal mit *uuerdan*; das Futur hingegen nur 25 mal mit *uuesan* gegen 80 mal mit *uuerdan*. Hierbei muss aber noch Folgendes in Betracht gezogen werden. Vergleicht man den latein. Text mit dem griechischen in Bezug auf die Fälle, wo das lateinische Präsens durch eine althochdeutsche Umschreibung mit *uuerdan* wiedergegeben wird, so ergibt sich, dass im Lateinischen entweder ein Schreibfehler oder ein Fehler in der Übersetzung untergelaufen ist. Zum Beispiel; 44, 12 ducimini; 112, 1 crucifigitur. Hier steht im Griechischen das Futur. Die lateinische Form sollte also lauten, ducemini, crucifigitur. In anderen Fällen steht das latein. Präs. offenbar in futurischer Funktion, z.B. 38, 5 mittitur; 112, 2 baptizor; 182, 7 traditur. In all diesen Fällen steht im Althochdeutschen sinngemäss die Umschreibung mit *uuerdan*.

Was die Fälle, hingegen, betrifft, in denen das Althochdeutsche ein lateinisches Futur durch eine Umschreibung mit

*uuesan* wiedergibt, so zeigt sich, dass das lateinische Futur oft imperativisch oder rein konstatierend gebraucht ist, z.B. 4, 17 *vocaveris*; 39, 4 *metietur*; 41, 7 *excidetur*; 147, 4 *assumetur*, *relinquetur*; 117, 3 *vocabitur*; 133, 10 *salvabitur*.

In anderen Fällen steht das lateinische Präsens in futurischer Funktion 106, 1 *datur*. Hier hat das Althochdeutsche statt *uuerdan uuesan*, vielleicht wegen starker Anlehnung an die latein. Vorlage. Sodann muss man auch bedenken, dass das Präsens im Althochdeutschen zu jeder Zeit in futurischer Funktion gebraucht werden kann.

Betrachtet man ferner diese Beispiele in Bezug auf ihre Bedeutung, so ergibt sich, dass *uuerdan* mit dem Part. Präs. nur in einigen wenigen Fällen (92, 8; 127, 3; 62, 9; 78, 2) eine in der Gegenwart vor sich gehende Handlung ausdrückt. All die anderen bezeichnen eine Handlung, die in der Gegenwart noch nicht vor sich geht. *Uuesan* hingegen mit dem Part. Präs. drückt stets eine in der Gegenwart vor sich gehende Handlung aus, oder aber die Umschreibung wird in futurischer Funktion gebraucht, wie das Präsens im Neuhochdeutschen.

All diese Gründe würden die Annahme nahelegen, dass *uuerdan* mit dem Part. Präs. das Futur, *uuesan* mit dem Part. Präs. das Präsens (bez. Fut) ausdrückt, besonders wenn man das neuhochdeutsche Sprachgefühl mit in die Wagschale legt.

Trotzdem muss man aber Bedenken tragen all diese Umschreibungen mit *uuerdan* für Futura zu erklären, denn es findet sich im Aktiv kein ausgeprägtes Futur, welches beweisen würde, dass ein Gefühl für das Futur zur Zeit der Anfertigung der Tatianübersetzung im Althochdeutschen entwickelt gewesen wäre. Die Verlegenheit der Übersetzer einem aktiven latein. Futur gegenüber legt deutlich an den Tag, dass im Althochdeutschen kein entsprechendes Tempus bestand.

Auch der Umstand, dass sich im Präteritum dieselbe Gegenüberstellung von *uuesan* und *uuerdan* findet wie im Präsens, erregt Verdacht, dass der Unterschied zwischen *uuerdan* und *uuesan* im Präsens vom althochdeutschen Standpunkt nicht derselbe war, wie zwischen Präsens und Futur im Neuhochdeutschen—wenigstens nicht ursprünglich.

Sodann darf auch der Umstand nicht ausser Acht gelassen werden, dass die Durative nie mit *uuerdan* umschrieben werden. Falls, nämlich, *uuerdan* einzig und allein ohne alle anderen

Rücksichten, die Funktion gehabt hätte das Futur auszudrücken, so läge kein Grund vorhanden weshalb nicht auch die Durative mit *uuerdan* vorkommen könnten.

Schliesslich wäre es dann auch schwierig die Formen zu erklären, in denen *uuerdan* mit dem Part. Präs. eine in der Gegenwart vor sich gehende Handlung ausdrückt. Eine Rückentwicklung von futurischer zu präsentischer Bedeutung ist wohl nicht wahrscheinlich.

Es fragt sich also hier vielmehr, sind diese Umschreibungen mit *uuerdan* bevorzugt worden, um ein latein. Futur wiederzugeben deshalb weil sie im Althochdeutschen als Futura empfunden wurden; oder deshalb weil sie im Althochdeutschen eine Bedeutungsschattierung in sich begriffen, die mit dem lateinischen Futur nicht völlig gleichbedeutend jedoch demselben sehr analog war. Dass letzteres—wenigstens ursprünglich—der Fall war geht daraus hervor, dass das Germanische von haus aus nur ein Präsens und Präteritum hatte. Es kannte das Futur gar nicht. Es ist wohl kaum anzunehmen, dass man im Althochdeutschen ganz willkürlich eine neue grammatische Form erfunden hat nur um ein lateinisches Tempus, das man im Althochdeutschen gar nicht kannte und für das man zudem kein dringendes Bedürfnis empfand, wiederzugeben.

Welches aber diese ursprüngliche Bedeutung von *uuerdan* war, die dem latein. Futur analog war, ist schon aus der Besprechung der Bedeutung von *uuerdan* hervorgegangen. Es bezeichnet nämlich nicht die schon vor sich gehende Handlung, sondern betont deren Anfang. Im Neuhochdeutschen lässt sich diese Bedeutungsschattierung am leichtesten durch eine Umschreibung wie, Es begibt sich; ereignet sich; fängt an wiedergeben.

Es lässt sich leicht ersehen, warum man die Umschreibungen mit *uuerdan* bevorzugte, um ein latein. Futur ins Althochdeutsche zu übertragen. Bezeichnet doch das lateinische Futur vom althochdeutschen Standpunkte aus betrachtet, nicht eine schon vor sich gehende Handlung, sondern eine, die erst ihren Anfang macht.

Wie weit sich aber diese Umschreibung mit *uuerdan* von ihrer ursprünglichen Bedeutung entfernt hatte zur Zeit der Anfertigung der Tatianübersetzung, lässt sich nicht bestimmt nach weisen. Es ist nämlich möglich, dass sie für das Althoch-

deutsche eben nur die Handlung in Bezug auf ihren Anfang ausdrückte. Ob der Anfang aber in der unmittelbaren Gegenwart oder der entfernteren Zukunft lag, mag vom althochdeutschen Standpunkte aus ganz ohne Belang gewesen sein. Die Umschreibung sollte eben nur bezeichnen, dass die Handlung zur Zeit noch nicht im Vorgange begriffen war. Man vergleiche; stehen, erstehen: blühen, erblühen. Nur so viel lässt sich mit Bestimmtheit sagen: diese Umschreibungen haben ohne Zweifel dazu beigetragen ein Gefühl für das Futur zu entwickeln, und vom neuhochdeutschen Standpunkte sind sie oft entschieden futurisch gefärbt.

Was die zweite Frage anbetrifft, so bedeutet die Umschreibung mit *uuesan* und dem Part. Pert. ursprünglich den erreichten Zustand. 107, 3 *Inti in thesen allen untar iu inti untar uns mihhil intarmerchi gifestinot ist*; 13, 21 *Inti thie thar gisanta uuarun thie uuarun fon den Phariseis*.

Aus dieser Bedeutung entwickelte sich dann die der *vollen-*  
*deten* Handlung, d.h. reine Perfekta und Plusquamperfekta. Da es sich hier um eine rein subjektive Frage handelt und die äussere Form einem keine Stütze an die Hand gibt, so lässt sich nicht in allen Fällen entscheiden, welche der beiden Auffassungen dem Übersetzer vorgeschwebt hat. Um aber zu beweisen, dass es im Althochdeutschen tatsächlich Perfekta und Plusquamperfekta gegeben hat, sollen hier einige Beispiele gegeben werden, die sich nur als solche auffassen lassen. *Perfekta*: 13, 9 *uanta euua thuruh Mousen ggeben ist*; 217, 5 *ih uueiz thaz ir then heilant ther dar arhangan ist suochet*; 68, 5 *gitan ist*; 166, 3 *bizelit ist*; 69, 2 *giquetan ist*; 225, 3 *gitan ist*; *Plusquamperfekta*: 223, 5 *Inti siu tho gihorenti thaz her lebeta inti gisehan uuas fon in ni giloubtun in*; 229, 3 *Inti siu sagetun thiur dar gitaniu uuarun in uuege inti uuio sie inan forstuontun*; 116, 3 *uuarun gischriban*; 88, 4 *uuas giduan*; 18, 1 *uuas gizogan (erzogen)*; 158, 6 *giboran ni uuari*; 65, 2 *gitan uuarin*; 132, 11 *giboran uvari*.

Die Umschreibungen mit dem Partizipialen Adjektiv sind natürlich alle Präsens oder Präterita je nachdem. *uuerdan* oder *uuesan* in diesem Tempus steht.

V. Syntaktischer Gebrauch.

A. Mit Partizip Präsens.

Indikativ—Hauptsatz.

*Präsens*: Das Präs. von *uuesan* mit dem Part. Präs. wird verwendet, um die in der Gegenwart (bez. Zukunft) vor sich gehende Handlung auszudrücken. 164, 6; 127, 3; 39, 4; 142, 1&. Wo die Umschreibung in Zusammenhang mit anderen Verben auftritt, bezeichnet sie, dass diese Handlungen nebeneinander verlaufen oder dass sie rein konstatierend *aufeinander* folgen, 64, 3; 47, 2.

Das Präsens von *uuerdan* mit dem Part. Präs. wird viermal verwendet, um die in der Gegenwart vor sich gehende Handlung zu konstatieren. 92, 8; 127, 3; 62, 9; 78, 2. Sonst wird diese Umschreibung gebraucht um den Anfang der Handlung zu betonen. 182, 7; 2, 6; 88, 2; 44, 12; 124, 5 &. In Zusammenhang mit anderen Verben drückt diese Umschreibung aus, dass die mit *uuerdan* umschriebene Handlung später anhebt, also bezeichnet sie das *Nacheinander* der Handlungen. 56, 9; 103, 3; 38, 5; 75, 2; 54, 4; 138, 13 &. *Präteritum*. Im Präterit. wird *uuesan* mit dem Part. Präs. 1.) *objektiv beschreibend* gebraucht um den Zustand, der als Hintergrund zur Erzählung dient zu schildern. 49, 2; 81, 1; 209, 2; 70, 2; 14, 4 &; 2) *rein konstatierend*. 223, 5; 69, 7; 117, 5; 53, 10; 78, 3 &.

Im *Präterit.* wird *uuerdan* *erzählend* gebraucht. Da es nämlich den Anfang der Handlung beontont, hebt es den Übergang von einer Handlung zur anderen hervor und eignet sich deshalb gut, das Nacheinanderfolgen der Handlungen oder die innere Beziehung der einen Handlung zur anderen auszudrücken, also zum Erzählen. Man vergleiche; 125, 11 *gifullo uuarum*. Dies ist konstatierend, da es angibt wie der Befehl des Herrn ausgeführt wurde. Zugleich ist es aber auch objektiv beschreibend, da es die allgemeine Sachlage schildert, die als Hintergrund der folgenden Erzählung dient. 79, 9 *uuard brungan, uuard gibeān*. Dies ist erzählend. In 209, 1-2 ist auch alles beschreibend bis- *inti grebir uurdun giofanotu*. Hier fängt die nacheinanderfolgende Erzählung an. Besonders beliebt ist die Umschreibung mit *uuerdan* in einem Transitus. 2, 11; 4, 3; 4, 9; 5, 13; 153, 3; 111, 2 &. Wo *uuesan* zu Anfang eines Abschnittes vorkommt wird es rein konstatierend oder beschreibend gebraucht. 202, 1 *uuarun gileittit* (Es wurden &) &&.

*Nebensatz*. Im Nebensatz kommt der Indikativ von *uuerdan* nur einmal vor. 213, 1. (erzählend.).

Der Indik. von *uuesan* kommt häufig in Nebensätzen vor. Diese sind stets konstatierend oder beschreibend. *Relat.* 7, 4; 20, 1; 13, 1; 199, 2; 138, 3 &&. *Adverbiale Relativsätze.* 204, 2. Vergl 213, 1 wo *uuard* steht. *Causal* 193, 5; 79, 11; 6, 7. *Substantivsätz.* 38, 4; 26, 1; 30, 1; &&. *Temporal.* 14, 1; 136, 1; 14, 3.

Zu all diesen Beispielen sei jedoch bemerkt, dass die Scheidung zwischen *uuerdan* und *uuesan* nicht immer streng innegehalten wird. Es kommt zuweilen entweder aus subjektiven Gründen oder aus dem Grunde dass das eine Verb auf das Gebiet des anderen übergreift vor, dass das eine Verb dort gebraucht wird wo man das andere hätte erwarten dürfen. Auch wirkt manchmal die latein. Vorlage sowie die Aktionsart des deutschen Verbs selber bestimmend auf die Wahl des Hilfszeitwortes. Vergl. 112, 1 *ist gischnfit* & 145, 13 *ist gitretan*; 145, 19 *sint giruorit*. Hier steht *uuesan* entweder weil diese Verba alle durative sind, oder weil sie rein beschreibend und konstatierend sind. In. 84, 4 *uuirdit gisentit* hat wohl das latein. Emittitur bestimmend auf die Wahl des Hilfszeitwortes gewirkt; obwohl sich das *uuirdit* auch aus dem Althochdeut. selber erklären liesse. In Fällen, wie 147, 4 *uuirdit forlazzan-ist forlazzan* & hat man wohl anzunehmen dass der Unterschied zwischen *uuerdan* und *uuesan* ziemlich verblasst war. Vergl 13, 15 und 14, 7 *uuirdit furhouuan* und *ist abafurhouuan*.

#### Konjunktiv.

I. In *Absichts- und Folgesätzen* bezeichnet *uuerdan* je vom Standpunkt der Gegenwart oder der Vergangenheit aus, dass die Absicht oder die Folge erst später erreicht werden oder eintreten soll. Präs.: 125, 11; 119, 12; &. Prät.: 143, 1; 15, 1; 195, 4; 13, 17; 14, 1; &.

*Uuesan* bezeichnet zuweilen im Präsens, dass die Absicht schon erreicht wird, oder, dass die Folge schon da ist. 33, 1; 33, 2; 34, 1; 141, 3. Sonst wird es rein konstatierend gebraucht. Präs. 39, 1; 39, 2; 74, 6; &. Prät. 192, 3; 5, 9; 69, 9; 185, 9; 211, 4; 199, 13; 202, 1.

Wie im Indikativ, so kann auch im Konjunktiv zu jeder Zeit *uuesan* statt *uuerdan* gebraucht werden. Der Unterschied zwischen den beiden Umschreibungen ist nämlich kein wesentlicher sondern nur ein subjektiver. Z.B. bedeuten 9, 4 *Thaz vurdi gifullit thaz giquetan uuas fon truhtina thuruh then*

uuizzagon sus quedantan; -und- 69, 9 Thaz *uuari gifullit* thaz thar giquetan ist thuruh Essiam then uuizagon sus quedantan, objektiv ganz dasselbe. Der einzige Unterschied in solchen Fällen ist, dass die Umschreibung mit *uuerdan* das subjektive Element des Nacheinanderfolgens betont, während die mit *uuesan* rein konstatierend ist.

Manchmal scheint es aber auch als ob *uuerdan* die eigene Absicht des Redenden ausdrückt, während *uuesan* nur den Zweck oder die Absicht eines andern oder aber die Folge ausdrückt. In 199, 13 Tho forliez her in Barabban; then heilant tho bifilltan saltan in, thaz her *uuari erhangen*; Es war nicht des Pilatus Absicht, dass der Heiland gekreuzigt würde. In 143, 1 Thoh uuiduru fon then heroston manage giloubtun in inan oh thuruh thie Phariseos ni iahun es, thaz her fon theru samanungu *uzforuuoerpsan ni vuurdi*. Hier wird die eigene persönliche Absicht ausgedrückt.

II. In *Vergleichungssätzen* kommt nur *uuesan* vor und zwar konstatierend. 28, 2; 24, 3; 94, 4.

III. *Bedingungssätze*. In Sätzen, die eine Bedingung ausdrücken, die möglichenfalls eintreten könnte steht *uuerdan*, Präs., 21, 5; 82, 11; 119, 2; 119, 3; 110, 3; 165, 7. Prät. 240, 1.

IV. In *Wunschsätzen* (gemilderten Befehlssätzen) wird *uuerdan* verwendet, um einen Wunsch auszudrücken, der jetzt eben oder auch später anfangen soll erfüllt zu werden. 13, 3; 13, 3; 121, 1. *Uuesan* drückt einen Wunsch aus der sofort in Erfüllung gehen soll. *Uuesan* steht dem Imperativ nahe. 141, 8; 162, 1; 34, 6; 165, 6.

V. In *Relativsätzen* bezeichnet *uuerdan* einen Fall, der erst eintreten soll 44, 17. *Uuesan* bezieht sich auf die unmittelbare Gegenwart, 4, 11; oder es wird rein konstatierend gebraucht 144, 2.

VI. In *Substantivsätzen* drückt *uuerdan* eine Handlung aus, die erst später stattfinden soll. 211, 1 (Kann auch als Absichtssatz aufgefasst werden). *Uuesan* drückt eine Handlung aus, die in der Gegenwart stattfindet 34, 3; 115, 2; oder es wird rein konstatierend gebraucht 146, 5.

VII. In *Temporalsätzen* drückt *uuerdan* eine Handlung aus, die erst anfangen soll 7, 1. *Uuesan* wird rein konstatierend gebraucht. 244, 1.

VIII. Indirekte Rede. Der Gebrauch von *uuerdan* und *uuesan* in der Indirekten Rede entspricht dem Gebrauch von *uuerdan* und *uuesan* in der Direkten Rede. *Uuerdan* 108, 7 eine Bedingung die erst eintritt; 5, 11 eine Absicht die erst erreicht werden soll. *Uuesan* 128, 4 Wunsch (gemilderter Befehl), der sofort ausgeführt werden soll oder aber konstatierend. 126, 1 die vor sich gehende Handlung. 8, 2 die in der Vergangenheit vor sich gehende Handlung.

B. Mit Partizip Perfekt.

*Uuesan* wird gebraucht mit dem Partizip Perfekt

a) um das Perfekt und das Plusquamperfekt zu umschreiben. Diese Tempora werden wie das Perfekt und das Plusquamperfekt im Neuhochdeutschen gebraucht, wo diese die vollendete Handlung ausdrücken, z.B.

2, 9 ih bim Gabriel, thie arstantu fora gote inti *bim gisentit*  
zi thir thisu thir sagan.  
um den erreichten Zustand auszudrücken, z.B.

18, 5 *uanta gifullit ist* zit, tuot ruvvua.

C. Mit partizipalem Adjektiv.

Das partizipale Adjektiv wird gebraucht wie heute, z.B.

98, 3 Thar dar *sint* zuuena odo thri *gisamonate* in minemo  
namen, thar bin ih in mitten iro.

Es wäre wohl überflüssig hier zum Schlusse noch einmal die obigen Ergebnisse alle zusammenzustellen. Nur eins dürfte noch besonders hervorgehoben werden; nämlich, dass der Gebrauch von *uuesan* in den althochdeutschen Passivumschreibungen keineswegs einzig und allein dem lateinischen Einflusse zuzuschreiben ist. Aus voraufgehender Untersuchung wird wohl hervorgegangen sein, dass der Gebrauch von *uuesan* so wohl wie der von *uuerdan* zum Teil auch aus dem Althochdeutschen selber erklärt werden muss.

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## HERDER'S CONCEPTION OF MILIEU

### II.

(Continued)<sup>37a</sup>

In the eighth fragment, Herder buttresses that advice, and withal gives it another and broader foundation. What shall we turn? How shall we gain by these renderings? He considers the advisability of gaining from Greek literature by means of copying their hexameter, disposition of the period, and inversions; and he views these means from the *spirit of their age*, and practically dismisses them on the grounds of difference of times and customs; Herder refuses, for environmental reasons, to admit the possibility of gaining from the Greek by imitating their meter, declamation, flexibility of their periodic sentence-structure, and their inversions. There these were justified in their milieu and customs which originated and maintained them; our milieu and customs are different.

All old tongues, he urges, just as the old nations and their works in general, have more characteristic features than the more recent ones. From the old tongues, therefore, our language must be able to learn more than from those with which it is more closely related.

From the youthful period of poetry, we have in Greece really only the single Homer; Aeschylus, and Sophocles, and Euripides conclude the poetic period. Of what shall we rob that time for our language through the instrumentality of translations?

Of anything but the meters! At that time when the *δοῖδοι* and *ῥαψῳδοί* (singers and rhapsodists) were still singing their verses in recital, when even in ordinary life the words were pronounced in such high tone that one caused to be distinctly heard not merely short and long syllables, but also high and low accents, so that *every* ear could be the judge of prosody, at that time the rhythm of the language was so clear and sonorous that the cadence in which one pronounced or according to the expression of the ancients, sang the verses, could sustain

<sup>37a</sup> See *J E G Ph* Vol. XXIII, No. 2 (April, 1924), pp. 217 ff.

the course of a hexameter. And the latter was accordingly the choicest meter, that embraced the most harmony, and that was the most in accordance with their ear and their throat, because their melody in song and declamation in ordinary life ascended and descended a higher scale than ours. But *we* speak with fewer accents more monotone, hence, we are not accustomed to the measure of a hexameter. Give a person of sound common sense without scholastic wisdom iambic, dactylic, and trochaic verses to read; he will at once scan them, if they are good; give him a mixed hexameter—he will not get on with it. Listen to the cadences in the songs of children and fools, they are never polymetrical; or go among the peasants, pay heed to the oldest church-songs, their cadences are shorter and their rhythm uniform, unvaried. The Greek rhapsodists, on the contrary, sang their long poems in perpetual hexameters, indubitably because the hexameter was for their ear not too long even for street-ballads, and was not too polymetrical for their language, and because their prosody and melody fittingly fixed every syllable and pitch. But now! if you desire to read Greek hexameters, learn first prosody; if you wish to make German hexameters, make them as well as you can, and then have, nevertheless, the meter printed above them, or ask as Kleist did that that meter be read as prose. Behold! so little are the hexameter and the polymetrical kinds of verse natural to our tongue; among the Greeks the singing declamation, the ear habituated to song, the polymetrical language required it; among us, language, and ear, and declamation forbid it.

What then shall we imitate from that time? The disposition of the period? Nor even that. Homer sang and his songs were collected much later. The tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles were throughout sung on the stage. Language, therefore, at that time reposed mightily on a declamation that has died out for us entirely, and that at that time had given it life and spirit.—With that declamation, therefore, we also lose the employment of many particles, conjunctions, and expletives, that are part of the declamation of that time.

Consequently, we can not imitate any of these things. Still, that rhythm is requisite, in order to read poetically the ancients of that age. "When I read Homer," Herder says, "I stand in spirit in Greece upon a market-place where the people are

assembled, and imagine how the singer Ion in Plato<sup>38</sup> sings to me and before me the rhapsodies of his divine poet, how he full of divine inspiration astounds his audience. In this rapture, the whole harmony of the hexameter, and the entire splendor of his periodic sentence fills my ear and soul; every connective, and every adjective becomes alive and contributes to the pomp of the whole. And when I find myself back again in my fatherland, I bewail those who would read Homer in a translation, albeit the most correct one."

Homer, Aeschylus, and Sophocles imprinted on a language that had as yet no developed prose, its beauties; let their German translator implant these beauties in a tongue that even in the meter, indeed, in the hexameter itself, remains prose, in such fashion that they lose as little as possible. Such translator must himself be a creative genius if he would satisfy both his original and his tongue. A German Homer, Aeschylus, and Sophocles, as classical in German as they were in their tongue will erect a worthy monument for posterity

Incontestably, such a translator is much greater than another who rendered a work from a nearer time, from a kindred tongue, from a people that has the same sort of genius and mode of thinking as we have—should he be Ebert himself.—His Young, it is granted, could have written his "Night-thoughts" in German, in our times, according to our customs and religion; but Homer, Aeschylus, and Sophocles their works in our language? in our times? with our customs?—Never! Just as little as we Germans shall ever have a Homer who will in all particulars be for us what Homer was for the Greeks.<sup>39</sup>

*Select to render those Greek authors who are related to the genius of our time.* Although despairing of renderings from the oldest Greek poets, Herder advises in the ninth fragment that much more strongly to attempt to make use of the Greek prose of a Plato and Xenophon, of a Thucydides and Polybius and the later Greek poets. It was at that time that the *καλοὶ κάγαθοί*

<sup>38</sup> Plato's dialogue *Ion* is not now deemed genuine.

<sup>39</sup> In the *Addendum* after the third collection (I, 529-530), Herder elucidates concerning the hexameter discussed in the eighth fragment of the first: "Wer da sagt, dasz ich den deutschen Hexameter abspreche, versteht mich nicht; aber den griechischen, und insonderheit zu Homers Zeiten, den spreche ich ihnen rund ab, bei uns ist er Nachahmung, bei jenen singende Natur."

of the sciences lived who are more closely akin to the genius of our time.

*History and social milieu: Tacitus a model for our time. Livy's history written according to the ZEITGEIST.* À propos of a rendering by Heinze of Cicero's *drey Gespräche von dem Redner*, (1762), which was reviewed in the *Literary Letters* in about half a dozen letters, where Heinze was rebuked for not having sufficiently differentiated the periodic style in German from that of the Latin, Herder speaks in the tenth fragment of the translators from the Latin. Were he to counsel translations from the Latin, it would be, first, for the sake of its poetic diction, second, for the sake of its historical style. A German Horace would certainly enrich our tongue. The historical translations again would be indispensable for our style. And Tacitus is more a model for our times than Livy. In his spirit of narration? assuredly: for the careful narrations of diverse miraculous signs were at Livy's times part of history, which history was intended to support their religion; the many orations intermittently reported by Livy also savor of the spirit of that time when eloquence was a needful quality of the citizen; the enthusiastic deeds of Roman bravery of both sexes animated the republican Roman also to a patriotism which in our age took another turn. Tacitus, on the contrary, with his reflections that penetrate into the spirit of the events, is an historian for Germans. And likewise in his style more than Livy. In general, an emphatic manner of writing is really best becoming to the Germans.

*Criticism and social milieu: French criticism of the German language rooted in difference of milieu.* In the eleventh fragment Herder seems to echo a judgment of the *Literary Letters* concerning contemporary French criticism of things German, particularly German literature and language.

The *Literary Letters* noted with just satisfaction that there was a favorable change of front in France on this matter, that France started to judge of Germany more justly than before, and that the best German works were now read in France with pleasure.

The old—first—*Journal Etranger*, founded in Paris in April, 1754, was intended to make Frenchmen acquainted with foreign literatures, but its editors apparently, as a German

writer had charged, interpreted *étranger* in the sense the Greek did the word "barbarian"; they were for the most part very ignorant of foreign literatures, and notwithstanding that, they held in utter contempt anything that was not written in strict accordance with French patterns. They had no success, and were obliged to cease publication at the end of 1758.

It was resurrected at the beginning of 1760, when the new *Journal Etranger* was started with greater skill and modesty, better success, by much better informed editors, with a better international good-will, and greater sympathy for what came from abroad. They are, we read in the two hundred fifty-fifth letter, very accurately informed especially of what has to do with Germany, and they have taken so great a fancy to German writings that it seems well nigh to surpass all expectations, they know all our best authors and honor them so much that they place them almost at the side of the ancients. Along with that, our language and literature also commence to have in France several admirers; the court has ordered for political reasons that the officers of the army learn the German language. For this purpose, four professors of the German language have been appointed at the *Ecole Militaire*. Conjointly with that, our best writings have become highly reputed in Paris through the *Journal étranger*, and what had especially been rendered of it into French met with such exceeding approval that for example Geszner's *Mort d'Abel* was printed several times in a few weeks. This created a great desire in Frenchmen to learn our language so as to enable them to read our best books in the original; and there are in Paris at present several persons who have choice German libraries.

And as to *étranger*, the new editor protested that he attaches to it by no means the insulting idea of a barbarian (*cette idée insultante*), that he views all scholars as members of a single republic all of whose members are equals among one another and where no one must arrogate to himself any tyranny.

In the June number, Chevalier de Castelus, a native Frenchman, published an essay entitled "Reflections on the mechanism of Italian, English, and German versification." This, remarks Nicolai in the *Literary Letters*, is infallibly the first time that at least a foreigner placed German poetry even so much as in any comparison at all with the poetry of our neighbors; this essay

demonstrates that the foreigners now really take pains to acquaint themselves with our language and literature more intimately than it has ever happened before.

While adequately acknowledging the justice being done by the *Journal étranger* to German literature, still the *Literary Letters* found as a matter of course a number of things to criticize and to rectify.

As above remarked, Herder's echo appears in the eleventh fragment, where he says, just as the Frenchmen once upon a time judged about the literature of our nation, so did they judge also about our tongue; the ignorant judgments of Mauvillon and of so many others must not be repeated; the French are doing us more justice now, since the *Journal étranger* has been doing more justice to our style, Premontval and others even to our language. In spite of that, however, the really too great disparity of the two nations, of their mode of thinking and manner of writing, of their customs and language, still causes among the French erroneous ideas concerning the German language and literary style, which we have to attribute to their lesser knowledge.

The mistaken notions, then, that the French still entertain in some respects about the German language and style, while being ascribed to their not being well enough informed, actually spring from the fact that there is really too great a difference between the two nations in respect of their mode of thinking, style, customs, and speech.<sup>40</sup>

#### THE SECOND COLLECTION OF *Fragmente*

Herder divides the second collection into four parts, namely, the Preliminary Discourse, the Introduction, Comparison of our Oriental Poetry with its Originals, and of Greek Literature in Germany. As a matter of fact, the last two constitute the bulk

<sup>40</sup> It is curious that I find in the two hundred fifty-sixth letter, which still deals with the *Journal étranger*, nearly identical terms about differences between the French and the German with regard to education, mode of thinking, customs, and language. Herder must have remembered the following passage from the *Literary Letters*, "Even if German readers should not wholly subscribe to all their judgments—i.e., to those of the authors of the *Journal étranger* for 1761—, one certainly knows how much one must reckon upon the difference of education, of mode of thinking, of customs and of language."

of this collection, which, therefore, may properly be said to consist of these two sections.

*The critic and social milieu.* In the Preliminary Discourse, Herder exhorts the literary critic that he must not write as if he were writing for himself, that he is writing for readers, that he must never lose sight of them, and that in judging a work of literature, he must keep in mind, and be guided by, the disparity of capability, pleasure, and intention of his readers.

#### CONCERNING GERMAN-ORIENTAL POETS.<sup>41</sup>

If in the first collection we saw that the seventh fragment was entirely given over to the discussion of one phase of the milieu, here we come upon a whole section where avowedly and out and out the argument is based on the milieu not only, but also where all the seven fragments are interlinked and strung on the same chain of environmental reasoning.

Herder wants to compare the German imitations of Oriental poetry with their originals, and weigh their worth against one another, and find out how the niveau of the imitations can be elevated. He raises the question, can we successfully imitate Oriental poetry in Germany. In his qualified reply, given in the seven fragments, he indicates differences in the two environments; these exist in the factors of both the physical and the social milieu, to wit, 1) in the physical environment; 2) in national history; 3) in national preoccupations and mythology; 4) in the spirit of religion with its threefold change; 5) in the whole poetic sphere of the two nations, in which there is a general change; 6) in the poetic temper or disposition, and also in language and sentence structure. At the end of the sixth fragment he characterizes the imitations; finally, in the seventh fragment he advises, before imitation and as a requisite first step thereto, a thorough understanding as well as a real elucidation of Oriental poems, which explanation should proceed from all the factors of the milieu.

Let us turn now to the individual fragments themselves in succession.

*Differences in the physical milieu.* A part of our best poems, declares Herder in the first fragment, is half Oriental: their

<sup>41</sup> This section consists of seven fragments, concluded by a dialogue on Klopstock's *Messias*.

pattern is the beautiful nature of the Orient; they borrow customs and taste from the Orientals—and thus they become originals. “Can we imitate the Orientals? Can we be their equals in poetry? Thus I ask and merely guide the reader to roads that he can himself continue on, or pass by as he pleases.”

The beautiful nature of the Orient is not quite ours. When David sings an elegy near the shores of the Jordan, of its roaring depth, then such a characteristic whole becomes of it, as Michaelis shows in the forty-second psalm. When the biblical poets speak of the avalanches of Lebanon, of Hermon's dew, of Bashan's oaks, of the splendid Lebanon and the pleasant Carmel, they give pictures that nature herself laid before them; when our poets purloin these images from them, then our poets do not delineate our nature, but copy from their originals a few words that we scarcely understand but half way. Whence does the excellent book of Job take all its treasures of beauty? From native, from Egyptian metaphors, fictions and objects! Now, how can one of our poets who knows Egypt often not even from books of travel, sing of Leviathan and Behemoth?<sup>42</sup> How many a praise of God in German poems could be cited where the greatest images are so ill put together that a superb, new, uncommon—absurdity comes forth.

And even if we at last understand these images, explain them, and from the most vivid historical and geographical descriptions learn to feel their beauties completely, these historical descriptions, interpretations, and explanations never have such an impression upon us as the physical presence of those places, never have the life of perception as when we should see them themselves, as when our soul would perceive through the eye burning arrows.

Never is sound imagination as vivid as experience, and the ideal presence is never equal to the material one.

The *Jewish Pastoral Poems*<sup>43</sup> and the *Delineations of Famous Regions of Antiquity*,<sup>44</sup> are far from having the power to transpose us into those regions. The *Poetical Portrayals from Sacred*

<sup>42</sup> The reference is to *Job*, chapter 40, v. 10ff.

<sup>43</sup> Written by Georg August von Breitenbach (1731-1817), Leipzig, 1765.

<sup>44</sup> Altenburg, 1763.

*History*<sup>45</sup> lose under our aspect much of that enormous approval that some critics<sup>46</sup> have given them.

Moreover, if we sing of occidental subjects, and with tones purloined from the Orient, a ridiculous mixture results. To be sure, we may borrow figures to apply them for ourselves, but not speak throughout in this foreign metaphorical language, not clumsily mingle it with ours.

If we were only so far that no one would write what he did not understand; if we endeavored more sedulously to view the Orient, to understand the sacred poems and to be able actually to explain them, then, if we only wholly comprehend their art we should develop ourselves to portrayers of our own nature.

*Differences in national history.* Likewise, the history of the fatherland of the Orientals, Herder continues in the second fragment, is not ours. Our public will need a perpetual commentary for the Oriental poems and will have to look at beauties in Oriental poems that are meant for the eye, with the telescope. And the German poet himself will have enough difficulty even to be able to *notice* everywhere in the Oriental poems the constant fine allusions to particular events in the life of the nation, to historical occurrences.

Oh if we were only able first wholly to *explain* their poems from their national history! Translate and imitate then! What is for example the sixty-eighth psalm when Lowth's commentator explains it, and what is it in Cramer?

The Orientals were possessed of a particular patriotism, of national and triumphal songs, and of a particular history. Can we imitate their singing? Let us be impartial; who can sing among us the best Cramerian psalm of thanksgiving with the same rapture, when it concerns national boons, as Israel in his sanctuary? Who sings Zachariä's Cantata with the same sympathy, as Miriam and Moses sang theirs at the Red Sea?

*Differences in national preoccupations and mythology.* *Religion of skalds in Scandinavia, of Arabs, Persians, and American Indians, depicts their physical environment; in their mythology and religion local colors of the land are delineated.* With this national spirit—manifested in "Vaterlandsgeschichte"—are

<sup>45</sup> Written by Jakob Friedrich Schmidt (1730-1796).

<sup>46</sup> As for example the reviewer, a certain Münter, in the "Jenaische philosophische Bibliothek," who praised it excessively, whereupon Mendelssohn in the ninety-sixth Literary Letter corrected him.

very closely connected the national prepossessions, Herder goes on in the third fragment; opinions of the people concerning certain things that are inexplicable to them; fables that they learned in childhood simultaneously with the stammering of the language from their educators, hence such as are transmitted from the oldest times from their ancestors. Such fables may be preserved for a very long time with a sensuous<sup>47</sup> people that occupies itself instead of with wisdom and sciences, with pastoral life, agriculture, and the arts. These fables offer to the poet material to fictions that can touch the heart of the sensuous people in a sensuous way. The poet awakens that which slumbers in them, he affects their soul upon the weakest side and reminds them of the concepts of their education, with which their imaginative power was formed together, as it were; reminds them of the traditions of their forefathers which have thus also become their favorite prepossessions, because these traditions conform to the disposition of their mind, of their climate, and of their language. From that there arises afterwards for the poets a sacred mythology which is national and was ever to them an enchanted fountain from which to draw fictions and to raise imagery in which they, who were in the first periods of the people also prophets and judges, clothed their world-wisdom, encomia, and apothegms of virtue, so fraught with meaning.

All Orientals have a superabundance of these inherited tales, as all books of travel show; their poets availed themselves of it

<sup>47</sup> As Herder uses the term "sinnlich" so frequently, a short note on it may not be amiss. In the first place, he makes use of it in the meaning of "what is opposed to the abstract"; in I, 230, for instance, he says of language that its wealth can be in names of things or in signs of concepts, the first makes a language "sinnlich oder bilderreich," the second makes it "abstrakt oder gedankenreich"; the meaning of "sinnlich" would here then seem to be "concrete"; see also I, 238. Secondly, he uses it in the sense of "material, physical, actual, real, bodily, tangible and visible," as in I, 259, he speaks of "die sinnliche Gegenwart dieser Oerter" and also contrasts "die ideale Gegenwart" with "die sinnliche Gegenwart." Thirdly, he employs it in an extended meaning, as in "sinnliches Volk," where it means, a people that deals with the actual, factual, concrete realities of life, one that lives a life of nature, in contrast to a people that is concerned with the artificialities of life, with the unreal life of the cabinet and closet, of academic fancies, one that leads the unreal life of the city walled-in in more than one sense—the latter being the life of the eighteenth century.

accordingly as carefully as Homer and Virgil are grounded, as is well known, on old tales and traditions. The Jews had likewise no dearth of them, and why should not their poets make use of this innocent art, in order to conquer over them? A great belief concerning dreams, sorceries, apparitions, and demoniacal possessions is as advantageous to the poet, as it is a thorn in the eye of the philosopher; exorcisms, sorceries through snakes, this opinion they had in common with the Oriental peoples, as the more frequent passages of their poets show. From Egypt they had fetched over a whole stock of these national opinions.

For us these fables—national preoccupations—are half lost, or unusual, or lifeless; as our more scientific mode of life obliterated or cleared them. The terrible thunderstorms that arose upon the sea and passed over their land toward Arabia were in their eyes thunderhorses<sup>48</sup> drawing Jehovah's chariot through the clouds; to these thunderhorses David had therefore consecrated so much great imagery and especially the excellent twenty-ninth psalm. The cherubim with us are no longer actually *living* idols of fancy; *our* philosophic poets will rather sing of the electrical spark. Where is with us the angel of death with his flaming sword and his retinue? according to the idols of our rabble, death is a skeleton. Where are the angels of the Lord upon wings of the wind and upon the flames of fire? with us they are servants of nature. What is the firmament of heaven where God's throne rests? air! And what is the rainbow arching at His feet? with the old skalds it is the bridge upon which the giants wanted to storm the Heavens, which even now, a burning road, appears as an alarm and an object of awe; but for our poets, a play of colors, an iridescence. A very large number of such national preoccupations could be cited; and the most of them have either been already lost in our more enlightened era, or polished, or they are according to the dissimilarity of our climate and of our mode of thinking totally different. The religion of the skalds, brought by Odin from the Orient, how much it changed upon the raw Scandinavian soil. Their

<sup>48</sup> Herder interprets here cherubim as thunderhorses. Of course, with increased knowledge he later gave up this explanation. Fifteen years afterwards, he attempted in his best work a much more thorough interpretation of cherubim.

heaven and their hell, their world-origin through frost and their giants, their great wolf and its tamer, their sorceries and heroic deeds are painted with such local colors from the North as in various other regions there are delineated here dragons, there elephants, paradise and hell of the Arabs, the bridge Poul-Serra of the Persians, and the tortoise stories of the Americans. It would be a pleasant and useful endeavor to collect, to compare, and to explain these national prepossessions of many peoples.

For the poet these are national advantages that can not always be purloined from him without becoming preposterous. For instance, Milton's bridge over Chaos<sup>49</sup> would sound better in the mouth of an Arab, of Sadi,<sup>50</sup> Klopstock's apertures at the northpole, his ethereal roads, his suns in the center of the earth<sup>51</sup> probably dislocate altogether too much the twirling universe of the readers; these fictions seem counter even to a sensuous mode of thinking; add to these the fictions of the Swiss—for example, concerning their angels and devils, and snakes, and monsters—in their Oriental poems.

Let one bear in mind that the taste of the peoples, and among *one* people the taste of the times has its progress very accurately with mode of thinking and customs; that therefore, in order to accommodate oneself to the taste of *his* people, one must needs study their delusion and the legends of the forefathers; and in order also to bring a sacrifice to the idol of the age, one has to suit these and foreign opinions to the prevailing height of sensuous understanding.

Let him who does not wish to look about for old songs conform to his time in which the light of philosophy banished the holy shades of poesy, and let him sing for our pure understanding.

*Differences in religion, a threefold change.* The spirit of religion, Herder maintains in the fourth fragment, has changed. In the times when poetry flourished, there prevailed yet a certain "wild<sup>52</sup> simplicity," according to which God established also religion, which was the tamer, the restrainer of those ages.

<sup>49</sup> *Paradise Lost*, X, 281 ff.

<sup>50</sup> 1184-1291.

<sup>51</sup> *Messias*, I, 586 ff., 201 ff., 622 ff.

<sup>52</sup> "Wild" means here plain, free of, untouched by the accretions of an artificial civilization, as e.g., by that of the eighteenth century.

Religion changed since in three particulars: 1) in that early period, in the ancient age of primeval simplicity, religion included more than it does now; it was more comprehensive. The theocracy of a tutelary God Who awakened and inspired prophets and poets and judges in one person, ruled religion in the marketplaces as well as in the sanctuary. For that reason, all their poesies were sacred, whether they contained prophetic songs, or burdens of malediction, or lays of solace, or laws and apothegms. Whereas our religion is separated from political government and courts of justice. It is anything but theocratic, and the spirit of prophecy is silent. 2) In that early period its end was to restrain a nation of soiltillers and shepherds, today it is eternal happiness. 3) Then religion was a daughter of imagination, sensuous, i.e. concrete, hence the concrete rites which engaged their eye and filled their poems with allusions. Consequently, the entire language has changed, and well nigh also the whole range of ideas; their angel of death was not our devil. Whereas our religion is a sister of reason.

And now, are all poems that with them were matters of religion the same for us? Scarcely. Can they then be imitated? Klopstock's imitations are not successful, his songs<sup>53</sup> do not, on the whole, attain that end of being "Stücke der Religion."

It is agreeable not to have to express judgment on many a modern biblical poem; in these the German poet, the imitator, made of many biblical characters a downright absurdity that is contradictory to the character of its people, of its time, and of its religion. Precisely like those who tear down a whole street in order to build thereon a single palace; who care not how many they kill; satisfied, if without any regard to mothers, wives, and children, to nation, time, and taste, they can portray a man:

Compos'd of many ingredient Valours  
Just like the Manhood of nine Taylors,

as Hudibras sings.<sup>54</sup>

*Change in the poetic sphere.* In general, the whole poetic sphere of the two nations has changed, Herder affirms in the fifth fragment. The civil freedom in which we live allows arts

<sup>53</sup> *Geistliche Lieder*, 1758.

<sup>54</sup> Butler's *Hudibras*, I, 2, v. 21 f.

and sciences to flourish; the somewhat coarser freedom that battles with turbulences in the state and with suppressions, as in the case of the Romans and Greeks, permits eloquence to do its wonders; however, primeval simplicity is the sphere of the poet. In that simplicity the Hebrews had lived for a very long time, steadily faithful to agriculture and cattle-breeding, to concrete ideas and to their native land; they never had therefore a completely developed oratorical period, i.e., a periodic sentence-structure used by Roman orators like Cicero; their poetry has a rhythm which the choirs and dances of jubilation have born, which was of too strong declamation to hold to one meter, which was enlived by music and dance. Now what a difference it is, in an altogether prosaic and philosophic language whose accents are very far from being so sonorous, where one writes in order to be read, where when music combines with poetry, the former becomes the prevailing one, to imitate in this language an Oriental poesy by means of poetical prose that does violence to our language. It is then perhaps unnatural to wish to imitate those songs as they are, songs that were suited there to dancing choirs.

*Language and sentence-structure are different; the poetic temper or disposition is no longer the same; the Hebrew is a non-periodic, melodious, the German a periodic language.* In poetry much is determined by the language, and in the sixth fragment Herder believes in part to be able to explain from this non-periodic melodiousness of the Hebrew poems the brief parabolic tone that clothes wisdom in an image without wanting to deck out this image and to arrange it in a periodic manner. No! bold comparisons, and few similes that are carried out; however, so much more frequent repetition of the same image, of the same simile. In no high Hebrew ode does one find the measured swing that characterizes a Greek, and still more a Roman ode; in none the Pindaric images that are painted in detail, images that appear here always piecemeal, break off and come again; in no elegy the dusky voice that affects us gradually by its dying cadence and sustained whimpering; no, everywhere rather the repeated stroke that touches suddenly one string of the heart after another, and hastens, in order to touch another. There were those who wished to derive this inner character of Hebrew poetry from the ardor of their imaginative power; but a Huron

in a non-periodic language, the youthful Herder erroneously believes, must sing as they do.

We, however, in a periodic language, he goes on. We must, therefore, arrange those disjointed images that are repeated, so as to form a whole and draw them in a developed poetical period more in the perspective of a simile; moreover, the poetic tone peculiar to us otherwise paints concepts rather than images, and our similes, even the poetic ones, appear, when compared with the Hebrew similes, more in the light of a proof. A model of imitation in this respect is the Klopstockian psalm to the king of Denmark. Really the Hebrew discription of language, and yet the Greek combination of images; here and there little waterfalls, but still it always remains a gentle stream that rolls over clear stones. One picture, one word develops out of the other and makes it more perfect;—perhaps Klopstock's most valuable lyrical piece! He likewise knows in his church-songs often to tone down the Oriental parenthyrsus<sup>55</sup> to church cadences, and in the *Messias*<sup>56</sup> his alternate chant between Miriam and Deborah is beautiful; Oriental in language and images, and German in the arrangement of the same.

Let us recall from a previous fragment that the richness of a language changes with the household of men, as it were, that our prosperity deprived us of much freedom which the Orientals enjoyed, that our city life necessarily prevents our poetry from being botanical, as Michaelis calls Oriental poetry, that our political dictionaries deprived our sensuous language of dignity, and so forth, let us recall that and compare the character of our customs and age with those of the Orient, then we will find that the poetic temper is no longer the same. There it was swift and intense; but not precisely soft and lasting. The chord of their perception of what is poetically beautiful—Herder does not desire like Montesquieu<sup>57</sup> to follow it up to the texture of their nerve fiber and to the temperament of their climate—is keenly struck, in accordance with their customs and time, and soon abandoned. Our poetic temper is slow and deliberative, rather than impetuous. Even the soft Greek feeling does not mature

<sup>55</sup> Too fiery passion.

<sup>56</sup> X, v. 437 f., v. 480 ff.

<sup>57</sup> Herder has here in mind Montesquieu's work *De l'esprit des lois* and the reference can only be to the second chapter of Book fourteen.

under our sky; how is it possible then that our sky should ripen the excessively early fruits of the Orientals? Our chord of poetic sensation yields; we remain colder than the Greeks with soft or the Orientals with passionate feelings; we remain even in poetic soaring like the ostriches more faithful to the ground of what is true, and come to be moved often through the road of deliberation.

Let us therefore imitate as it pleases us; then an impartial stranger who knows the Orient, who has taste enough to compare our imitations with those originals, will perhaps characterize them as follows: "The Oriental works of genius excel through the high expression of an imagination that loves fictions, that veils apothegms of virtue in tropes, images and shades, that soars upwards on the wings of aurora not only to the limits of nature, but often ventures beyond these limits and wanders about in the realm of the unnatural, but miraculous Chaos. The colder sensible Germans have desired to soar after this burning fantasy, with wings which nature did not give them, as Horace<sup>58</sup> sings of Daedalus; they draw unfamiliar, often not understood, and at least too remote images; their borrowed fictions are creatures without earth; their copied feelings are no feelings; the expression matches its original often only where it approaches the excessive."

*Suggested that Oriental poems should be explained from several factors of the environment.* Consequently, we must by no means imitate in a wretched fashion, Herder says in the seventh fragment, and a Hudemann<sup>59</sup> is in his *Lucifer*<sup>60</sup> and in his *Tod Abels*<sup>61</sup> undeserving of notice and of causing chagrin—but how can we rid ourselves of such Hudemanns? If we encourage ourselves to study, to learn to explain, and to make known the Oriental poems as poems. It is impossible for us to translate them and to imitate them before we understand them, and Oriental philology which has blossomed in our Germany for some time, will, if it is combined with taste, disperse wretched and stupid imitators.

<sup>58</sup> *Odes*, I, 3, v. 34 f.

<sup>59</sup> A writer of poor dramas and epics, whom Lessing censured in the one hundred and eleventh Literary Letter. Hudemann died three years later.

<sup>60</sup> An epic published in 1765.

<sup>61</sup> A tragedy published in 1761 under the title *Der Brudermord des Kain*.

The best expounder must be the best translator; if the reverse of this sentence were also true, and if the two were combined in the same person, then we might soon hope for a book which would be: "A poetic translation of Oriental poems; where the latter are explained from the country, the history, the opinions, the religion, the condition, the customs, and the language of their nation, and are transplanted into the genius of our time, mode of thinking, and language."—In the preface of that book the author could justly say: "This translation had to be necessarily the most difficult and the most toilsome work, to which in the elucidation, the remarks of very few philologists of taste, and in the translation the Cramerian psalms could be nothing but small contributions, often to help us to show viewpoints and to make cautious. However, we also look upon it as an original work that may have more influence upon our literature than ten original works. This translation distinguishes the boundaries of foreign nations from those of ours, no matter how entangled these boundaries may run; this translation makes us better acquainted with the beauties and the genius of a nation upon whom we looked very much awry and yet one we should know face to face; this translation is a model of an imitation, one that remains an original. Even though this translation should not have the good fortune to awaken new and truly new geniuses, it will at least draw a wall of thorns before the wooers and rivals of foreign idols, so that they will not find their path. It will seize them, pull them back, and say to them: behold here your nature and history, your idols and world, your mode of thinking and language, form yourself according to these, in order to become the imitator of your own self. And if you desire to utilize the treasures of one of the most excellent nations, look hither, I seek to make you acquainted with the art of their knowledge of turning history and religion into poems; do not rob them of that which they invented, but of the art of how to invent, to devise!"

Where is there a translator who is at the same time a philosopher, poet, and philologist; he shall be the morning-star of a new epoch in our literature!

*Lack of social milieu of Bible in Klopstock's Messias.* Herder concludes the section on German-Oriental Poets with a critical examination, in the form of a dialogue, of Klopstock's *Messias*.

Herder sees a lack of use, or expresses a wish for a fuller, more abundant utilization, of environmental factors in the treatment by Klopstock of his *Messias*. That is what Herder in that colloquy reproves Klopstock for. Herder misses in the composition of Klopstock's epic the environmental factors, or their full utilization, discussed below. In the dialogue, through the interlocutors, Herder presents the following constructive critical suggestions on the *Messias*.

Klopstock failed to apply throughout his *Messias* the spirit that animated the economy of the entire Old Testament. Complete attention should have been paid to its social environment: "Klopstock, der wider dies jüdische Costume<sup>62</sup>—Staat, Sitten und Gebräuche—nie offenbar handelt, und der es oft in seinen Zügen bemerkt, diesem wünschte ich, dasz er Nationalgeist und jüdische Laune<sup>63</sup> durchgängig in sein Ganzes gebracht hätte. Dazu gehört viel, aber das zeigt von Genie und zaubert uns mitten unter andere Völker." But, Herder goes on, in his epopee there is altogether too much scaffolding and too little edifice: too much talk and too little action. The angels in the *Messias* have little in common with those in the Old Testament. In the latter, an angel is majestic, even if he is only the prince of one element, the regent of one country, and the vicar of God in one important commission. In his angels, Klopstock well nigh wholly changed the system of the Old Testament, and truly to the detriment of a sensuous poem that should conform to the Oriental taste.

Klopstock should have imitated the works of the Prophets as masterpieces of ancient Oriental poems, otherwise his viewpoint is quite unsound.

<sup>62</sup> Now written *Kostüm*. The word *Costume* is here used by Herder in the sense customary in his day, the meaning the word exclusively had to the end of the eighteenth century, namely, "Alles, was in einer bestimmten Zeit und bei einem bestimmten Volke üblich gewesen ist," "Zeit- und Landesbrauch, das nach Zeit und Ort Übliche in Sitten, etc.," the meaning corresponding to the modern conception of *das historisch Treue*. The word was derived from the Italian *costume*=*Sitte, Gewohnheit*. At the end of the eighteenth century, under the influence of the French word *costume*, a gradual change began to take place; then, in the nineteenth century, the present signification "Kleidung, Tracht" became dominant, although the general meaning has not yet been entirely lost. Herder, as said, uses it in the older sense.

<sup>63</sup> See my later note on the use of the word "Laune" by Herder.

Klopstock often busies himself with didactic at the expense of epic features; but that is partly the weakness, and partly the fashion of our time, or both of them together.

And in summing up, Klopstock, in general, should have exerted a much greater endeavor to ascertain national opinions, the poetic meaning of the Old Testament, and the taste of those times.

Further analysis, critique, summary, and conclusions are of necessity reserved for a later chapter.

After first concluding the discussion of environmental problems as further revealed in the *Fragmente*, we shall next turn to Herder's subsequent writings with a view of examining his enlargement of the milieu idea.

*(To be continued)*

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## THE EARLY LITERARY LIFE OF SIR WALTER SCOTT

(Continued)

To return to Scott's labors of the year 1808, hard upon the heels of *Marmion* came his *Dryden*, which was published in April with the following title:

The Works of John Dryden, now first collected; illustrated with notes historical, critical, and explanatory, and a Life of the Author. By Walter Scott, Esq.

Some copies of the *Life of Dryden* were also issued separately, Scott sending a copy to Lady Abercorn on April 3, and saying in the accompanying letter:

Accept with your usual goodness a copy of the Life of Dryden, of which Mr. Miller has thrown off a few separate from the Works. We have often heard of a rivulet of text meandering through a meadow of margin. But these books (saying that the shape is square) rather look like St. James's Square with the pool of water in the midst of it.<sup>225</sup>

Lady Abercorn, too, was good enough friend to criticize Scott about this time for editing the works of others, rather than giving himself entirely to original work. Scott's reply is important as giving his own notion of the relation of his editorial labors to his poetic endeavors. He writes on March 13:

You ask me why I do not rather think of original production than editing the works of others, and I will frankly tell your Ladyship the reason. In the first place, no one acquires a certain degree of popularity without exciting an equal degree of malevolence among those who, either from rivalry or the mere wish to pull down what others have set up, are always ready to catch the first occasion to lower the favour'd individual to what they call the *real standard*. . . . I am therefore bound, in justice to myself and to those whose good opinion has hitherto protected me, not to peril myself too frequently. . . . After writing a work of imagination one feels in nearly the same exhausted state with the spider. I believe no man now alive writes more rapidly than I do (no great recommendation), but I never think of making verses till I have a sufficient stock of poetical ideas to supply them.<sup>226</sup>

<sup>225</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 102-3. The Mr. Miller is of course William Miller of Albermarle Street, London, the publisher of the work.

<sup>226</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 100-1. Scott wrote to Lady Stuart in the same vein on June 16 (*Life* ii, 19).

He returns to the matter in a letter of Oct. 14 to the same Lady:

The summer has slid away without anything remarkable, except that I have been arranging for republication the large collection of Tracts published from Lord Somers' library. This occupation is little more than amusement, yet will be worth £ 400 a year to me for three or four years. I know your Ladyship will scold me for fagging in this way, but it is a sort of relaxation after *Marmion* and *Dryden*, requires little exertion, and is precisely the sort of a thing I would wish to do for my own amusement, while it materially assists my family arrangements.<sup>227</sup>

In this October, too, Jeffrey had criticized Scott for so much editing, when reviewing his *Dryden* for the *Edinburgh*. To this he refers in a letter to Miss Seward, again apologizing for so much of such work:

Jeffrey I hear has reviewed my edition of *Dryden*, and censures me for employing my time in editing the works of others. But what would he have? I have *neither* time *nor* inclination to be perpetually making butterflies, that he may have the pleasure of pulling their legs and wings off, and till writing occasionally shall cease to be a matter of convenience to my family, I will indulge myself in it easily and unambitiously. The critics tell me a poet ought to take care of his reputation, and really I think, like honest Bob Acres, that the best thing reputation can do in return is to take some care of the poet, and mine I am resolved shall do so.<sup>228</sup>

In accordance with the practice which Scott thus explains and justifies, he had undertaken an edition of Swift about the time of completing his *Dryden*. The earliest reference to it seems to be in the first letter to Lady Abercorn quoted in the last paragraph, that is, the one of March 13.<sup>229</sup> Lockhart implies that Constable made the first advances concerning *Swift's Works*, and at any rate Hunter, Constable's partner, alludes to "our new Swift"<sup>230</sup> as early as May 11, when Scott was already collecting materials for the work. On June 9 he wrote to Lady

<sup>227</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 117-8.

<sup>228</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 125. A footnote reminds us that the review of Scott's *Dryden* was by Hallam, but suggests that certain personalities were added by Jeffrey.

<sup>229</sup> See quotation on preceding page.

<sup>230</sup> *A. Constable and his Lit. Corres.* i, 137. Lockhart confirms by the statement (*Life* ii, 10): "As early as May 1808 I find Scott writing to his literary allies in all directions for books, pamphlets, and MSS. materials likely to be serviceable in completing and illustrating the *Life and Works of the Dean of St. Patrick's*."

Abercorn, "I am still turning my eyes toward Swift,"<sup>221</sup> and on June 20 to his brother Thomas:

I am just now seriously engaged in two mighty works, *Lord Somers' Tracts* and *Swift's Works*, which will keep me working for two or three years to come.<sup>222</sup>

Yet it was not until July 25 that Scott made a definite offer of the Swift to Constable and set his own terms. The letter reads:

Being about to compile and edit a complete edition of Swift's Works, in nineteen or twenty volumes 8vo, with a Life of the Author and Notes critical and illustrative of his writings, upon the same plan with my late Dryden, I hereby offer you the said work, in property so far as the same may belong to me by statute or common law, for the sum of £1500 sterling.<sup>223</sup>

The reference to editing the *Somers Tracts* in the letter to his brother Thomas shows that work already in hand. It was undertaken for William Miller of Albermarle St., London, who had published the *Dryden*. The only reference to the time of the engagement, so far as I know, is that of Lockhart, in *Life* ii, 10, who places it in 1807, with the proviso "I believe." It is perhaps more likely to have followed the success of Scott's *Dryden* in the spring of 1808. In any case by Oct. 8 Scott had "arranged for republication the more early volumes of Somers's Tracts," as he wrote in a letter to Ellis.<sup>224</sup> In that letter he also noted having "completed an edition of some State Papers of Sir Ralph Sadler, which I believe you will find curious." The *Somers Tracts* were printed as the volumes were prepared by Scott, but not actually issued until 1812.

Three other undertakings of this year are, in the order in which Lockhart places them, the *Autobiographic Memoirs of Captain George Carleton*, *Queenhoo-Hall*, and *Memoirs of Robert Carey Earl of Monmouth*. The republication of *Carleton* as Lockhart says, "had probably been suggested by the lively interest which Scott took in the first outburst of Spanish patriotism consequent on Napoleon's transactions at Bayonne,"

<sup>221</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 116.

<sup>222</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 117.

<sup>223</sup> *A. Constable and his Lit. Corres.* iii, 10-11. As showing that as yet there was no break with Jeffrey, Scott adds that, in case of his death, "it shall be referred to Francis Jeffrey Esq. what proportion, or whether any part of the said copy-money shall be payable to my representatives."

<sup>224</sup> *Life* ii, 10. Scott alludes in the same letter to "being under engagements of old standing to write a Life of Thomson from some original materials."

that is in May 1808. This and the *Memoirs of Carey* were single octavo volumes published by Constable, and to each Scott furnished a Preface and Notes.<sup>225</sup> The *Queenhoo-Hall* was an unfinished novel of Joseph Strutt the antiquary, which John Murray of London now printed, Scott adding to the fourth volume a conclusion of the tale. Murray had placed the work in Scott's hands for his opinion as early as November 1806, and Scott had expressed himself favorably regarding it.<sup>226</sup> For his continuation of the novel Scott wrote two songs, that later called *Hunting Song*, with the first line

Waken, lords and ladies gay:

and that called *Bridal Song*,

And did ye not hear of a mirth befel.

These songs should therefore be referred to as first printed in this year, although usually mentioned in somewhat misleading terms.<sup>227</sup>

Rumor in this year connected Scott's name with another undertaking. He himself refers to it in a letter to Joanna Baillie of Oct. 31:

I hasten to tell you that I never entertained for a second a notion so very strange as to dedicate any poem to my friend Jeffrey, nor can I conceive how so absurd and causeless a rumour should have arisen. There is foundation for the other part of the story, though no larger than a *midge's* wing. I had been making a little excursion to Stirling with Mrs. Scott, chiefly to show her that interesting part of Scotland, and on viewing the field of Bannockburn I certainly said that one day or other before I died I hoped to make the earth yawn and devour the English archery and knighthood, as it did on that celebrated day of Scottish glory. This occasioned a little laughing at the time and afterwards, and was sufficient, according to the regular progression of rumour, to grow into a written or perhaps a printed form before it reached the city of London.<sup>228</sup>

<sup>225</sup> *A. Constable and his Lit. Corres.* iii, 9.

<sup>226</sup> *A. Constable and his Lit. Corres.* i, 352-78.

<sup>227</sup> Of the first Scudder says, "published in the *Edinburgh Annual Register* 1808," a volume not issued until 1810 as we shall see. Robertson accompanies the song with the note, "This song appears in the Appendix to the General Preface 'of Waverley, 1814.'" The "General Preface" was of course not issued until the edition of *Waverley* and the other novels in 1829.

The second song is given by Scudder in "Songs and Verses from Waverley," and by Robertson under "Poetry and Verse from the Waverley Novels." Such titles are misleading as to the time of writing, and in relation to the novel with which the song is wrongly assumed to be connected.

<sup>228</sup> *Familiar Letters*, i, 127.

As is well known, in spite of his patriotic purpose, Scott never fulfilled this promise.

During 1808 Scott came to a parting of the ways with some of his old friends. With great magnanimity, as we have seen, he first took Jeffrey's review of *Marmion* pleasantly enough, but later admitted its rankling. He had contributed nothing to the *Edinburgh* in 1807, partly no doubt because of other labors, partly by reason of its opposition to the Tory party, which had begun a long lease of power in that year. The latter motive Scott avows in a letter to Lady Abercorn on June 9:

I am endeavouring to get a copy of the Elgin Letters by my interest with little Jeffrey the Reviewer, who was the fair Lady's counsel in the case, but I doubt greatly being able to succeed in that quarter, for, since I gave up assisting him in the *Review* when their politics became so warm, my credit with him is a little at ebb.<sup>239</sup>

The letter is explained by a later one to Constable, in which Scott stopped his subscription to the *Edinburgh Review*:

The *Edinburgh Review* *had* become such as to render it impossible for me to continue a contributor to it.—*Now* it is such as I can no longer continue to receive or read it.<sup>240</sup>

Owing to these political differences, to personal slights as he conceived them, and to that speculative tendency which had led him to embark with James Ballantyne in the business of printing, Scott now conceived the idea of a publishing and book-selling business in opposition to that of Constable.<sup>241</sup> Matters were in this state when John Murray the London bookseller

<sup>239</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 116. See references to Scott's attitude toward the *Edinburgh* at this time in *Life* ii, 499-502.

<sup>240</sup> *Life* ii, 39. The syntax of the last sentence perhaps indicates the hasty passion with which Scott wrote. One of his minor grievances was the conduct toward him of Hunter, Constable's partner. On Nov. 19 Scott wrote his brother Thomas, apropos of the founding of the *Quarterly*, as yet a secret:

Constable, or rather that Bear his partner, has behaved to me of late not very civilly, and I owe Jeffrey a flap with a fox-tail on account of his review of *Marmion*, and thus doth "the whirligig of time bring about my revenges."—*Life*, ii, 53.

<sup>241</sup> I say Scott, for we can hardly believe the initiative was not his, although neither Lockhart nor the *Ballantyne Press and its Founders* is very clear in the matter. Yet the latter says: "About 1808 or 1809 a new venture was made by John Ballantyne commencing as publisher, with Scott as a silent partner. He took the designation of 'Bookseller to the Regent.'"—page 42.

appeared on the scene. As early as April when the *Edinburgh* was issued with its sharp notice of *Marmion*, in which Scott was accused of neglecting "Scottish feelings and Scottish characters," and its article on the general political situation,<sup>242</sup> Murray sensed the probable break between Scott and Constable. He resolved, therefore, to give the Ballantyne Press as much work as possible, hoping thus to reach Scott the prolific and successful poet and editor, as well as the staunch supporter of Tory policies.

The result was a proposal by James Ballantyne that Murray should meet him at Ferrybridge, Yorkshire, for a private talk regarding common interests. There Murray proposed an edition of the British Novelists from Defoe to the end of the eighteenth century, with biographical prefaces and notes by Scott. There, too, Ballantyne divulged not only the plan of a new publishing house at Edinburgh in opposition to Constable, but "another Scotch poem and a *Scotch novel* on the stocks" of the Wizard of the North, and an "Annual Register to be conducted in opposition to the politics and criticism of Constable's Review," that is the *Edinburgh*.<sup>243</sup> Murray also learned enough of Scott's political feelings at this time to determine him in at once proceeding to Ashiestiel for a personal interview, and a sounding of Scott on his pet scheme of a new Tory quarterly.

The enterprising London publisher arrived at Ashiestiel "about the middle of October," to find Heber another good Tory there, and immediate assistance in a recent event of dramatic importance to his proposal. No. 25 of the *Edinburgh Review*, that of October 1808, had just reached Scott,<sup>244</sup> and the latter

<sup>242</sup> *Life* ii, 37; *A Publisher and his Friends* i, 96. The article on the political situation was that called *Baring and Others on the Orders in Council*, No. 23, April 1808.

<sup>243</sup> *Life* ii, 37; *A Publisher and his Friends* i, 96. The "Scotch novel" must of course be *Waverley*, but I know of no other reference to its having again been taken up at this time. Ballantyne must have known of it in some way from Scott himself.

<sup>244</sup> Not No. 26 as Lockhart twice says—the error has never been corrected in the many editions of the *Life* which have appeared—and *A Publisher and his Friends* copies. The offensive article was that of Brougham reviewing *Don Cevallos on the Usurpation of Spain*, in which were expressed sentiments offensive to supporters of the government, "friends of national liberty and limited monarchy" as the author of *A Publisher and his Friends* puts it. The letter stopping the *Review* has been quoted on the preceding page.

could announce at once that he had ordered the periodical stopped. Murray had no difficulty, therefore, in persuading Scott to endorse his scheme, though not to edit the new periodical. The result was that immediate preparations were made for establishing the *Quarterly Review*. By Oct. 25 William Gifford had been chosen editor, and search was begun for authors and articles.<sup>245</sup>

To return to Scott's literary ventures, he and Ballantyne pressed with Murray the scheme of the novelists, Scott writing him regarding it on Oct. 30 and again on Nov. 2.<sup>246</sup> In the latter communication Scott outlined a plan of "20 volumes of 700 pages" for the novels, exclusive of "Romances and Tales;" "to separate the Translations from the original Novels," and "to place those of each author together—which I observe is neglected in Harrison's series." He suggested two names for Murray's consideration, "The Cabinet of Novels," or "The English Novelist." Ballantyne was equally enthusiastic, considering the plan "the happiest speculation that has ever been thought of," and sending statements regarding the cost of paper and printing for each volume. Meanwhile the cautious Murray, in spite of his original suggestion of the project, now calculated it would cost some twenty thousand pounds and drew back in some alarm. In fact only the novels of Defoe were published under this arrangement in 1809.<sup>247</sup>

It is interesting to note Scott's separation of politics and persons at this time, as was his usual custom. In spite of Jeffrey's review of *Marmion*, and that of Scott's *Dryden* then attributed to Jeffrey, in which some personalities were probably his, Scott maintained friendly relations with both Jeffrey and Constable. Even when the *Quarterly* was in process of establishment he continued such relations with Jeffrey. Yet he had

<sup>245</sup> The correspondence is given partly in Lockhart (*Life* ii, 39-54), partly in *A Publisher and his Friends* i, 98-123. To this period also belong Scott's letters to Miss Seward and Joanna Baillie, with their more severe comments on Jeffrey (*Fam. Let.* i, 125-28), as well as Scott's letter to his brother Thomas, part of which has been quoted in footnote 240.

<sup>246</sup> *A Publisher* etc., i, 86-8.

<sup>247</sup> Not to be confused with the later *Ballantyne's Novelists' Library* published in 1821, for which Scott wrote numerous lives of the novelists. On this later venture for the benefit of John Ballantyne, see *Life* iii, 418-19.

again protested against the partizan politics of the *Review*, for he wrote to Ellis on Dec. 15:

Jeffrey has offered terms of pacification, engaging that no party politics should again appear in his *Review*. I told him I thought it was now too late, and reminded him that I had often pointed out to him the consequences of letting his work become a party tool. . . . He has no suspicion of the *Review* [that is, the *Quarterly*] whatever; but I thought I could not handsomely suffer him to infer that I would be influenced by those private feelings respecting *him*, which on more than one occasion he has laid aside when I was personally concerned.<sup>248</sup>

Their later correspondence shows that he regarded the break with Constable as rather one of business than personal relations.

Correspondence with Miss Seward has been incidentally referred to. Besides, her letter acknowledging receipt of a presentation copy of *Marmion* was written Mar. 14, 1808.<sup>249</sup> Reference has also been made to her implication of Scott's interest in publishing her *Works*.<sup>250</sup> Lockhart's statement, that Scott had "patronized" negotiations with Constable for "the publication of Miss Seward's Poems" as early as the beginning of 1808, may be corrected and made somewhat more definite, as has been partly done on p. 262 in the present volume of this *Journal*. That Scott conveyed to her an offer of Constable is clear from her letter of April 25, in which she also adds:

Provided you and I agree upon terms, Mr. Scott most kindly offers his *own* and his friend Mr. Ballantyne's assistance in correcting the press of the poems of which I shall send you printed copies. . . . So swells he the large list of my obligations to his friendship.<sup>251</sup>

Some other unpublished letters must have passed between her and Scott, for his of Oct. 1808 implies at least one from her between Mar. 14 and that time.<sup>252</sup>

The year 1809 opens with two important projects in which Scott was deeply interested, the establishment of the new firm of John Ballantyne & Co., and the founding of the *Quarterly*

<sup>248</sup> *Life* ii, 54. It may be that Jeffrey had been sent to Scott by reason of the latter's stopping the *Edinburgh*. Only once did Scott allow personal animosity to influence him in public, according to Lockhart, who gives the incident in *Life* ii, 113.

<sup>249</sup> *A. Constable and his Lit. Corres.* ii, 14.

<sup>250</sup> See pp. 262 in the April number of this *Journal*.

<sup>251</sup> *A. Constable and his Lit. Corres.* ii, 20-23.

*Review*. Of the former the "existing bond of copartnership is dated in July 1809," says Lockhart, "but I suspect this had been a revised edition."<sup>253</sup> The early secrecy regarding the new firm makes it difficult to be absolutely specific in the matter. Yet as early as Jan. 2 Scott had written Constable, telling him of his partner Hunter's offensive remarks, and asking that, if on reflection he had thought the firm hastily committed to publishing *Swift's Works*, "the deed might be cancelled."<sup>254</sup> There can be little doubt Scott hoped Constable would give up this important work to the new firm. Indeed on Jan. 4 he wrote Murray:

Constable and I are quite broken, owing to Mr. Hunter's extreme incivility, to which I shall never subject myself more. It seems uncertain whether even the 'Swift' proceeds, but this I will bring to a point.<sup>255</sup>

However Constable's reply was so conciliatory that Scott found it necessary to write a second letter on Jan. 12, resuming "for the last time the disagreeable subject of our difference," and adding in no uncertain language: "I am only happy the break has taken place before there was any real loss to complain of."<sup>256</sup> Further evidence of the breach is found in the alliance which was now formed between the Ballantynes and John Murray. By previous agreement, on the fifth of January James Ballantyne set out from Edinburgh and Murray from London to perfect the alliance at Ferrybridge, Yorkshire.<sup>257</sup> At the meeting, the works Murray and the Ballantynes were to bring out together were discussed, and the new firm of John Ballantyne & Co. was made Edinburgh representative of the new *Review*. By Jan. 31 Scott could announce the new firm to Southey, as he did in these words:

Ballantyne's brother is setting up here as a bookseller, chiefly for publishing.  
... From my great regard for his brother, I shall give this young publisher

<sup>253</sup> See footnote 220.

<sup>254</sup> *Life* ii, 58. The *Ballantyne Press* says "about 1808 or 1809 a new venture was made by John Ballantyne commencing as publisher, with Scott as a 'silent' partner."—p. 42.

<sup>255</sup> *Life* ii, 55. I presume this was the letter of which James Ballantyne wrote Murray about the same time: "He [Scott] showed me a letter bidding a final farewell to the house of Constable."—*A Publisher and his Friends* i, 139.

<sup>256</sup> *A Publisher and his Friends* i, 140.

<sup>257</sup> *Life* ii, 56.

<sup>258</sup> *A Publisher and his Friends* i, 139 ff.

what assistance I can. He is understood to start against Constable and the Reviewers, and publishes the Quarterly. Indeed he is in strict alliance, offensive and defensive, with John Murray of Fleet Street.<sup>258</sup>

Scott's fertile mind soon conceived new ventures for the new firm. On Feb. 25 he wrote Murray:

I have made for the Ballantynes a little selection of poetry to be entitled 'English Minstrelsy'; I also intend to arrange for them a first volume of English Memoirs, to be entitled—

'Secret History of the Court of James I.'

To consist of

Osborne's 'Traditional Memoirs.'

Sir Anthony Welldon's 'Court and Character of James I.'

Heylin's 'Aulicus Coquinariae.'

Sir Edward Peyton's 'Rise and Fall of the House of Stewart.' . . .

What would you think of an edition of the 'Old English Froissart,' say 500 in a small *antique quarto*, a beautiful size of book. . . . I have several other literary schemes, but defer mentioning them until I come to London, which I sincerely hope will be in the course of a month or six weeks.<sup>259</sup>

The *English Minstrelsy* of which Scott wrote was printed in January 1810, and will be dealt with under that year. In the early part of 1809 Southey had suggested a *Review* devoted entirely to old books, "that is any books except such as were in the province of contemporary criticism," and Scott sent John Ballantyne to Keswick to consult about it.<sup>260</sup> Southey proposed calling the periodical *Rhadamanthus*, but it is referred to under another name in Scott's letter announcing Ballantyne's visit:

His chief purpose of calling upon you is to talk over the plan at which you hinted, of a *British Librarian* to be published periodically. The *Censura* is immediately to be given up, and Longman & Co. are to have some concern in this new work, which is however to be managed in Edinburgh. I think with you there is ample room for such a work; and that, if conducted by you, it would have great interest, and suit both readers, booksellers, and editors.<sup>261</sup>

Scott wrote from London, where he had doubtless been making some arrangements for this new periodical, but it was finally abandoned, and the idea not carried out until the *Retrospective Review* was established in 1820.

<sup>258</sup> *Life* ii, 70. It cannot but be noticed how secretive Scott is regarding his more intimate connection with the firm.

<sup>259</sup> *A Publisher and his Friends* i, 143-5.

<sup>260</sup> *Letters of Southey* ii, 139, 146, 153.

<sup>261</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 133-4, the letter of May 4.

The Ballantynes also, whether with or without the suggestion of Scott, had their own plans for the new publishing house. They proposed a "gigantic scheme," as they called it, of *Tales of the East* to be translated by Henry Weber, Scott's secretary at this time. They wished to print an *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, and they had actually put in press the *Secret Memoirs of the House of Stuart*, as we learn from Murray's letter of protest at their too numerous schemes.<sup>282</sup> Reference has already been made to the *Edinburgh Annual Register*, a project of both Scott and Ballantyne as we shall see, but not to be issued until 1810.

The result of this speculative craze of both the active and silent partners of the new firm was that the alliance with John Murray did not long continue. The astute London publisher refused to accept two of the Ballantyne bills as early as June 20, and on Oct. 31 declined to take a share in the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, a work which the Ballantynes then agreed to give up. He protested vigorously against their undertaking new schemes before completing those already in hand:

How can you imagine that a bookseller can afford to pay eternal advances upon almost every work in which he takes a share with you? And how can you continue to destroy every speculation by entering upon new ones before the previous ones are properly completed?<sup>283</sup>

The result was that Murray again drew closer to Constable, with whom he had never entirely broken. In a letter to Constable in November he refers to having paid the former's firm some £ 7000 within the year. As compared with such careful business men the Ballantynes, and Scott as their partner, were sowing the wind, to reap in a few years the usual harvest of whirlwind.

Scott's labors for the new Tory magazine in opposition to the *Edinburgh*, the *Quarterly Review*, proceeded during the same period in which the new publishing firm of John Ballantyne & Co. was being established. On Oct. 25, 1808, he had written a long letter of advice to Gifford, who had accepted the editorship.<sup>284</sup> He had continued to take the most serious interest in what he regarded as a patriotic project, as shown by his letter

<sup>282</sup> *A Publisher and his Friends* i, 172.

<sup>283</sup> *A Publisher and his Friends* i, 172.

<sup>284</sup> *Life* ii, 93-8; *A Publisher and his Friends* i, 104-7.

of Nov. 2 to Ellis. A few lines will explain his hopes for the new periodical:

I had most strongly recommended to our Lord Advocate to think of some counter-measures against the Edinburgh Review which, politically speaking, is doing incalculable harm. . . . Now I think there is balm in Gilead for all this; and that the cure lies in instituting such a Review in London as should be conducted totally independent of bookselling influence, on a plan as liberal as that of the Edinburgh, its literature as well supported, and its principles English and Constitutional. . . . It is not that I think this projected Review ought to be exclusively or principally political—this would, in my opinion, absolutely counteract its purpose, which I think should be to offer to those who love their country, and to those whom we wish to love it, a periodical work of criticism conducted with equal talent, but upon sounder principles than that which has gained so high a station in the world of letters.<sup>265</sup>

Doubtless before the close of the year 1808 Scott had begun to write those articles of his which appeared in the first number of the *Quarterly*, issued the last of February 1809. In this first number were published his articles on *Cromek's Reliques of Burns*, *Southey's translation of the Chronicle of the Cid*, *Sir John Carr's Tour through Scotland*, called *Caledonian Sketches*, and possibly the article called the *Early Life of Swift*. To the second number issued in May he contributed reviews of *Campbell's Gertrude of Wyoming*, and *John Cumberland's novel John De Lancaster*. He wrote nothing for the third number, but in the fourth, issued in November, he appeared as reviewer of *John W. Croker's poem on the Battles of Talavera*. He thus wrote six, and possibly seven articles for the year's volume.<sup>266</sup>

In 1809 was published by Murray the *Life, Letters and State Papers of Sir Ralph Sadler*, for which Scott wrote a Memoir of some thirty pages. Otherwise the collection was mainly prepared by Arthur Clifford, Scott's name not appearing on the title-page.<sup>267</sup> Three of the thirteen volumes of the valuable *Collection of Tracts made by Lord John Somers* were also printed

<sup>265</sup> *Life* ii, 39-42; *A Publisher and his Friends* i, 100-2.

<sup>266</sup> See *Tory Criticism in the Quarterly Review* by Walter Graham, Columbia University Press 1921, pp. 42-53; this includes a list of articles verified from the Register, owned by the present publishing house of John Murray, London. Other references to the subject are in *Familiar Letters* i, 148, *A Publisher and his Friends* i, 161. Lockhart's *Life* makes the first reference to a contribution of Scott to the *Quarterly* in vol. ii, p. 127, his article on *Southey's Curse of Kehama*, which appeared in the year 1811 (No. ix, February).

<sup>267</sup> *Life* ii, 87.

in this year, but the work was not completed and issued until three years later. Scott was also engaged on his edition of *Swift's Works*, but made less progress than Constable desired. As showing progress, however, on Aug. 8 he wrote to Lady Abercorn, then in Ireland:

I have very serious thoughts of visiting green Erin next year, with a view to make my edition of Swift as perfect, and as much worthy of the permission of inscribing it to Lord A. as I possibly can. I have been tolerably successful in some of my researches, and still hope I may add something to illustrate the works of so celebrated a classic.<sup>268</sup>

He refers to it again in his letter of Sept. 14, but the plan was not carried out, and the edition of Swift was not to appear for five years.

Meanwhile, on May 25 died Miss Seward, Scott's correspondent of many years, leaving him a legacy of £100 and the duty of writing an epitaph for the monument to the Seward family she had also provided.<sup>269</sup> This duty he performed in the poetical epitaph usually printed in his collected *Works*. It was first published in the *Edinburgh Annual Register* of 1809, that volume not being issued, however, until 1811.<sup>270</sup> In this year also Scott issued what may be considered the second collected edition of his poetry, although *Marmion* was not included. To the eighth edition of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, a small quarto, he added the *Ballads and Lyrical Pieces* which he had printed collectively in 1806.<sup>271</sup> See the contents of the latter on p. 247 of the present volume of this *Journal*.

<sup>268</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 142.

<sup>269</sup> In a letter of May 13 Southey refers to Scott's legacy from Miss Seward, "for which he is expected to write her epitaph."—Warter's *Letters of Southey* ii, 137.

<sup>270</sup> Several errors regarding the *Miscellaneous Poems* of Scott result from assuming the early volumes of the *Edinburgh Annual Register* were published in the years which they chronicle. Robertson even places this epitaph in 1808, the year before Miss Seward's death, notwithstanding its distinct reference to her at the close. He puts the *Hunting Song* and *The Resolve* in the same year, because they appeared in the *Register* of 1808, a volume not printed until 1810. He apparently did not know that the *Hunting Song* first appeared in *Queenhoo-Hall*. He gives 1809 as the date of the *Prologue* to Miss Baillie's play, and of *The Poacher*, both of which appeared in the *Register* of 1809, printed however in 1811. From these he separates the song *O say not, my love*, by assigning it to 1810, although it also was published in the same *Register* of 1809, printed 1811. Similar errors regarding these poems are found in other places.

<sup>271</sup> *Life* i, 194.

A minor incident in Scott's literary life of this year was the satirical reference to him by Byron in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*. This Scott first saw in August, and his immediate feeling is playfully expressed in a letter of Aug. 7.<sup>272</sup> After referring to the fact that he was as yet receiving nothing from his reversionary title to the Clerkship of the Court of Session, he continues:

In the meantime it is funny enough to see a whelp of a young Lord Byron abusing me, of whose circumstances he knows nothing, for endeavouring to scratch out a living with my pen. God help the bear if, having little else to eat, he must not even suck his paws. I can assure the noble imp of fame it is not my fault that I was not born to a park and £ 5000 a year, as it is not his lordship's merit, although it may be his good fortune, that he was not born to live by his literary talents or success.<sup>273</sup>

To the point of Byron's satire, Scott's receipt of a thousand guineas—not a "thousand pounds" as Byron and Scott himself calls it—he adds a fuller comment many years later in his *Introduction to Marmion* in 1830:

The transaction being no secret afforded Lord Byron, who was then at war with all who blacked paper, an apology for including me in his satire entitled 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers.' I never could conceive how an arrangement between an author and his publishers, if satisfactory to the persons concerned, could afford matter of censure to any third party. I had taken no unusual or ungenerous means of enhancing the value of my merchandise—I had never higgled a moment about the bargain, but accepted at once what I considered the handsome offer of my publishers.<sup>274</sup>

Scott's most important original work of 1809 was the preparation of his new poem the *Lady of the Lake*, which had been more or less in his mind for some years. The success of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel* had put before him the idea of a Highland poem, "a kind of companion to the Minstrel Lay" as he wrote to Ellis in the summer or fall of 1805.<sup>275</sup> His letter of that

<sup>272</sup> Byron's poem had been issued Mar. 1, 1809.

<sup>273</sup> *Life* ii, 83-4.

<sup>274</sup> In *Life* ii, 82, Lockhart quotes somewhat differently from what he calls the same *Introduction*. His quotation is important as showing Scott to have protested against the "undue severity" of the Edinburgh's review of Byron's *Hours of Idleness*, a review which brought about his famous satire.

Perhaps the sting of Byron's satire was felt the more keenly at this time when the fortune, built upon secret monetary arrangements with the Ballantynes had completely toppled, and the good man was laboriously paying for engagements that scarcely did credit to his business acumen.

<sup>275</sup> See p. 242 of the present volume of this *Journal*.

time shows however, that he felt he had not sufficient knowledge of the Highlands to treat them properly. Yet it must also be kept in mind that he did try what was to be a Highland subject in that year, the first chapters of *Waverley*.<sup>276</sup> About a year later, as shown by the wrongly dated letter of Scott discussed on p. 250 (second part of this paper), he wrote Miss Seward of his having "had for some time thoughts of writing a Highland poem somewhat in the style of the Lay."<sup>277</sup>

We have already traced how, in the latter part of 1806, the affairs of his brother Thomas required immediate financial returns, and how Scott put aside the Highland subject with which he had admitted insufficient familiarity for one connected with the Border, the poem we know as *Marmion*. Even to Miss Seward, in the letter quoted above, he had written of his Highland project:

It is true I have not the same facilities as in describing Border manners, where I am as they say at home.<sup>278</sup>

To *Marmion*, therefore, he then devoted himself, as a subject more immediately possible for his new purpose.

Yet scarcely was *Marmion* completed and on sale before Scott recurred to his idea of a poem set in the Highlands. It was now, however, curiously entangled with another scheme he had conceived quite as early. On April 4, 1808, he wrote to Robert Surtees:

As for Prince Charles—"he that wandering knight so fair"—we will talk about him when we meet. I have always thought of a Highland poem before hanging my harp on the willows, and perhaps it would be no bad setting for such a tale, to suppose it related for his amusement in the course of his wanderings after the fatal field of Culloden. Flora Macdonald, Kingsburgh, Lochiel, the Kennedies, and many other characters of dramatic interest might be introduced, and the time is now passed away when the theme would have had both danger and offense in it.<sup>279</sup>

Here, it will be seen, Scott has united the Highland poem idea with the story he was to make into the novel *Waverley*, some chapters of which had been written in 1805. Perhaps, since

<sup>276</sup> These early chapters, of course, do not deal with the Highlands, but the subject was to develop that feature, even if originally not so intended.

<sup>277</sup> See also the letter to Leyden of July 5, 1906, as quoted on p. 251 (present volume of this *Journal*).

<sup>278</sup> *Life* i, 414.

<sup>279</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 104.

he had been discouraged in the matter of the prose fiction, he had now thought to treat the subject of the '45 in verse. By October, too, James Ballantyne could tell John Murray, in their first Yorkshire interview and at least with some knowledge of the facts, that Scott had "both another Scotch poem and a Scotch novel on the stocks."<sup>280</sup>

It is with the success of *Marmion* that Scott himself, in the *Introduction to the Lady of the Lake* in 1830, connects the idea of a new poem on the Highlands. Yet he wrote no line of it in the year of the publication of *Marmion*. The most definite reference to the actual beginning of the new poem is that in a letter to Lady Abercorn, Sept. 14, 1809, after renewing his boyish acquaintance with the Highlands in August and early September:

The sight of our beautiful mountains and lakes (though not new to me), and your Ladyship's kind exhortations, have set me to threading verses together, with what success I am yet uncertain; but if I am not able to please myself at all, it is but a step to the fireside, and the poem will go up in smoke like half the projects of this world. . . . The worst is I am not very good or patient in slow and careful composition, and sometimes remind myself of a drunken man who could run long after he could not walk.<sup>281</sup>

This statement he virtually confirms in a letter to the same lady about a year later, Oct. 15, 1810:

But whether I keep my resolution or not is uncertain, for the *Lady of the Lake* was a very sudden thought, and begun only twelve months ago.<sup>282</sup>

Lockhart puts the matter in his usual general way:

Before fixing himself at Ashiestiel for the autumn, he had undertaken to have a third poem ready for publication by the end of the year, and probably made some progress in the composition of the *Lady of the Lake*. On the rising of the Court in July he went, accompanied by Mrs. Scott and his eldest daughter, to revisit the localities, so dear to him in the days of his juvenile rambling, which he chose for the scene of his fable.<sup>283</sup>

That Scott did not proceed far in "threading verses together" during September would seem to be implied by his not mention-

<sup>280</sup> *Life* ii, 38.

<sup>281</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 149.

<sup>282</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 195.

<sup>283</sup> *Life* ii, 81. The reference is to the year 1809, but the sequence of events is curiously jumbled. The correct order is the visit to the Highlands, the "threading verses" as above, the engagement to complete the poem. As we shall see, the poem was not completed "by the end of the year."

ing the poem to his friend Ellis, when writing on Sept. 26. But by Nov. 3 he could make, to the same correspondent, brief mention of the new venture, trailing off, however, to the death of his favorite dog Camp which much affected him. He wrote:

I have a great deal to write you about a new poem which I have on the anvil—also upon the melancholy death of a favorite greyhound bitch—rest her body, since I dare not say soul.<sup>284</sup>

By Nov. 7 the name of the poem had been decided upon, as implied in his letter to Lady Stuart:

I have not been quite idle, though I don't know if your Ladyship will think I have been employed to good purpose when I tell you I have made great progress in the Romance I showed you at Buchanan. It is against all my vows to write poetry again, but I hope the perjuries of bards are as venial as those of lovers are said to be. After all, how can I employ my time? My family have some claims on my talent, or half talent or whatever it is, for it laid me on the shelf as a professional man when I had as good prospects as my neighbours. . . . So upon the whole I will go on with my *Lady of the Lake*, and tell my prudence she is no better than indolence in disguise.<sup>285</sup>

He makes mention of the new work more definitely on the last day of the year in another letter to Lady Abercorn:

I have made considerable progress in a new poem, which I intend to call *The Lady of the Lake*. The scene is laid in the Perthshire Highlands, which after all present the finest of our mountain prospects. I have taken considerable pains on what I have written, and shall be anxious to solicit Lord Abercorn's opinion upon it because, should it be honoured with his approbation, I hope he will permit me to inscribe it to him.<sup>286</sup>

One minor poem seems to belong to this year. This is *The Resolve*, dated 1809 when printed in the *Edinburgh Annual Register* of 1808, published in 1810. There it is the only one of five poems to which is assigned a date, so that apparently 1809 may be relied upon as the time of writing. Lockhart mentions it only incidentally in his chapter on the years 1810-11, but from his account we get some further light:

He seems to have been equally mysterious as to an imitation of the quaint love verses of the beginning of the 17th century, which had found its way into

<sup>284</sup> *Life* ii, 93. The letter of Sept. 26 is in *Life* ii, 89.

<sup>285</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 153-4. It was doubtless about the same time that, having written the first canto, Scott consulted his aunt Miss Rutherford, and was advised "not to be so rash . . . and incur the risk of a fall," that is after the great success of *Marmion*; see *Life* ii, 120, and *Introduction* of 1830. As he tells us in the latter, however, another critic gave him more hope.

<sup>286</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 155-6.

the newspapers under the name of *The Resolve*; but I find him acknowledging its parentage to his brother Thomas, whose sagacity had at once guessed at the truth. 'As to the *Resolve*,' he says, 'it is mine; and it is not—or to be less enigmatical, it is an old fragment which I coopered up into its present state with the purpose of quizzing certain judges of poetry, who have been extremely delighted, and declare that no living poet could write in the same exquisite taste.' These critics were his friends of the Friday Club. When included in the *Register*, however, *The Resolve* had his name affixed to it. In that case, his concealment had already answered its purpose.<sup>287</sup>

The year 1810, which was to see the publication of Scott's greatest poetical success, and which has been set as the limit of this paper, began with a new interest. Lockhart tells us that Scott "had from his boyish days a great love for theatrical representation," leading him to entertain theatrical people at his home in later years.<sup>288</sup> He now became a more direct patron of the Edinburgh Theater. It was due to him that Henry Siddons, son of the great Siddons and nephew of John Kemble, undertook the management of the Edinburgh house in the summer of 1809, when Scott himself also purchased a share. For the first play under the new management, Joanna Baillie's *Family Legend*, Scott wrote the *Prologue* on Jan. 20, 1810, as we learn from his letter of that date to Lady Abercorn. In it he says:

The enclosed jangling verses are the only effort I have made in rhyme since I came to Edinburgh for the winter. They were written within this hour, and are to be spoken to a beautiful tragedy of Joanna Baillie (authoress of the *Plays on the Passions*) founded upon a Highland story of the Old Time.<sup>289</sup>

As indicating how easily Scott took upon himself extra labors at this time may be mentioned his suggestion to Miss

<sup>287</sup> *Life* ii, 171. In connection with this and three imitations which Scott printed in the *Edinburgh Annual Register* of 1809, published 1811, Lockhart adds: "It is interesting to trace the beginnings of the systematic mystification which he afterwards put in practice with regard to the most important series of his works."

<sup>288</sup> *Life* ii, 94 ff.

<sup>289</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 166. Lockhart makes no mention of the poem in his reference to the play (*Life* ii, 97), nor Scott himself in his letter to Miss Baillie on Jan. 30 (*Life* ii, 99). The date of writing is correctly given in the Cambridge edition of *Scott's Poetical Works*, with reference to the letter above, but Robertson, basing his edition on those by Lockhart in 1833 and 1841, gives the date as 1809. This follows its first published appearance in the *Edinburgh Annual Register* of 1809, a volume not printed until 1811.

Baillie about the publication of the play. Himself a great admirer of this forgotten playwright he says "people are dying to read it," and adds:

If you think of suffering a single edition to be printed to gratify their curiosity, I will take care of it. But I do not advise this, because until printed no other theatres can have it before you give leave.<sup>290</sup>

He returned to the matter in his letter of Feb. 6:

I begin heartily to wish that the play was printed, unless you think of bringing it out in London, and printed as you wrote it.<sup>291</sup>

Miss Baillie now consented to publication, and Scott was the subject of the following dedication:

To Walter Scott, Esq., whose friendly zeal encouraged me to offer it to the notice of my indulgent countrymen, I inscribe this play.

Scott thanked the author in a letter of March 30, in which he said:

The play is now groaning in the press; I read the proofs, but this will not ensure their being altogether correct, for in spite of great practice Ballantyne insists I have a bad eye. I will gain one advantage by this, that I will obtain possession of the original manuscript, which I will preserve among my other literary valuables.<sup>292</sup>

The multiplicity of Scott's engagements in this year are well illustrated by himself in a letter of March 2 to J. B. S. Morritt, the dedicatee of *Rokeby*. Apart from his secretaryship of the Judicature commission "which sat daily during all the Christmas vacation," he adds:

I have been editing Swift, and correcting the press at the rate of six sheets a week. I have edited Somers at the rate of four ditto ditto. I have written reviews—I have written songs—I have made selections—I have superintended rehearsals—and all this independent of visiting, and of my official duty which occupies me every working day except Mondays—and independent of the new poem with which I am threatening the world.<sup>293</sup>

The "new poem" of this letter was the item of immediate moment. The later reference in the same letter to showing

<sup>290</sup> *Life* ii, 101, the letter of Jan. 30.

<sup>291</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 168.

<sup>292</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 173. A copy of the play was sent Miss Baillie with Scott's letter of May 7 (*Fam. Let.* i, 176).

<sup>293</sup> *Life* ii, 115. The reference is mainly to the year 1809; the "selections" were doubtless those for the *English Minstrelsy*, and the "songs" will be dealt with later.

"this ditty to you soon" would indicate its approaching completion, but it is evident from other letters that the poet was still at work upon the last canto. He wrote Lady Abercorn on Jan 21 of the sale of his poem for "two thousand guineas, not pounds," and added:

I am very anxious the said poem should be such as Lord Abercorn can stand godfather to with credit. The tale cannot be very well sent without the verses, being no great matter in itself; but I will soon send you a specimen, if not a whole canto. I have tried, according to promise, to make "a knight of love who never broke a vow." But well-a-day, though I have succeeded tolerably with the damsel, my lover, spite of my best exertions, is like to turn out what the players call a *walking gentleman*. It is incredible the pains it has cost me to give him a little dignity. Notwithstanding this, I have had in my time melancholy cause to paint from experience, for I gained no advantage from three years' constancy, except the said experience and some advantage to my conversation and manners. Mrs. Scott's match and mine was of our own making, and proceeded from the most sincere affection on both sides, which has rather increased than diminished during twelve years marriage. But it was something short of love in all its forms, which I suspect people only feel once in their lives.<sup>294</sup>

Even as late as April 14, when the fifth canto was "going through the press," he could write to the same Lady, "So soon as the 6th is achieved you shall have it all."<sup>295</sup> As in the case of *Marmion* the poem was printed in cantos as it was written, the final issue waiting upon the poet's last composition.<sup>296</sup>

The *Lady of the Lake* was issued "early in May," says Lockhart, "in all the majesty of quarto, with every accompanying grace of topography, and with moreover an engraved frontispiece of Saxon's portrait of Scott."<sup>297</sup> Meanwhile, but most important for them and Scott, the alliance of the Ballantynes and Murray of London had not gone well, and now came to an

<sup>294</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 166-7. The allusion in the last part of the quotation is one of the frankest Scott ever made to his early love for Williamina Stuart, for which see p. 30 of present volume of this *Journal*. Lady Forbes, as she had become, died in December of this year, but it is clear Scott never forgot her.

Scott's difficulty with the "lover" of the poem is again referred to in his letter to Lady Abercorn of Mar. 14: "The deuce take my lover,—I can make nothing of him; he is a perfect automaton."—*Fam. Let.* i, 168-9.

<sup>296</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 169.

<sup>297</sup> See his letter of March 30 to Miss Baillie (*Fam. Let.* i, 174): "I am pressing the printers to dispatch, and hope soon to send you a copy."

<sup>297</sup> *Life* ii, 117. "In May," says the *Ballantyne Press and its Founders*, p. 37.

unfortunate break. The friction of 1809 has already been noted, and the drawing together again of Murray and Constable. The latter, who could not look with complacency on the rival Edinburgh house of John Ballantyne & Co., now added impetus to the coming break by first suggesting to Murray the Ballantynes' disregard of him in the financial arrangements for Scott's new poem. So must be interpreted, I think, Constable's reference on Jan. 20 to the Ballantynes' recent letter to Wm. Miller of London:

If you will ask our friend Mr. Miller if he had a letter from a shop nearly opposite the Royal Exchange the other day, he will, I dare say, tell you the contents. I am mistaken if their game is not well up. Indeed I doubt much if they survive the 'Lady of the Lake.' She will probably help to drown them.<sup>298</sup>

In spite of their engagements with Murray, the Ballantynes had let Mr. Miller have a quarter share of the *Lady of the Lake*, they themselves, including Scott of course, retaining the remainder.

On March 26 Murray protested against this treatment, urging that the Ballantynes had the sole agency for his publications in Edinburgh, and reminding them of previous agreements that he should share in all their publications. To enforce his protest, he now demanded a "note at six months" for any numbers of the *Quarterly Review* they should order.<sup>299</sup> To this James Ballantyne answered:

Your agency hitherto has been productive of little or no advantage to us, and the fault has not lain with us. We have persisted in offering you shares of everything begun by us, till we found the hopelessness of waiting any return; and in dividing Mr. Scott's poem we found it our duty to give what share we had to part with to those by whom we were chiefly benefited, both as booksellers and printers.<sup>300</sup>

With this brusque letter was a heavy bill for printing the *Works of Defoe*, though they were not to be issued for many years. Ballantyne the printer was first considering his printing establishment, and gave little heed to his selling agency, on which his ultimate success necessarily depended. Not unnaturally the friendly relations of Murray and the Ballantynes came to an end, the firm of Wm. Blackwood being made Edinburgh agent for the *Quarterly Review* and Murray's other publications. That

<sup>298</sup> *A Publisher and his Friends* i, 174.

<sup>299</sup> *A Publisher and his Friends* i, 174-5.

<sup>300</sup> *A Publisher and his Friends* i, 175.

there was no break between Scott and Murray was due to the secret character of the Scott-Ballantyne partnership.

The success of the *Lady of the Lake* was instantaneous. Five editions, in all 20,300 copies, were issued the first year, all but the first in octavo form. "The quarto edition of 2000 has not lasted a fortnight," and the smaller (octavo) edition is now published, Scott could write Lady Abercorn on June 29.<sup>301</sup> The review in the *Quarterly* was by Ellis and of course full of praise, but Jeffrey's review in the *Edinburgh* was equally laudatory.<sup>302</sup> The critic and the popular reader were agreed in a way seldom realized. Apart from this, perhaps the most important criticism was that relating to the meter. This was by Southey, in a letter not yet published if preserved,<sup>303</sup> and by Ellis in his *Quarterly Review* article. Yet Scott cleverly supported his octosyllabic verse as "more favorable for narrative poetry at least," by showing how the first six lines of Pope's *Iliad* could well be reduced to it by the omission of "expletive" epithets. The important thing is that Scott's poem was already a *fait accompli*, while the criticism was at best of the sort that destroys without edifying.<sup>304</sup>

In the early months of 1810 Scott continued his contributions to the *Quarterly Review*. For the May number he wrote reviews of the Rev. C. R. Maturin's first novel, the *Fatal Revenge* of 1807, and of Dr. John Aikin's *Vocal Poetry, or a Select Collection of English Songs*, in an article called *On Song Writing*. During the same months Scott was making final preparation for his *English Minstrelsy*.<sup>305</sup> Of this collection, to which he did not affix his name, Scott had written Murray Feb. 25, 1809, as if it were already completed,<sup>306</sup> but Murray

<sup>301</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 153. Scott notes of this "a few corrections made since the first edition."

<sup>302</sup> Before it was published Jeffrey sent the article to Scott, with a letter admitting "needless asperities in my review of *Marmion*."—*Fam. Let.* i, 185. See also Scott's letter to Morritt in the same i, 192.

<sup>303</sup> *Life* ii, 124.

<sup>304</sup> In addition to the letters already quoted, minor references by Scott to his poem will be found in letters of this year to Joanna Baillie (Mar. 30, May 7, June 10, Dec. 31); to Thomas Scott (May 13); to Morritt (June 30, Oct. 3); to Lady Abercorn (Sept. 30, Dec. 22); to Miss Sarah Smith the actress, afterwards Mrs. Bartley (Oct. 4, Dec. 10). All are in *Fam. Let.* i, 173-204.

<sup>305</sup> *Life* ii, 114.

<sup>306</sup> *A Publisher and his Friends* i, 143.

was still urging its completion by the Ballantynes on Oct. 31.<sup>307</sup> In the same year a letter of Scott to Morritt gives the only hint I have found of the origin of the volumes:

I wish you would also give me a sonnet for a certain pocket selection,—a minstrelsy which I picked out for my friend Ballantyne. I think you will like the choice of the ancient things, and I wanted to add a few modern pieces *hoclenus inedita*. I intend to give him two or three trifles of my own, and to exercise all the interest I possess among my poetical friends. The work will make two beautifully printed pocket volumes.<sup>308</sup>

The volumes were issued, not “in the summer of 1910” as Lockhart says,<sup>309</sup> but early enough in the year for Scott to write Morritt on March 2:

I send a copy of the poetical collection, not for you my good friend because you would not pay your literary subscription, but for Mrs. Morritt.<sup>310</sup>

The *English Minstrelsy* was issued with the following title-page:

English Minstrelsy / being / A Selection of Fugitive Poetry / from the / Best English Authors / with some / Original Pieces / hitherto unpublished / In Two Volumes / Vol I /

—Such forms as glitter in the Muses' ray

With orient hues

Gray

Edinburgh; / Printed for John Ballantyne and Co. / Manners and Miller, and Brown and Crombie, / Edinburgh; and John Murray, / London. / — / 1810.

In addition to acknowledgment of the other modern contributors to the volume, the following paragraph is clearly intended to indicate Scott:

To one eminent individual, whose name they do not venture to particularize, they are indebted for most valuable assistance in selection, arrangement, and contribution; and to that individual they take this opportunity to present the humble tribute of their thanks, for a series of kindnesses, of which that now acknowledged is among the least.

The advertisement which ends with this paragraph is dated “Jan. 1, 1810.” The second volume, which alone contains

<sup>307</sup> *A Publisher and his Friends* i, 172.

<sup>308</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 166. The letter is of July 22.

<sup>309</sup> *Life* ii, 114.

<sup>310</sup> *Life* ii, 116. In a note to this letter Lockhart says Scott alluded to “some translations of Italian poetry,” rather than the sonnet above mentioned. On Aug. 17 Scott thanked Morritt for the offer of “the translations of Metastasio,” and referring to the “Miscellany,” as he here calls it, (*Fam. Let.* i, 145-6), but nothing of Morritt's appears in the volumes as printed.

original contributions in the following order, has three poems by "Leyden," one by "Braine," one by "R. Heber," two by "Spencer," one by "Dr. Currie," three by "Walter Scott," that is *With Flowers from a Roman Wall*, *The Bard's Incantation*, *The Violet*, five by "Mrs. Hunter," and one each by "Edw. Coxe," "Richardson," "Southey," "Rogers," "Joanna Baillie," "Smythe," "Jas. Graham." These are indicated as original by a prefixed asterisk and a note explaining it.

A new edition of the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* was also issued in this year, with "a few features of novelty, particularly Mr. Morritt's spirited ballad of the Curse of Moy."<sup>11</sup> Scott was continuing his work on *Swift* and the *Somers Tracts*. Early in the year he had sought, probably through Lady Abercorn, some letters of Swift in the possession of Lady Castlereagh, who refused them on the ground she wished to publish them herself.<sup>12</sup> He revived the scheme of a visit to Ireland on Swift matters—first considered as early as 1808—and of it wrote Miss Sarah Smith the actress on Oct. 4:

As I have been long trammel'd with an edition of Swift's works, which I should be anxious to render respectable, I hope to visit Ireland to endeavour to gain additional light on his history. But whether this happens next year or no depends upon many trifling contingencies.<sup>13</sup>

One item of Scott's letter to Morritt, enumerating his various undertakings of this year, is "I have written songs."<sup>14</sup> Lockhart makes no mention of any such compositions in this year, and the only published song that can be attributed to this time would seem to be that in imitation of Moore.

Oh say not, my love, with that mortified air.

This appeared in the *Edinburgh Annual Register* of 1809,<sup>15</sup> not printed until 1811, so that it may have been composed in 1810. It is so indicated with a question mark by Robertson.

The long correspondence with Anna Seward, ending with her death in March 1809, brought Scott another labor for this year.

<sup>11</sup> *Life* ii, 114.

<sup>12</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 184.

<sup>13</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 191. Scott first mentioned the Irish visit in a letter to Lady Abercorn, March 13, 1808 (*Fam. Let.* i, 101), and again refers to it in letters of the same volume, pp. 116, 118, 142, 151.

<sup>14</sup> See *Life* ii, 115 and pp. 113-4.

<sup>15</sup> See Lockhart's mention of that volume in *Life* ii, 170-71.

We have noted how she left him a legacy of £100, with the proviso that he should write an epitaph for the monument she was causing to be erected for her family, and how he fulfilled the latter obligation in the year of her death. She also left to him the copyright of her *Poetical Works*, and he felt obliged to publish them with a Memoir. This obligation he fulfilled by writing a Biographical Preface, and during the autumn superintending the publication of this and her *Poetical Works* in three volumes. The Biographical Preface contains some of her last letters to Scott and, according to her wish, extracts from her "juvenile letters." It was the penalty Scott paid, as Lockhart notes, for her early appreciation of his first efforts in literature, and, it may be added, for his own too frequent, too great, and too long continued praise of her poems. His real opinion of her he gave to Joanna Baillie, another woman writer whom he greatly overestimated.<sup>316</sup>

One of the most commendable of Scott's undertakings of this year, though one of the most disastrous to the Ballantyne firm, was the *Edinburgh Annual Register*, in imitation of that which had been begun by Burke in London in 1759. Scott's venture has a long history. As early as March 18, 1807, A. G. Hunter wrote his partner Constable from London that Davies, of the firm of Cadell and Davies, had proposed it to him.<sup>317</sup> Constable took kindly to the scheme, and Scott also to whom it had been mentioned, for Hunter wrote again on March 25:

I am very happy you think so well of the scheme about the Annual Register. I saw Walter Scott yesterday, and mentioned it to him in strict confidence; and I am happy to say he approves most highly of our plan, and says that if a proper editor and conductor be got it will do most famously, and that it can be so well subdivided among all the proper and right folks.<sup>318</sup>

For some reason the matter seems not to have gone further at this time, but sometime later Constable thought of arranging such a work "subsidiary," as Scott puts it, to the *Edinburgh*

<sup>316</sup> *Life* ii, 105. For reference to Scott's publication of Miss Seward's *Poems*, see *Life* ii, 150-51. In the latter place it is said that Constable permitted Scott to strike out, before the printing of her *Letters*, "some extravagant rhapsodies about himself and his works." If the originals are still in existence, as the London house of A. Constable & Co. thinks they are not, these passages might now be of special interest.

<sup>317</sup> *A. Constable and his Lit. Corres.* i, 111; see also p. 117.

<sup>318</sup> *A. Constable and his Lit. Corres.* i, 119.

*Review*.<sup>319</sup> Meanwhile the politics of the *Edinburgh* were galling Scott's patriotism, the break with Constable was coming on, and the fear that the Annual Register by Constable would be colored by the same politics led Scott to propose to Ballantyne an Annual Register of their own. This was one of the schemes mentioned to Murray in the Yorkshire interview of October 1808.<sup>320</sup>

When the break with Constable was about to be made and the new firm of John Ballantyne & Co. set up, a *Prospectus* for the *Register* was proposed, the first notice of it being in a letter to Ellis Nov. 18, 1808. In this Scott gives still another reason for his break with Constable, in writing of Henry Weber on whom Scott had taken pity, and whom he was now using as his secretary. Scott wrote:

Constable the great Edinburgh editor has offended me excessively by tyrannizing over this poor Teutcher, and being rather rude when I interfered. It is a chance but I may teach him that he should not kick down the scaffolding before his house is quite built. Another bomb is about to break on him besides the *Review*. This is an Edinburgh Annual Register, to be conducted under the auspices of James Ballantyne, who is himself no despicable composer, and has secured excellent assistance. I cannot help him, of course, very far, but I will certainly lend him a lift as an adviser. I want all my friends to befriend this work, and will send you a *prospectus* when it is published. It will be a *valde* anti-Foxite. This is a secret for the present.<sup>321</sup>

The *Prospectus* sent to Ellis on Dec. 13 showed the haste with which the work had been planned, partly by a lofty tone for which Scott half apologized to Ellis on Dec. 23. On Dec. 30 the editorship was offered to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe of Christ Church, Oxford,<sup>322</sup> but was declined by him and the choice finally fell upon Southey, who was to write the historical articles. The first reference to it is in a letter of Southey to his brother, Dr. H. H. Southey, Aug. 17, 1809, and the completed arrangement in that of Sept. 8 to the same person.<sup>323</sup> Constable naturally felt agrieved at this forestalling of his own plans. It

<sup>319</sup> *Life* ii, 58-9.

<sup>320</sup> *Life* ii, 38, and p. 394 ff. of this paper.

<sup>321</sup> *Life* ii, 50-1.

<sup>322</sup> *Life* ii, 63-5. After writing of the new *Quarterly* Scott speaks of "the other plan," that is the *Annual Register* as is very clear.

<sup>323</sup> Warter's *Letters of Southey* ii, 158, 162. Other significant references to the matter are on pp. 165, 169, 187, 190, 194, 203, 206-7.

seems to be this of which Ballantyne wrote to Murray in March 1809:

Constable, I am told, has consulted Sir Samuel Romilly and means, after writing a book against me, to prosecute me for *stealing his plans!* Somebody has certainly stolen his brains!<sup>324</sup>

Doubtless Scott, who had been told in confidence of Constable's plan, justified his somewhat unethical procedure by his intense and sincere patriotism.

The plan finally adopted for the *Register* was to begin with the year 1808, and Southey was correcting the first proof for the first volume Oct. 18, 1809.<sup>325</sup> It was nearly a year, however, before the two volumes for 1808 were issued. This is shown by a part of Scott's letter to Morritt Oct. 3, 1810:

Have you seen the *Edinburgh Register*? If not, do get it; the history is written by Southey, and though with some tinge of opinions which neither you nor I approve, yet there is much eloquence, and a great deal of what everybody must admire.<sup>326</sup>

Lockhart says of it:

Mr. Southey was fortunate in beginning his narrative with the great era of the Spanish Revolt against Napoleon, and it exhibited his usual research, reflection, elegance, and spirit.<sup>327</sup>

Besides the *Essay on the Scottish System of Judicature* Scott printed in the *Annual Register* of 1808, published 1810, the following poems: *The Bard's Incantation*; *To a Lady, with Flowers from a Roman Wall*; *The Violet*; the *Hunting Song* which, as has been shown, was first written for the completion of Strutt's *Queenhoo-Hall*; *The Resolve* "in imitation of an old English poem, 1809."<sup>328</sup> Yet all these poems had been written

<sup>324</sup> *A Publisher and his Friends* i, 148.

<sup>325</sup> "Last night the first sheet of the 'Register' came to be corrected."—*Letters of Southey* ii, 169.

<sup>326</sup> *Familiar Letters* i, 193.

<sup>327</sup> *Life* ii, 154. Southey remained editor until 1813 when the difficulties of the Ballantyne firm made it necessary for Scott to appeal to Constable for assistance, and the latter took over the *Register* with some reluctance, since he found it had been losing a thousand pounds a year. Southey attributed the failure of the *Register* to the London booksellers (*Letters* ii, 321). For the correspondence with Constable see *A. Constable and his Lit. Corres.* iii, 14 ff.

<sup>328</sup> Vol. i, Part ii, pp. xxi, xxiii (two poems), xxviii, xxxvi respectively.

in other years, and have been mentioned in their proper places in this paper. With the *Annual Register* of 1809, not issued until 1811, we have nothing to do, since there is no evidence that any of Scott's poems or articles for that volume were written before the year of issue. Yet because the *Register* bore the earlier date, the following poems of Scott are often assigned to that year. They are the three imitations of living authors, all published anonymously: the *Song* "Oh say not, my love," an imitation of Moore; *The Poacher*, an imitation of Crabb; and an imitation of his own legendary verse, the first form of the *Bridal of Triermain*. This consisted principally of what now forms stanzas i to viii of the first canto of that poem.

The close of the year 1810 has been set as the limit of what has been called the early literary life of Sir Walter Scott. In the fifteen years from 1796 inclusive, Scott had first appeared in print as a translator of German ballad verse, had passed through a period of imitation of such ballads, as of other translations from the German language, and had essayed short original poems of ballad or legendary character. He had become collector and editor of ballad and legendary poetry, as also editor of early chronicles and state papers, and of more serious poets and prose writers, as Dryden and Swift. He had tried prose fiction more than once but, except for the continuation of *Queenhoo-Hall*, had put it aside, and had finally made his great early successes in Scottish legendary verse through the *Lay*, *Marmion*, and the *Lady of the Lake*. With no fortune by inheritance or by marriage, he conceived the idea of sharing in the profits of the publishing business of his friend Ballantyne, without openly or actively engaging in the details of business life. He would thus acquire an estate, establish his family, assist his country by patriotic endeavor, and at the same time continue to explore the fields of literature—collect, edit, and create as he loved to do. To this idea he was led by his greater interest in literature than in law, to which he was bred, and by the success of his first long poem, the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, in 1805.

The period begins with Scott at the age of twenty-five, when he had made only a trifling success with his translations from German poetry. It leaves him, not yet forty, after he had made his greatest successes in the poetic field, but before he had yet

opened that rich vein of imaginative prose which was to establish his name beyond the reach of rivals in his own age, to found a school at home and abroad, and to leave a precious legacy of delight to succeeding generations. It leaves him, too, before his secret and careless engagement in trade involved him in continual trouble, financial ruin, and all but brought down his gray hairs in sorrow to the grave. Fortunately for him, that sorrow was stayed by his high sense of honor, his tireless energy, his proud hopes, his mistaken belief at the last that he had made all right with the world.

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#### SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

In footnote 24, page 34 of the present volume of this *Journal* reference was made to Rev. W. S. Crockett and Scott's translation of Goethe's Morlachian Ballad. Later, Mr. Crockett printed the translation in the *Scotsman* of Feb. 9, 1924, from Scott's MS. now in the Laing Collection of the Edinburgh University Library. Almost immediately, in the *Scotsman* of Feb. 25, Rev. Wm. Macintosh, who signed himself "formerly British Chaplain in Germany and Lecturer on English Literature in the University of Jena," wrote that he had known this Scott version "for many years" and had copied it, he thought "from a German work on Sir Walter Scott." I have so far been unable to find any reference to this "German work," but Mr. Macintosh adds that he is about to publish a book regarding "German Influence on the Writings" of Sir Walter. Correspondence in this country has elicited that Mr. H. W. Nordmeyer, formerly instructor in German at the University of Illinois, had also obtained a copy of Scott's translation from the Edinburgh Library, and had presented it to "a learned gathering of the English, Romance, and German departments" of that University in the spring of 1918. At least Scott's version is now in print, whether for the first time or not.

May I add that on page 34 of the current volume of this *Journal*, in the first part of my article, *Klaudina* should be *Claudine*, a quotation on the same page showing that M. G. Lewis had used the form "Claudina." O.F.E.

## SOME NOTES ON THE TEACHING OF GERMAN IN COLONIAL PHILADELPHIA

The educational efforts of the Germans in Pennsylvania, and the southern colonies are fairly well known to the student of early American life. A due meed of praise has been given Christopher Dock for his work as a teacher in Germantown. His *Schulordnung* is said to be "the first professional" treatise on education published in America.

Quite naturally, their own language was more important than the English to the early German colonists. In many of their schools, instruction was carried on wholly in the *Muttersprache*, especially in communities that were exclusively German in population. With the passing of the years, the new settlers became adjusted to the conditions of life under a strange government. Earlier racial exclusiveness broke down, and they mingled more and more with their neighbors. They found it advantageous to master the language of the colony, and to this end they included English in the curricula of their schools.

In Philadelphia, the population was dominantly English, and German as the language of everyday speech was used only by the Germans. However, some of the English inhabitants must have studied the German language with the view of promoting social and commercial intercourse. Others recognized its cultural values, and sought to become acquainted with the literature of Germany.

Private schools offering instruction in German appeared in Philadelphia as early as 1743. On November tenth, of that year, Joseph Crellius announced that he "designs to open his Winter Evening School on Monday the 21st of this Instant, where the German Language will be taught."<sup>1</sup> Crellius also published a "Weekly German News-Paper, which I began in May last."<sup>2</sup> A week later, John Schuppy's notice appeared:

<sup>1</sup> Pennsylvania Gazette, Nov. 10, Nov. 16, Nov. 24, 1743.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, *ibid*. Crellius adds: "All Merchants and others . . . who are desirous to have their Advertisements more effectively communicated to the Germans that are unacquainted with the English Tongue, if they will be

"WHEREAS, The German and French Languages are greatly improved on in Europe, and it's not question'd but will be so here: Therefore I the Subscriber, living in Strawberry Alley, at the Sign of the Book, intend (God willing) to instruct in an Evening School any Gentleman or Persons in the aforementioned Languages in a short and easy Method."<sup>3</sup>

Subsequent advertisements indicate that his "German Evening School" was a successful venture.<sup>4</sup> It continued as a "Winter Evening School;" opening in 1744, "at the beginning of October," and, in 1745, "on Tuesday the 15th of October." In 1755, John Matthias Kramer proposed "to open a School . . . for the instruction of Gentlemen and Ladies in the following accomplishments . . . the French, Italian, and German languages."<sup>5</sup>

One of the best known teachers of German in colonial Philadelphia was Jacob Ehrenzeller, who opened an "Evening School," in 1756.<sup>6</sup> In a notice of 1766, Ehrenzeller "takes this Method, humbly to return Thanks to the Gentlemen, whom he had the Honour to instruct in the German Language these many Years, and proposes again to open an Evening School . . . where this necessary and useful Language will be taught."<sup>7</sup> An advertisement of 1770 "advises the public" that "he continues to teach the GERMAN LANGUAGE, and promises to exert to the utmost of his Power, all his Skill and Diligence, in the Execution of his Duty, to the Satisfaction of his Scholars."<sup>8</sup>

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pleased to send their Advertisements to me, now living in Arch-street, next door to the Sign of the blue Bell, care will be taken that they be carefully translated and inserted in the said paper, without any Charge for translating."

Ibid, Jan. 12, 1764: "Henry Miller, Printer in Second street. Begs Leave to acquaint the Public, That every Monday he publishes a GERMAN NEWS PAPER which circulates not only through Pennsylvania, but likewise goes to Georgia, South and North-Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, the Jerseys, New York, Albany, up the Mohawk River, Nova-Scotia and the West-Indies."

These newspapers are not included in the standard check-lists of American colonial papers. [They are listed, however, in Oswald Seidensticker's valuable publication *The First Century of German Printing in America 1728-1830*, Philadelphia 1893.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, Nov. 16, Nov. 24, Dec. 1, Dec. 15, 1743.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, Sept. 20, Sept. 27, 1744; Sept. 26, 1745.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, Oct. 30, 1755.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, Sept. 30, 1756.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, Oct. 30, 1766.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, Dec. 13, 1770.

The reader may recall, at this point, that William Creamer taught German at the Philadelphia Academy, and College from 1754 to 1775.

Adalbert Ebert, in 1762,<sup>9</sup> and Jacob Lawn, in 1783,<sup>10</sup> offered instruction in both German, and French. Lawn called his establishment a "French night school." Philip Keyl, in 1766, taught "Latin, Greek, German, Low Dutch, and French." His "German School will also be continued every Evening except Saturday."<sup>11</sup> In 1774, Charles Cist "PRESENTS his Service to instruct young Gentlemen in the German and Latin Languages."<sup>12</sup>

The records contain but little information concerning the methods of instruction in these schools. In one instance, "The German language will be taught in a plain and easy Manner;" in another, "after the shortest and easiest Method." Jacob Ehrenzeller taught "this necessary and useful Language . . . according to the Rules of the Syntax;" and Adalbert Ebert used the "Pronunciation of Mr. Gottsched, Professor in Saxony "

References to texts are few. Among the books "Just imported and to be sold by B. Franklin," in 1746, were "Beiler's German Grammars; Ludwig's Dictionary, High Dutch and English."<sup>13</sup> A brief description of Bachmair's German Grammar appears in the press announcement of an American edition: "Now in the Press, and will soon be published by HENRY MILLER, Printer, Race-street, Philadelphia.

A complete GERMAN GRAMMAR, in Two Parts.

THE first Part, containing true, plain, and easy Instructions for acquiring fundamentally, in a short Time, the KNOWLEDGE and Use, both in speaking and writing of the GERMAN TONGUE. The second Part is enriched with familiar Words, Phrases, peculiar Expressions, proverbial Sentences and Dialogues. To which are added for further Application, several Pieces of News, Letters, and some Moral Pieces, both in Prose and Verse. Together with an ample Vocabulary, in alphabetical Order. By JOHN JAMES BACHMAIR, M.A. This Grammar needs no other recommendatory Panegyric than to say that the Author had University Learning, and for a great Number of Years, made the Teaching of the English and German Languages, in London,

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, Mar. 25, 1762.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, Sept. 24, 1783.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, Nov. 27, 1766.

An unknown teacher, in 1772, whose initials were "I.S.," offered private tuition "by the Hour, in any Gentleman's Family," in "READING, Writing, in German and English," among other subjects. (Ibid, Jan. 23, 1772.)

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, Aug. 31, 1774.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, Oct. 2, 1746.

his Profession; in which Time he composed and published this Grammar, as also another for the Germans to learn English: Both are universally allowed to be the best that ever were published. They have hitherto been imported from England, but the book is now, and has been for some Time out of print, and there is no Probability of its ever being re-printed in London: wherefore it has been judged necessary to make a new edition of it in this Country, where it is so much wanted. The Price will be considerably reduced. And, as the Night Schools are to be opened this instant October, both Masters and Scholars may have the Sheets, at the abovesaid Editor's, as they come out of the Press weekly, in order to enable them to go through the Grammar against the Time of its Publication; and, keeping the Sheets clean, may then have the book bound, according to their Liking."<sup>14</sup>

When the book appeared, some six months after this advance notice, it contained an "APPENDIX . . . not in the London Edition."<sup>15</sup>

These private schools were the first in colonial America to offer instruction in German to English speaking students. In introducing the English colonists to a literature so rich in cultural possibilities, they made an appreciable contribution to the intellectual life of Philadelphia in the eighteenth century.

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid, Oct. 3, 1771.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, Mar. 26, 1772: "In a few Days will be published . . . A Complete GERMAN GRAMMAR."

Ibid, Apr. 2, 1772: "JUST PUBLISHED . . . A Complete GERMAN GRAMMAR . . . To which is added AN APPENDIX, containing I. An Index of German Words similar in Sound, but of different Orthography and Signification. II. Names of the most common Occupations and Trades, as also the Names of the Materials and Implements, &c. thereto belonging. III. Explication of a German Proverb."

An interesting post-colonial comment informs us that "German schoolbooks are much demanded in the United States . . . These books are either imported from Holland, or the Hanse towns, or printed in this country. England supplies none of them." (The American Museum, or Universal Magazine, Vol. IX, April, 1791, p. 178.)

## REVIEWS AND NOTES

**WORTGEOGRAPHIE DER HOCHDEUTSCHEN UMGANGSSPRACHE.** Von Paul Kretschmer (o. Professor an der Universität Wien). Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1918. XVI+638 Seiten.

In der "Schlacht bei Reutlingen" schreibt Ludwig Uhland "Dem Vater gegenüber sitzt Ulrich an *den* Tisch." Mehrere norddeutsche Herausgeber von Gedichtsammlungen zu Schulzwecken glaubten hier einen Druckfehler verbessern zu müssen und setzten "an *dem* Tisch" dafür ein, was die Lebendigkeit des Vorgangs nicht wenig beeinträchtigt. Ein norddeutscher Herausgeber von Fischarts "Flöh Hatz" soll sich bass darüber verwundert haben, dass hier den Mücken Eigenschaften zugeschrieben seien, die man sonst nur an den Stubenfliegen kenne,—Fischarts Mücke ist aber eine Stubenfliege, und ist es für jeden Süddeutschen, der die (Stech)mücke mit Schnake bezeichnet. Die Beispiele für solche Missverständnisse lassen sich im Alltagsleben leicht vertausendfältigen, sie geben auch Anlass zu Ernsterem als zu Scherzen in den Fliegenden Blättern. Das hier angezeigte Werk des Wiener Professors für vergleichende Sprachforschung—der Verfasser gehört nicht zur engeren Zunft der deutschen Sprachkunde—bedarf mithin keines Beweises seiner Daseinsberechtigung.

Die Wortgeographie ist ein Teil der Benennungs- oder Bezeichnungslehre, der "Onomasiologie," wie man sie auch genannt hat, die im Gegensatz zur Semasiologie oder Lehre vom Bedeutungswandel der Wörter nicht fragt "was bedeutet das Wort?" sondern "wie heisst das Ding?" die sich also "nicht in den Hörenden versenkt, um den Verständnisakt, sondern in den Sprechenden, um den Taufakt zu ergründen."<sup>1</sup> Mit andern Worten, die Benennungslehre tritt nicht von innen, sondern von aussen an die Wörter heran. Hierin bildet sie ein Gegenstück zu der älteren Grammatik, wie sie von Gottfried Hermann und Immanuel Becker gepflegt wurde, die von der Bedeutung ausgehend nach der Ausdrucksweise fragten, während wir heute von den vorhandenen Formen aus nach der Bedeutung suchen; Beckers Verfahren ist, wie schon Wilhelm Scherer ausführte, wenn auch vorläufig aus praktischen Gründen nicht ratsam, doch an und für sich durchaus berechtigt und wertvoll,<sup>2</sup> und die Wissenschaft wird wohl einmal mit verfeinertem Werk-

<sup>1</sup> Karl Vossler, *Französische Philologie* (Wissenschaftliche Forschungsberichte, herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. Karl Hönn, I), Gotha 1919, Seite 43.

<sup>2</sup> Siehe *John Ries, Was ist Syntax?* Marburg 1894, S. 9 ff.

zeug dazu zurückkehren. Dies Werkzeug verfeinern zu helfen, ist die Benennungslehre, wenn auch ihr Feld das Wörterbuch und nicht die Grammatik ist, in nicht geringem Masse berufen. Ein beträchtlicher Anstoss zu vermehrter Tätigkeit auf diesem Gebiete ist der deutschen Forschung von Frankreich her gekommen, nämlich von der Arbeit J. Gilliérons und E. Edmonds am *Atlas linguistique de la France* (Paris 1902-12).<sup>3</sup> Im Gegensatz zum deutschen Sprachatlas, der seine vierzig Sätze in jedem Orte des deutschen Sprachgebietes des Reiches (in seinem Vorkriegsumfang), etwa 45000, abfragen liess, begnügte sich der französische Gelehrte mit 639 Orten, etwa einem Sechzigstel der Zahl der deutschen, nahm dafür jedoch durch einen einzelnen geschulten Beobachter 2000 Wörter und zwar nicht nur mit ihren lautlichen, sondern auch mit lexikalischen Entsprechungen auf, so dass das französische Werk in diesem Punkte vorläufig der deutschen Forschung ebensoweit voraus ist, als es ihm für die lautliche Seite nachsteht. Vorläufig,—die Forderung wortgeographischer Untersuchung fürs deutsche Sprachgebiet ist schon oft gestellt worden, am nachdrücklichsten in Gustav Roethes Bericht über *Die Deutsche Kommission der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, ihre Vorgeschichte, ihre Arbeiten und Ziele*,<sup>4</sup> ein wortgeographisches Seitenwerk zu dem lautlichen Sprachatlas wird hier als eine der nächsten Aufgaben der Akademie bezeichnet; da indessen die unbeschreiblichen Nachwehen des grossen Krieges wohl auch hierin die Tätigkeit der Akademie gelähmt haben, so haben mittlerweile die Leiter der Zeitschrift für deutsche Mundarten in einer 1922 ergangenen Rundfrage auf Grund einiger Dutzend ausgewählter Beispiele eine Vorarbeit zu einer umfassenden mundartlichen Wortgeographie unternommen, die im Zusammenhang mit dem Sprachatlas in Marburg ausgeführt werden soll. Die Beispiele selbst sind Kretschmers Wortliste entnommen, aus Zweckmässigkeitsgründen.

In der Festschrift zu Ferdinand Wredes sechzigstem Geburtstag<sup>5</sup> habe ich in einem Aufsatz zur Wortgeographie Nordbadens die Entsprechungen meiner Heimatmundart zu den von Kretschmer ausgewählten umgangssprachlichen Wörtern zusammengestellt. Ich berechne die Übereinstimmungen mit den von ihm gegebenen Berliner Stichwörtern auf ziemlich genau ein Viertel, nämlich 85 gegen 342, wobei von kleinen Unterschieden im Wortkörper abgesehen ist. Demgegenüber gebrauche ich in meiner täglichen Umgangssprache heute 207

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Vossler aaO., Seite 10 sowie 40 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur, herausgegeben von Johannes Ilberg, 16. Jahrgang 1913, S. 37, besonders 65 ff., 68 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Zeitschrift für deutsche Mundarten, 18. Jahrgang 1923, S. 290 ff.

dieser 342 Berliner Wörter, eine Zahl, die weit über das hinausgeht, was ein gebildeter Süddeutscher benützen würde, und die ich mir nur aus weitläufigen Wanderungen und langjährigem Zusammenleben—dazu im Auslande—mit Volksgenossen aus allen Teilen des deutschen Sprachgebiets erklären kann. So ziemlich die gleiche Anzahl von Entsprechungen beobachte ich bei meiner Frau, die, von Geburt Süddeutsche, der Abstammung nach (Vater aus Hannover, Mutter aus Sachsen gebürtig) nach Nord- und Ostmitteleuropa gehörig, in den sprachbildenden Jahren im fränkischen, später im alemannischen Baden beheimatet, seit unserer Verheiratung die sprachliche Umgebung mit mir teilt. Die Bedingungen für fruchtbare Beobachtungen und Vergleiche sind also gegeben. Es wäre anregend, wenn solche, wenigstens zahlenmässig, noch besser aber mit Angabe der wirklich gebrauchten Wörter und der Entsprechungen, in den nächsten Jahren möglichst zahlreich zusammengestellt und dem Verfasser des Buches für Neubearbeitungen dargeboten würden.

Wie der Titel genügend bezeichnet und das Vorwort noch weiter ausführt, handelt es sich um einen Beitrag zu der im Fluss befindlichen mündlichen Gemeinsprache der Gebildeten, die in den grösseren Städten zu Hause ist,<sup>6</sup> und deren Gebiet nicht so zusammenhängt wie das der ländlichen Mundarten. Vollständigkeit konnte nicht das Ziel sein. Fragebogen wurden über das ganze hochdeutsch sprechende Gebiet von Petersburg bis Bern ausgesandt und von Gewährsmännern aller Art (S. 28-35) beantwortet. Ausgeschlossen waren alle Wörter, deren hochdeutsches Gepräge zweifelhaft ist, ebenso alle Fachausdrücke, also auch alle Tier- und Pflanzennamen.<sup>7</sup> Der Schriftennachweis umfasst sechs Seiten in Abkürzungen angeführter Werke.

Es folgt dann eine Allgemeines und Geschichtliches enthaltende Einleitung von etlichen sechzig Seiten. Die hochdeutsche Umgangssprache ist noch nicht zu der Einheitlichkeit gediehen wie das Französische und Englische, von dem freilich die durch das Meer getrennte Sprache Nordamerikas beträchtlich abweicht.<sup>8</sup> Ihren mannigfachen Unterschieden in der Aussprache, z.B. der Fremdwörter, stehen auch einige in der Betonung

<sup>6</sup> Aber in der Bastardform einer Halb- oder Viertelmundart auch auf dem Lande vielfach schon der echten Volkssprache den Boden abgräbt!

<sup>7</sup> Gerade mit diesen aber wird sich eine mundartliche Wortgeographie sehr eingehend zu befassen haben. Hat doch R. Holsten (Programm Pyritz 1913 und 1914) vermittelst der Benennungen für Storch, Regenwurm, Ameise und Herrgottskäferchen im pommerschen Plattdeutsch die Übereinstimmung Vor- und Hinterpommerns Mittelpommern gegenüber klar bewiesen und scharfe Sprachgrenzen auf wort- statt lautgeographischer Grundlage festgelegt. Auch für den Wandel in den Anschauungen von den Dingen und die Erkenntnis unserer sprachlichen Denkform überhaupt sind die Tier- und Pflanzennamen von hervorragender Wichtigkeit. Prachtige Beispiele dafür aus dem Romanischen bei Vossler, aao., S. 44.

deutscher Wörter (wie *Nachmittag*) und Präpositionalverbindungen (wie *mit ihm, vor sich*), wenige in der Wortbeugung, um so mehr aber in der Syntax zur Seite (z.B. süddeutsch *ich bin* statt *ich habe gestanden, gesessen, gelegen*;<sup>9</sup> vollendete statt erzählende Vergangenheit wie *ich habe gesehen*=*ich sah*; von Kretschmer als ostpreussisch bezeichnetes, indessen aber auch süddeutsches *ich darf das nicht tun*=*ich brauche das nicht zu tun*; österreichisches *auf etwas vergessen*.<sup>10</sup>) Weitaus die grössten Unterschiede jedoch zeigen sich im Gebrauch des Einzelworts. Bei der einseitigen Betrachtung der Grenzgebiete Schriftsprache und Mundart seit den siebziger Jahren ist die wissenschaftliche Behandlung der Umgangssprache vernachlässigt worden, als wäre sie etwas Unselbständiges, etwa eine allenfalls mundartlich beeinflusste gesprochene Schriftsprache. Aber mindestens auf dem Gebiete des Wortschatzes empfängt die Umgangssprache nicht nur, sondern sie gibt; viele Wörter, namentlich Kulturwörter, gehen von ihr aus, nicht von der vorwiegend Fachausdrücke prägenden Schriftsprache, auch nicht von den Volksmundarten, deren Wortschatz dem engeren Gesichtskreis ihrer Träger, besonders der Landbevölkerung, entspricht. Da die Umgangssprache in stetem Fluss ist, so lässt sich die wortgeographische Untersuchung zu irgend einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt durch keine spätere ersetzen; dass sie im ganzen 19. Jahrhundert versäumt wurde, schafft eine bedauerliche Lücke in der Kenntnis unserer sprachlichen Entwicklung. In längeren Zeiträumen wären immer wieder erneute Erhebungen vorzunehmen.<sup>11</sup>

Bei der Bestimmung des Begriffes der hochdeutschen Umgangssprache regt sich der Widerspruch, wenn als deren oberste Stufe die Vortrags- (Repräsentations-, Öffentlichkeits-) sprache angesetzt wird: diese ist doch lediglich gesprochene Schriftsprache. Es kann sich nur um die Verkehrs- und die familiäre Sprache in ihren verschiedenen Abschattungen handeln. Auch hier wieder, wie Kretschmer sehr hübsch ausführt, geographische Unterschiede: Hannover hält sich geflissentlich der Mundart fern, das "schnoddrige" Berlinertum liebt die Halbmundart, in Württemberg und Schweiz beherrscht die Mundart auch die Sprache der Gebildeten (das "Honoratiorenschwäbisch" deckt sich mit keiner Mundart, ist ein Aus-

<sup>9</sup> Freilich weist in den verschiedenen Teilen der Vereinigten Staaten die englische Umgangssprache gerade in ihrem Wortbestande erhebliche Unterschiede auf.

<sup>10</sup> Hierher gehört auch das eingangs erwähnte *an den Tisch sitzen*=*sich an den Tisch setzen*: ähnlich *an die Tür stehen, ins Bett liegen*.

<sup>11</sup> Kretschmer erwähnt nicht den Unterschied zwischen österreichisch *etwas vergessen* und *auf etwas vergessen*; wer beim Halten einer Rede auf eine Anführung vergisst, braucht nicht diese selbst vergessen zu haben, sondern versäumt nur sie an passender Stelle einzuflechten.

<sup>12</sup> Von den Mundarten gilt dies selbstverständlich erst recht.

gleich zwischen Schriftsprache und Hauptstadtmundart und zeigt im ganzen Land wenig landschaftliche, sondern mehr nur Bekenntnis-, Bildungs- und Standesunterschiede; in der Schweiz gehen die Unterschiede ziemlich bunt durcheinander, unter sich sprechen die Schweizer die Mundart, mit Fremden Hochdeutsch, vor Gericht und im Grossen Rat gilt in Bern Mundart, in Basel Schriftdeutsch); das Elsässer "Pfarrerdeutsch" ist ein Mittel Ding zwischen Schriftdeutsch und Strassburger Mundart (in ihm schrieb auch vor 1870 der Elsässer Bauernbursch als Soldat an seinen Schatz, der Strassburger Bürgerssohn aber Französisch). Empfindlich ist der Mangel von mundartgeographischen Vorarbeiten auf dem Gebiete des Wortschatzes; der Verfasser sah sich vorwiegend auf Idiotika angewiesen, die sehr verschiedenen Zeiten angehören und ihren Stoff aus zeitlich weit auseinanderliegenden Quellen schöpfen, so dass vermeintlich geographische Unterschiede sehr wohl auch zeitliche sein können.

Über die Zugehörigkeit eines Wortes zur hochdeutschen Umgangssprache (§2) kann nur der Kenner des lebendigen Gebrauchs entscheiden, schriftliche Quellen versagen: Goethe kann ein Wort aus Weimar wie aus Frankfurt, Schiller aus Jena wie aus Stuttgart haben,<sup>12</sup> Jeremias Gotthelf braucht, wohl auf Anregung seines Verlegers, manche nicht bodenständige hochdeutsche Ausdrücke. In Zeitungen und auf Ladenschildern in Österreich liest man Wörter, die kein Mensch spricht; anderwärts lebt im Umgang ein Wort, das für die meisten Orte der Papiersprache angehört (z.B. *Säugling* in Heidelberg). Also will Kretschmer nur solche Wörter zulassen, die auch vom Gebildetsten in nicht zwangloser Rede gebraucht werden; noch besser ist es, wenn ein solches Wort das einzig übliche ist; darum sind österreichisch *Marille* = *Aprikose*, *Spagat* = *Bindfaden*, westdeutsch *Theke* = *Ladentisch* zu buchen, die nur in zwangloser Rede gebräuchlichen *Stulle* und *Bemme* = *Butterbrot* auszuschneiden. Wo sich nicht wie in Fachausdrücken mundartliche, besonders niederdeutsche Lautgebung eingebürgert hat, ist hochdeutsche Lautform zu fordern. Beweiskräftig für hochdeutsches Gepräge eines Wortes sind namentlich amtlicher Sprachgebrauch und Schulvorschrift.

Die vergleichende Wortgeographie darf nicht wie ein Idiotikon alles aufnehmen (§3), z.B. nicht örtlich beschränkte Dinge wie Seeausdrücke; auch nicht "Gefühlswörter," bei denen der begleitende Gefühlston ein Werturteil über die Vorstellung ausspricht (besonders Unlust und Unwillen); keine Redeteilchen und -wendungen wie *gelt* und *halt*; nicht örtlich eng begrenzte Ausdrucksweisen; desgl. nicht die Fachwörter der Stände und Berufe, Handwerke und Gewerbe, Künste und

<sup>12</sup> Der Frage wäre im Einzelfall doch wohl beizukommen, nur erforderte dies zeitraubende Einzeluntersuchungen.

Wissenschaften,—ausgenommen indes die Ausdrücke der Küche und Hauswirtschaft, die grösstenteils allgemein üblich, zum Teil freilich nur Köchen und Frauen geläufig sind; endlich sind, wie bereits vermerkt, Tier- und Pflanzennamen sowie Kinder- und Kanzleisprache ausgeschlossen.

Die Sammlung des Stoffes geschah rund um 1910. Stichwort ist der Berliner Ausdruck; ein ausführliches Verzeichnis am Ende des Bandes bucht alle besprochenen Wörter. Ein Wort mag irgendwo ganz unbekannt und unverständlich sein oder nur ungebräuchlich; manchmal gelten diese letzteren dann für geziert oder dichterisch (z.B. Spind, Gewand, Ross). Die Verbreitung ist sehr verschiedenartig: manchmal kann zwischen den Gebieten (so bei *Samstag: Sonnabend*) eine reinliche Grenzlinie gezogen werden; öfters bestehen Exklaven; bisweilen herrscht ein buntes geographisches Durcheinander; dann wieder bestehen an denselben Orten mehrere Ausdrücke nebeneinander (vgl. das Stichwort Kartoffel). Es folgt die Übersicht: Haus und Haushalt (Insassen, Bedienung, Räume und Zugehöriges, Möbel, Hausgeräte und Verwandtes, Abfälle, häusliche Tätigkeiten), Kleider, Speisen (Mahlzeiten, Milch, Gemüse, Obst, Fleisch, Fische, Backwerk und Verwandtes, Zutaten, Getränke), Finderspiele und Verwandtes, Grüsse, Strasse, Gewerbe und Zubehör, Körperteile, Krankheiten und Tod, Alter, Zeit, Wetter, Tiere (7), Pflanzen (5), Eigenschaftswörter, Tätigkeiten, Adverbia. Auf dem Gebiete des Haushalts und der materiellen Lebensbedürfnisse hat die Schriftsprache die geringste Einwirkung ausgeübt, und die Literatur erwähnt sie selten: Kädings Häufigkeitswörterbuch bucht in seiner elf Millionen Wörter umfassenden Sammlung *Sahne* 10-11mal, *Rahm* 8-13mal gegen 313mal *Heeresleitung*; die geringe Zahl der Buchungen ist auf alle Fälle bezeichnend. Wo Kretschmers Gewährsmänner schwanken und unsicher sind, scheint es sich um Veralten eines Ausdrucks und Eindringen eines neuen zu handeln. In der Ausführlichkeit der geographischen Angaben hofft der Verfasser die richtige Mitte getroffen zu haben; uns will es scheinen, dass hierin des Guten öfters zu viel geschehen ist.

Der fünfte Abschnitt bringt Geschichtliches zum Gegenstand. Kretschmer geht davon aus, dass die Aufnahme vor dreissig Jahren noch ein wesentlich anderes Bild ergeben hätte, und belegt dies an *Sommerfrische*, das 1880 in Berlin noch unbekannt (dafür *Sommerwohnung*), bereits ein volles Jahrhundert früher in Bozen belegt ist. Weiter zurück nähern wir uns den Anfängen des Neuhochdeutschen überhaupt; die Vielfältigkeit des Wortschatzes in der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache zeigen u.a. die Luthers Bibelübersetzung in manchen süddeutschen Nachdrucken angehängten Wörterbücher. Man hatte damals genug zu tun, eine einheitliche Schriftsprache zu schaffen, und konnte sich mit solchen Neben-

fragen nicht abgeben. Im 17. Jahrhundert erlangte dann Kursachsen massgebenden Einfluss auf die sprachliche Entwicklung; gelobt wird namentlich das Meissnische der "fürnehmen Leipzigerinnen." Zum Eindringen hochdeutscher Rede in Niederdeutschland erzählt Sastrow 1528, dass der Bürgermeister von Greifswald im Rausche nur "hochteutisch" reden wolle, und 1639 hören wir von Mikroelius, dass in Pommern nur noch hochdeutsch gepredigt, gebetet, gesungen, geschrieben, *geredet* und verabschiedet werde. Hiegegen blieb in Süddeutschland die Mundart immer noch die Umgangssprache; 1760 meinten die Literaturbriefe "wer in Wien, München und Mannheim reden will, ist freilich nicht verbunden, sächsisch zu reden . . . Alle Schriften werden in der sächsischen Mundart geschrieben." Die Einheit wurde also nur für die Schriftsprache gefordert. Zuerst wurde die Einheit des Wortschatzes untersucht in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts von Johann Siegmund Valentin Popowitsch (1705-74; 1753-66 Professor der Wohlredenheit an der Wiener Universität); sein "Versuch einer Vereinigung der Mundarten von Teutschland als eine Einleitung zu einem vollständigen deutschen Wörterbuch mit Bestimmungen der Wörter und beträchtlichen Beiträgen zur Naturgeschichte" erschien nach seinem Tode, Wien 1780, und die Bibliothek daselbst verwahrt weit umfangreichere Sammlungen in seinem handschriftlichen Nachlass. Gegen ihn treten die andern Grammatiker der Zeit wie Gottsched und Adelung weit zurück; mehr findet sich bei Nicolai, Anton von Klein, J. F. Heynatz. Die Anbahnung der Einigung der Umgangssprache brachte erst die Jahrhundertwende mit der völligen Einigung der Schriftsprache. Eine gebildete Umgangssprache hatte noch gefehlt: Lessings "Minna," ein ideales Vorbild, entsprach keiner Wirklichkeit. Herder forderte 1788, dass "unsere reinere Büchersprache immer mehr die Sprache der feineren Gesellschaften und jedes öffentlichen Vortrages zu werden suche" (die damals noch vielfach französisch gehalten wurden).<sup>13</sup> Nun kommt auch der Ausdruck Gesell-

<sup>13</sup> Fast zur selben Zeit, 1789, äussert sich Schiller hieüber in einer Besprechung von Schatz' Übersetzung von *Goldoni über sich selbst und über die Geschichte seines Theaters* (Säkular-Ausgabe XVI, 195): "Dass in der Konversationsprache sein Ton oft in das Gesuchte fällt, scheint der Übersetzer selbst gefühlt zu haben, und er sucht diesen Vorwurf der deutschen Sprache überhaupt zuzuwälzen, die sich nicht wohl anders, wie er sagt, von dem Extrem des Platten soll entfernen können als durch das entgegengesetzte Extrem des Künstlichen. Da Herr Schatz es wohl schwerlich mit so vielen unserer klassischen Schriftsteller wird aufnehmen wollen, die von der deutschen edlern Gesellschaftssprache Muster geliefert haben, so kann sich dieser Vorwurf nicht wohl weiter als auf den Kreis des Umgangs erstrecken, den er selbst beobachtet hat; und wenn ihm dieser zwischen Platt und Gesucht keinen Mittelweg zeigte, so war es immer ein wenig rasch, dieses Urteil auf seine ganze Nation auszudehnen. Wenn sich die deutsche Sprache auch von einer gewissen Klasse Menschen, die schwerlich eine Prüfung darin aushalten dürfte, diesen ebenso ungereimten als unverdienten

schaftssprache, Gesellschaftsdeutsch dafür auf. Die Bestrebungen unserer eigenen Zeit, der lebendigen gesprochenen Sprache den Vorrang vor der papierenen zu verschaffen, beweisen, dass man den Ursprung unserer Gemeinsprache schon vergessen hat, und dass die Umgangssprache eine selbständige Macht geworden ist.

Die wortgeographischen Unterschiede stammen nun keineswegs alle aus der Zeit vor der hochdeutschen Spracheinigung, sondern sind auch neuen Ursprungs, selbst solche aus dem 19. Jahrhundert finden sich; wie solche gewissermassen in Greifweite entstehen konnten, belegt der Verfasser am Beispiel von Strasse und Gasse. Dass diese Unterschiede sich besonders bei neu eingeführten Dingen und neuen Erfindungen einstellen, ist klar. Sie werden natürlich auch nie völlig verschwinden; kein Einsichtiger wird das wünschen. Dass wortgeographische Unterschiede im Französischen und Englischen nicht bestünden, wie Kretschmer meint, ist wohl eine Übertreibung, wenn auch für Frankreich die Académie in jedem Einzelfall eine Einigung erzwingen kann. Auf die Verhältnisse in Amerika ist schon oben hingewiesen worden. Nicht zu bestreiten ist, dass dem deutschen Sprachgebiet ein sprachlicher Mittelpunkt fehlt, wenigstens lange Zeit gefehlt hat, wie schon Leibnitz erkannte; heute übt ja Berlin starken Einfluss aus, manchmal vielleicht mehr als wünschenswert. Dass Kretschmer den Berliner Ausdruck als Stichwort setzt, war das Gegebene. Gerade aber auf dem Gebiete des Wortschatzes sollten, meint der Verfasser richtig, nicht alle Berliner Ausdrücke gemeindeutsch werden.<sup>14</sup> Eine Auslese aus dem allgemeinen Reichtum wird sich von selbst einstellen und neben den siegreichen Wörtern werden sich viele der verdrängten als sinnverwandte mit Nebenbedeutungen und besonderen Gefühlswerten behaupten; Kretschmer nennt z.B. *Treppe: Stiege, Licht: Kerze, Wange: Backe, Schlot: Schornstein, Lampe: Ampel*, bei denen sich solche Ansätze bereits durchgesetzt haben oder durchzusetzen beginnen.

Den Hauptteil des Buches (534 Seiten) nehmen die rund 350 kürzeren oder längeren Abhandlungen ein, alphabetisch geordnet. Unter jedem Stichwort sind die dem Berliner Ausdruck

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Vorwurf machen lassen muss, so sollte man ihn wenigstens jetzt nicht mehr in die Welt hineinschreiben." In einer zweiten Besprechung desselben Buches (ebd., 192) spricht er "von einer ziemlichen Anzahl anerkannter guter Schriftsteller, von Gellert und Rabener anzufangen," die als Beweis für die Leistungsfähigkeit der besseren deutschen Gesellschaftssprache herangezogen werden könnten. Dass noch viel zur Vervollkommnung dieser Sprache zu tun sei, gesteht er in einem Brief an den Herzog von Augustenburg vom 5. April 1795 (Jonas, IV, S. 158): "Es ist das Unglück der Deutschen, dass man ihre Sprache nicht gewürdigt hat, das Organ des feinen Umgangs zu werden, und noch lange wird sie die übeln Folgen dieser Ausschliessung empfinden."

<sup>14</sup> Wieviele Deutsche würden sich wohl daran gewöhnen können, den Warmwasserbehälter auf dem Kochherd die *Blase* auf der *Maschine* zu nennen?

und der genauen Begriffsbestimmung entsprechenden andern landschaftlichen Ausdrücke zusammengetragen, so, um gleich beim ersten zu bleiben, unter *Abendbrot: Abendessen, Nachtessen, Nachtmahl*. Fast jeder einzelne Aufsatz bietet Anregung in Fülle; manche sind zu kleinen Einzelschriften ausgewachsen, die über den Rahmen eines Wörterbuches weit hinausgingen. Indessen ein Wörterbuch wollte der Verfasser ja auch nicht schreiben; dies wird als viel umfassenderes Werk der Zukunft vorbehalten bleiben müssen. Und gerade für eine erste Darstellung der mannigfachen Fragen grundsätzlicher Art empfahl sich eine gewisse behäbige Breite der Ausführung. Kretschmer hat auf diese Weise ein Werk geschaffen, das sich vielleicht weniger zum raschen Nachschlagen als zur fortlaufenden Lesung vortrefflich eignet. Die Belehrung, die es bringt, findet sich nirgends sonst in gleicher Fülle und in gleicher Güte beisammen. Für den Lehrer des Deutschen im Auslande birgt das Buch noch besondere Werte, und es wird sich einen sicheren Platz unter den gerne und oft gebrauchten Standwerken seiner Bücherei erobern.<sup>15</sup>

Die richtige Ausbeute des Stoffes, den Kretschmer aufgehäuft und in verschwenderischer Fülle ausgebreitet hat, ist aber erst noch zu erwarten, wenn einmal die Ergebnisse nicht in ihrer Vereinzelung, sondern nach wohldurchdachtem Plan zusammengefasst vorgelegt werden. Dies wird z.T. wohl in tabellenförmigen Übersichten, noch mehr aber in Kartenform geschehen müssen. Ausserdem gehören dazu wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Überblicke, die womöglich in der gleichen Form mit den wortgeographischen dargeboten werden müssten. Es würden sich wahrscheinlich überraschende Übereinstimmungen zwischen sprachlichen und sachlichen Grenzen auf den Karten ergeben—und ebenso überraschende Unstimmigkeiten, die eine Menge neuer Rätsel aufgaben. Das sind Zukunftsaufgaben, deren Lösung vielleicht in weiter Ferne liegt, für deren mittelbare Anregung wir aber dem Verfasser dankbar sein müssen, ebenso sehr wie für die abschliessenden Ergebnisse seines wertvollen und schönen Buches.

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<sup>15</sup> Kretschmer hat fast durchweg auf Grund der ausgeschickten Fragebogen gesammelt; Gedrucktes kam erst in zweiter und dritter Reihe in Frage. Hier werden zukünftige Neubearbeitungen doch wohl manches nachholen müssen. So vermisste ich unter *Stube* bzw. *gute Stube* das holsteinische *Pescl*, das uns allen aus Storms Immensee geläufig ist.

**AN ARISTOTELIAN THEORY OF COMEDY**, with an Adaptation of the *Poetics* and a Translation of the 'Tractatus Coislinianus.' By Lane Cooper. Harcourt, Brace & Co. New York: 1922.

The aim of this book is, first, to be useful to the general student of literature; to aid in the understanding of comedies, both ancient and modern; to make accessible the *Tractatus Coislinianus*, which is extolled as "by all odds the most important technical treatise on comedy" that has come down to us from the ancients; and also to provide either a reconstruction of a theory once existing in the past (Aristotle's theory of comedy), or a "new synthesis that would harmonize with a great tradition." It is obvious that Professor Cooper has raised questions that cannot easily be settled. What is the nature of comedy in general? Of Greek comedy in particular? Did Aristotle treat of comedy in a lost section of the *Poetics*? If he did, is it possible for us to imagine what he must have said? Is the *Tractate* really the most important technical treatise on comedy, unsurpassed in modern times?

Let me say at once that Professor Cooper's work has been done with great patience, and that the material assembled is of considerable value. His introduction contains an attack upon the ordinary historical treatment of the evolution of forms of literature. He argues that the exclusive investigation of the changing forms has led critics to neglect the end and purpose of the various types; and thus he introduces an eloquent eulogy of the *Poetics* of Aristotle, which is (he asserts) "the only adequate investigation of the literary type with regard to form and function." He dismisses McMahon's argument (*Harvard Studies*, 28, 1-46) that there never was a second book of the *Poetics*; the division of a treatise into books is held to be irrelevant to the question whether Aristotle once made an explicit inquiry into the sources of comic effect. The *Tractate* is then offered to us as a plausible source of Aristotelian doctrine on comedy. The essay by J. Bernays, *Ergänzung zu Aristoteles' Poetik*, is said to be defective in two respects: Bernays is in error in supposing that Aristotle underrated Aristophanes and preferred New Comedy; and Bernays makes the mistake of subordinating the *Poetics* to the *Tractate*.

Now comes the *saut périlleux*: "with a slight shift, the *Poetics* can be metamorphosed into a treatise on comedy; whereupon the authentic elements of the *Tractate* become an addendum," and "many positive results can be obtained." After a digression, in which Professor Cooper seeks to establish, partly on *a priori* grounds, that Aristotle could not have failed to recognize the genius of Aristophanes, the demands which Aristotle would make on comedy are enumerated. First organic

unity is required; the proper effect of comedy must be produced; the correct means to produce this effect must be chosen in accordance with the "law of proportion, and the law of probability or necessity. in the order of details." The six constitutive elements of drama must be present; of these elements, plot must be regarded as the chief, and *ethos* is second to plot. The effect and the function of comedy are discussed at length. What corresponds to tragic catharsis? Perhaps, replies Professor Cooper, catharsis of anger and envy; perhaps, as the *Tractate* says, catharsis of pleasure and laughter. Perhaps Aristotle combined both catharses; and there may have been a Freudian element in his theory. Other ancient and modern authorities are quoted. After a long search we discover the tentative pronouncement (p. 179): "As for the end or function resulting from the imitation of such an object in such a medium in such a manner, it is to arouse, and by arousing to release the emotions proper to comedy." This may be teleology, but the *telos* seems to be suffering from a partial eclipse.

The *Poetics*, as re-written, contain the familiar material, applied to comedy by an almost mathematical substitution. The *Tractate* is translated, amplified, and illustrated. Professor Cooper has collected useful and elaborate examples of homonyms, synonyms, garrulity, paronyms, diminutives, perverted pronunciations, grammar and syntax, chosen from Aristophanes, Shakespeare, Molière, and Rabelais. This all refers to laughter arising from diction, the topic in which one would expect a minor Greek critic to be successful; but the mental debility of the *Tractate* becomes obvious when it tackles the second source of laughter. The *Tractate* struggles to include under this head all laughter that arises from things or from things done (*ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων*). The result is chaos; here we find the equation of what is better to what is worse, the equation of what is worse to what is better, deception, impossibilities, the irrelevant, the unexpected, the debasing of personages, vulgar dancing, the choice of worthless objects, and disjointed plots. Such analysis corresponds pretty closely to that described by Socrates in the *Phaedrus* as "attempting to break a limb in half, after the fashion of a bungling carver." If these be Aristotelian doctrines, so much the worse for Aristotle. Professor Cooper is troubled by the assertion of the *Tractate* that laughter arises "when the *logos* is disjointed and has no sequence." The precise meaning of *logos* in this passage is uncertain: but if it refers to plot, it is a flat contradiction of the overlordship of the compactly built plot; and if it does not refer to plot, it is a mere duplication of the category of the inconsequent. To put it gently, the best technical treatise on comedy wobbles.

It seems to me that almost the sole value of this book lies in the material which has been gathered, and in the pleasant

scholarly manner of the author. I cannot regard Professor Cooper's thesis as established. It is built upon the insecure foundation of an essay which has little to say about comedy; it involves a serious overestimate of the value of the *Tractate*; and it perpetuates one of the worst tendencies of criticism, the blind worship of the wrong side of Aristotle. The *Tractate*, in its ridiculous analysis of the sources of the comic, mentions the choice of what is worthless; certainly in the case of Aristotle's theory of poetry a vast number of writers have chosen what is dead rather than what is living, and have deliberately treated as independent truths those remarks of Aristotle which were simply retorts to Plato. To attribute to Aristotle a doctrine of comic catharsis is to form an hypothesis which perilously resembles a guess; and yet, unless preliminary certainty be reached in respect to the end and purpose of comedy, it is logically impossible to define the structure which should attain to that definite end. A teleologist whose *telos* is uncertain is a ship without sailing directions. Therefore it is a waste of time to re-write for comedy Aristotle's prescription of the form which a tragic plot, with its discoveries and reversals of fortune, should take.

It is indeed extremely probable that the *Poetics* had some influence upon the authors of Greek New Comedy, and through them upon modern comedy; but that is a matter for the historian of literature. The fact that these rules have at one time or another affected the composition of plays does not in the least prove their universal validity as the theory of a form of literature. On the contrary, it is clear that Aristophanes, for example, cannot be explained on the supposition that the plot of his comedies is of paramount importance; if it were, we should not find the *dénouement*, the resolution of the difficulties, occurring in the middle of such plays as the *Acharnians* and the *Wasps*, the *Peace* and the *Plutus*. Professor Cooper's only resource, in the face of Aristophanes' notorious dereliction, is to claim that "the fundamental thing in each of his plays as we know them is a great comic idea or substantial form which gives rise to all the details of each." This does not save his case: there is a vast difference between the Aristotelian plot, ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων σύστασις, and the genetic idea of an Aristophanic comedy. What Aristotle means by a combination of incidents may be seen, as Bywater points out, from his synopses of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* and the *Odyssey* in the *Poetics*, 17, 1455b.

It appears therefore that Professor Cooper has not proved his thesis, and that it is vain to attempt the restoration of Aristotle's treatise on comedy. Doubtless, as Bernays long ago argued, there is reason to believe that the *Tractatus Coislinianus* preserves traces of Aristotelian doctrine, in abbreviated and more or less distorted form. It is also very likely that Aristotle's

treatise on comedy, if it ever existed, bore an air of general resemblance to his treatise on tragedy. But it is extremely unlikely that the one should have been a mere replica of the other; "Aristotle, with all his scientific formalism, is even as a thinker much more human than we are apt to suppose." And even if this were likely, such a treatise would not be particularly useful to the student who desires to understand comedies. The teleological explanation of the universe, so dear to the men of other days, was an obstacle to the progress of science; and the teleological explanation of comedy is equally untenable. To issue decrees concerning the purpose of comedy and the means by which comedy shall fulfil that purpose is a fascinating employment; but it is perhaps quite as fascinating, for the student of Greek comedy, and certainly it is more instructive, to follow the patient researches of Zielinski, Cornford, Körte, Mazon, and Legrand. I imagine that the same holds true for the student of modern comedy.

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**ROMANTIK UND NEUROMANTIK.** Von Dr. Ika A. Thomése. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Hugo von Hofmannsthals. Haag, Martinus Nijhoff, 1923, pp. 197.

As the title indicates, the scope of Dr. Thomése's study is rather large for a monograph of this nature, but since it is almost wholly confined to the esthetic aspect of the problem, it suffices that only the chief exponents of romanticism are briefly characterized to present the salient features of the different movements. A further limitation results from the virtual exclusion of the purely fantastic in romantic literature. The striving for greater spirituality, the emphasis placed upon the inner life, become thus the chief criteria for Dr. Thomése. Conceding that romantic features are to be found in the literature of all ages since the days of the ancient classics, Dr. Thomése adheres to the established conception of three periods in which romanticism was to the fore: "in the middle ages, about 1800, and in the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries." In the middle ages, romanticism developed first in France under the influence of the two greatest mystics of the eleventh century: Bernhard of Clairvaux and Hugo of St. Victor. The latter, it should be remembered, was of German origin. The close relationship existing between religious and sexual erotic made the transition from the realm of religion to that of love a natural one. In the process, the conception of love underwent a most elevating transformation, resulting in a number of instances in a complete spiritualization of this emotion. At the close of the eighteenth century, roman-

ticism became, for a brief period, the ruling literary force in Germany, from where it spread to the neighboring countries, while the neo-romantic movement, according to Dr. Thomése, took its rise in England in the second half of the nineteenth century. "Inasmuch as the romanticism of about 1800 was a cultural movement in a far more pronounced degree than the earlier and the later current, Germany must be accorded the first place in a discussion of romanticism in Europe." Hence the grouping of the material in the present study. It may well be doubted if the romanticism of the middle ages was less of a cultural force than the movement which began at the close of the eighteenth century, but, due to the general conditions of society during the medieval period, the lack of learning, the difficulty of communications of all kinds, the paucity of means for the dissemination of thought, it could not well be brought to a head in the form of a cultural movement. By according the first place to German romanticism, Dr. Thomése is enabled to develop in an easy and natural manner a number of definitions, conceptions, and theories, indispensable in any discussion of romanticism, from the works of the very men who first formulated and created them. The "Athenäum" and the works of Novalis constitute, of course, the chief source. Dr. Thomése suggests that one of the reasons why the German romanticists showed such a pronounced preference for the literary fragment lies in the fact that with them emotion was far stronger than the creative imagination, so that their creative power failed them when the emotion subsided.

English romanticism of the middle ages, Dr. Thomése finds, is mostly limited to the choice of the subject matter; not until Shakespeare and Milton, genuinely romantic feelings are manifested. It were, however, strong English influences—Macpherson's and Percy's especially—which contributed to the renaissance of romanticism in Germany. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, it began also to flourish in England. Wordsworth and Coleridge are ranked highly, while Scott, with some notable exceptions, we are told, fails to reproduce the medieval spirit in his poems and ballads. Shelley shows many points of contact with the German romanticists: the predominance of the subconscious and intuitive, the struggle against the conventional in life and art, preference for the symbol and the allegory, and love as the bond with nature in all its aspects. But he clearly recognized "that the manner of music is not the manner of poetry." Keats is, above all, the poet of beauty and the first among English poets who wrote from the sheer joy in the act of creation. He was really the precursor of neo-romanticism, and a straight line leads from his art to Rossetti's. In the latter, we find worship of feminine beauty, the characteristic combination of spiritual and sensual love, and equal excellency

of contents and form. While Morris succeeds well in reproducing the spirit of the middle ages and is an enthusiastic devotee of beauty, his poetry lacks the subtle refinement which is typical of neo-romanticism. Dowson, whose outlook upon life in the last analysis is pessimistic, is in many respects akin to Hofmannsthal. The experiences of life do not satisfy the longings of the heart; the beauty of silence is for him the last resort. In the chapter on English romanticism, Rossetti and Dowson are treated with greater minuteness than any of the other poets, and, evidently, with a loving devotion.

In France, romantic traits are manifested, after the days of the troubadours, in the art of Burgundy and in the poetry of the group of sixteenth century authors known under the collective designation *la Pléiade*. Two hundred years later, Rousseau really prepared the way for the rebirth of romanticism by his spirited advocacy of a return to nature. Chateaubriand's "Rene" and "Atala" contain decidedly romantic traits, and Musset in his poetry anticipates the "pessimists." Victor Hugo, the recognized leader of French romanticism, lacks depth and sincerity of emotions in too high a degree to be regarded as a truly romantic poet. De Vigny, Leconte de Lisle, and Baudelaire are the chief exponents of that pessimism which reached its greatest depths of despair in the last mentioned. Baudelaire seeks to look upon life as the symbol of a world of beauty, but he is not certain whether this very beauty is a messenger from heaven or from hell. Like Verlaine, he represents the art of *décadence*, which term Verlaine defined as "the art of dying in beauty." For him, it had no derogatory connotation, it stood for the heightened sensibility, the ability of intense, voluptuous enjoyment of the most stirring experiences, of excesses, pain, and torment, possessed only by the individual who is the product of hyper-culture.—Symbolism succeeded the pessimism of the seventies and eighties, with Maeterlinck as its most prominent representative. Strong dissatisfaction with the actual conditions and limitations of existence by no means disappears, but it is mitigated by mystic longing; individualism becomes a veritable cult of the ego. Maeterlinck's philosophy of life is really determinism seen from the view point of the mystic, hence, no matter how enormous the deeds perpetrated by his characters, they never become "guilty." Nor does the poet despair, in spite of the uncanny mysteries of existence. Like Verhaeren, he affirms that life is good, even sublime. It is only our timidity, indifference, and lack of spiritual zeal which prevent us from bringing heaven down to earth. In the scrupulous attention given to the form, the French neo-romanticists do but perpetuate the literary traditions of France.

In the chapter on Italian romanticism, Leopardi and d'Annunzio stand out among the moderns. Dr. Thomése's estimate of d'Annunzio is the most important feature. What entitles him to a place of high honor, is his mastery of the language, his great skill in the use of words, and his devotion to beauty. But his is not the intense inner life, depth of feeling, and spirituality characteristic of romanticism in general and of the neo-romantic movement in particular. His mysticism, he borrows from Maeterlinck, at times also from Baudelaire and Dostojevsky. In the unscrupulous cult of the ego, he surpasses all others. He desires to become God, feels himself to be God, at any rate, regards himself as the superman in the sense of Nietzsche. It is significant that he considers love only as a means to the end to attain this likeness of God, and that he allots to women an inferior position in the moral order. The outcome of all love is, therefore, aversion, for the actual experience falls far short of his ideal. His great receptivity and adaptability enable him to draw from all sources and to enter into all moods; but hatred, perversity, and cruelty are frequent features in his works.

In Denmark, romanticism of the medieval period is represented in Saxo's "*Gesta Danorum*," which are thoroughly northern in spirit. Oehlenschläger is, of course, the outstanding figure in the first half of the nineteenth century, with H. Ch. Andersen as a close second. The most widely read Danish romanticist of that age, was, however, B. S. Ingemann, whose production at first was strongly influenced by certain unwholesome features of German romanticism: the fantastical, the uncanny, and the gruesome; but he ultimately outgrew this defect. Frederik Paludan-Müller's "*Adam Homo*" contains romantic ideas, to be sure, but on the other hand, it is also a very pointed attack directed against the false sentimentality characteristic of some of the romanticists, and to compare Alma to "Dante's Beatrice, Goethe's Gretchen, and Ibsen's Solveig" is hardly permissible, for our good Adam Homo is so thoroughly commonplace and prosaic a figure that one cannot well rank him with even Peer Gynt. His ultimate redemption, surely, seems fully as undeserved as Peer's. Paludan-Müller's later works, which are distinguished by a deep religious feeling, are not touched upon. Of the neo-romanticists, Dr. Thomése accords first place to J. P. Jacobsen, who by many is regarded as a realist. "*Fru Marie Grubbe, Interieur fra det syttende Aarhundrede*," is, indeed, primarily a realistic portrayal of a by-gone age, though in the make-up of Marie Grubbe there are to be found various romantic elements. Camilla Collett saw in her the new woman; later, however, she designated her as a transitional type. Marie Grubbe's experiments and experi-

ences in the realm of love are decidedly not of a romantic nature. "Niels Lyhne," however, may well be classed as a romantic novel, and the central figure possesses the romantic temperament. Bartholine, the mother of Niels, is akin to Marie Grubbe in her early youth, but she does not undergo the same development, and is not so roughly disillusioned as Marie Grubbe. So she lives on in dreams and intense longings, only to find, when near the end of her life, she obtains the object of one of her most ardent desires, that reality falls far short of her dreams. It should also be noted that Jacobsen has represented the subjective dreaming and longing of Niels not as a source of happiness but as the chief cause of it that the life of his hero ends in failure and utter solitude, with nothing to dwell upon but the memories of the pleasures he derived from close contact with nature. And yet, Niels is flesh of his own flesh and blood of his own blood. Most of Jacobsen's lyrics, which are comparatively few in number, and his short stories and sketches are romantic in spirit and content. The most noteworthy features about all his works is his mastery of his mother tongue, the precision, force, and beauty of his style, but it holds no longer true that this perfection has never been equaled in the Scandinavian literatures, as Dr. Thom   claims on the authority of J. J  rgensen. Knut Hamsun, for one, can in this respect easily vie with Jacobsen.—That Danish romanticism is adverse to catholicism and speculation is but what one would expect.

During the medieval period, the Netherlands had no independent literature. In the first half of the nineteenth century, romanticism manifested itself in Dutch literature chiefly in the choice of themes. Marcellus Emants and J. Perk were the first to introduce also that romantic spirituality (1879), which Dr. Thom   considers the chief essential of romantic poetry. W. Kloos stands, above all, for the cult of the ego. "Greater it is to die for one's self than to live." But neither he nor Verwey expressed individual experiences in a form distinctly their own; the latter, however, developed a more spiritual conception of poetic art in his maturer years. H. Gorter attained high perfection of form, precise and sensitive differentiation of expression, and sensuous beauty in his poems. His strong individualism must yield in the end to his intense consciousness of social duty. F. van Eeden, a mystic, also strives, first of all, for moral goodness. Henriette Roland Holst-van der Schalk wrote at first in a purely spiritual vein, but later made her poetry the vehicle for the dissemination of socialistic ideas and humanitarian ideals. In spite of the inevitable note of propaganda, she preserved in her productions the deep fervor of strong and sincere feelings. H     Swarth's unceasing lament over the lost bliss of love seems less genuine, but she excels in

the mastery of the word. The efforts of the young Dutch poets of the eighties did not give birth to a movement in any way comparable to neo-romanticism in England or Germany, though their program: "art is passion, form and content are one, art for art's sake," adhered to the principles of neo-romanticism. But they produced one most important result in moulding the Dutch language into a far more pliable, subtle, refined, and differentiating medium of expression than it was before their days. They made certainly a distinct contribution to the beauty of their mother tongue.

The whole chapter on neo-romanticism in Germany is, with one insignificant exception, devoted to the discussion of Stefan George's esthetic theories and poetic productions. His individualism, contempt for the opinions of the common herd and for literary critics, whom he regards as sterile beings, his high evaluation of the other arts, the rare beauty of his own works, and his skill as a translator are the main features brought out. George wants to engender emotions, not ideas; his appeal is to feeling, not to reason. His ability to enter intuitively into all phases of human existence enables him to treat with the same perfection widely remote subjects. Like virtually all neo-romanticists, George is possessed of a keen sense of spiritual isolation; the memories of love are for him, too, more precious than the actual experiences. Stefan George feels himself the poet-priest; as the ethical ideal wins out over the esthetic, he becomes the priest-poet. In the perfection of his form, the noble beauty of his verse, he ranks among the first.

A little more than one fourth of Dr. Thomése's study is devoted to a discussion of Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Here we find assembled almost all of the features that characterize the German Romantic School. Intuition stands, of course, higher than knowledge, though the latter need not be entirely rejected in the service of poetic art. The child is ranked with the poet, because it is also guided by intuition; the dream enables us to transcend the limitations of the intellect, of mere reason. The high value of the use of the symbol is based on the intensity of the conviction, which, to be sure, exists only during the brief moments of ecstasy, that the symbol and what it stands for are one. Men, things, thoughts, dreams, and fancies are all of the same order, inasmuch as they all are but psychic phenomena of the conscious ego. There is no dividing line between the past or the future and the present moment. Fate and character are really one; the fate of the poet lies in his creative work. In beauty of form and the artful use of words, Hofmannsthal rivals Stefan George. Dr. Thomése is correct in attributing the stage effect of Hofmannsthal's plays, which, to be sure, is a somewhat dubious quantity, to a synthesis of the several arts in their presentation. The mood is in all his earlier works the

salient feature. Hofmannsthal is the poet-mystic, but his mysticism arises from the intuitive conviction that all life is one great unity and has nothing of a religious character. One must also agree with Dr. Thomése that the more recent productions of this Austrian poet do not reveal the same joy in poetic creation, the deep grief over the chasm between the inner and the outer world, and the rapturous delight in beauty and the mystic contact with the eternal which it affords, evidenced in the works of his earlier years. Like most of the neo-romanticists, he seeks to appeal only to a select few, trained in certain modes of esthetic thought. It is also a serious negative quality of his art that he regards life only as a play, a phantasmagoria. And there is no fixed pole, all is in a flux, all is chaos. Hofmannsthal must properly be classed as a poet of *décadence*. He is the product of the hyper-culture of Vienna, this melting-pot of many races, the home of the muses since the days of the crusades, and the gateway to the Balkans and the Orient; he is also the heir of all the civilizations of the past. Hence the keenness of his sense perceptions, his love of beauty and refinement, his adaptability and eclecticism, and his esoteric pose. It will not do to take him too seriously, for his works are also mere phenomena, like all the rest that enters our consciousness. The following lines are most significant:

"Es wär' mir beinah' lieber, wenn nicht Menschen  
Dies spielen würden, sondern grosse Puppen.  
Von einem, der's versteht, gelenkt an Drähten.  
Sie haben eine grenzenlose Anmut  
In ihren aufgelösten, leichten Gliedern—  
Und mehr als Menschen, dürfen sie der Lust  
Und der Verzweiflung selber sich hingeben  
Und bleiben schön dabei . . . ."

Several features of the neo-romantic movement are not all peculiar to it. The psychology applied to the characters is, of course, modern. The mystic conception of fate differs from determinism primarily in that it presupposes no laws which we know or might discover; the loneliness of the human soul and the chaos prevailing within it, Schnitzler, the determinist, has portrayed as effectively as any neo-romanticist; artistry of words and striving for perfection of form, we also find elsewhere, though in this respect, the neo-romanticists easily excel, as also in their cult of beauty.

In regard to the movements of the medieval period and in the early nineteenth century, Dr. Thomése's study brings nothing new, but it was essential to present them to show the general development of romanticism in connection with the efforts of the neo-romanticists. Critical and descriptive works have been referred to with wise economy, virtually all the argument is based on the writings of the authors and poets dis-

cussed. Differences and similarities, as well as possible influence, are pointed out, and in spite of the fact that certain traits occur with great frequency, the main representatives of romanticism are well characterized and differentiated. The grouping of the material is satisfactory, the presentation clear. An index makes the material readily available for reference. The monograph has been issued in a garb far above that of the average; the more it is to be regretted that a number of typographical errors have escaped notice. Page 12, Kunst (Kunst), 13, Berlinger (Berglinger), 30, Wordworth (Wordsworth), 40, dem (den), 68, Maler (Mater), 147, vollig (völlig), 165, Ausdrucksfähigkeit (Ausdrucks-), 179, drie (drei), 186, fordid (sordid). The last error may be due to a misreading of the English original. "Gebildhauten" i.e. "gemeisselten" will not do, least of all in a treatise on neo-romanticism.

Chapters on romanticism in Spain, Sweden and Norway, which might well have been substituted for the detailed treatment of Hugo von Hofmannsthal, would have rounded out Dr. Thomése's study into a presentation of romanticism in Europe, excluding the literatures of the Slavic people. As we are told in the preface of the monograph, Stefan George's choice of countries and poets in "Zeitgenoessische Dichter" served as a guide, and Spain, Sweden, and Norway had not found favor before his eyes; hence the omission. But even with it, "Romanistik und Neuromanistik" is a decidedly worth while contribution in the field of comparative literature.

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LE VIE DE S. ÉDOUARD LE CONFESSEUR PAR OSBERT DE CLARE. Edited by Marc Bloch. *Analecta Bollandiana* XLI, 5-131 (1923).

We are still so much in need of good editions of mediaeval Latin texts that we should welcome with especial cordiality such a careful and intelligent piece of work as M. Bloch of Strasbourg has given us, in publishing the hitherto inaccessible *Vita beati Eadwardi regis Anglorum* by Osbert of Clare. An earlier anonymous biography of Edward the Confessor was edited by Luard in 1858,<sup>1</sup> and the life by St. Ailred of Rievaulx has been in print since 1562,<sup>2</sup> while the account of the saint by William of Malmesbury<sup>3</sup> has of course long been within the reach of everyone. The publication of Osbert's *Vita* is thus an

<sup>1</sup> H. R. Luard, *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, pp. 387-435, Rolls Ser.

<sup>2</sup> R. Twysden, *Historiae Anglicanae scriptores* X, 369 ff., reproduced in Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.* CXCV, 739ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Gesta Regum Anglorum* II, 220-227, ed. W. Stubbs, 1887-9, Rolls Ser.

event of some importance by way of rounding out our knowledge of Edward the Saint if not of Edward the King.

The work is not, one may as well say at once, of much value as biography. Osbert confined himself to the recital of those events in the career of Edward that tended to show his sanctity, neglecting all other aspects. The book is largely a compilation of visions and miracles. Addressed to the papal legate at the court of Stephen, it was designed to further the project of canonization, though it failed of its purpose; and it was accordingly composed on lines conventional in such documents. Its interest is not strictly historical. What it does show quite clearly is the state of feeling in regard to Edward when the Prior of Westminster wrote—the legend was, indeed, well developed when the earliest *Vita* was compiled—and, by indirection, the eagerness of Stephen and his party to secure for themselves the benefits of the dead king's repute for sanctity. Unhappily for Osbert and for Stephen, politics frustrated their plans. It was Henry Plantagenet who in 1161 finally obtained the coveted bull of canonization, and it was Ailred of Rievaulx who in 1163 wrote the official life. Osbert was forgotten, though his successor made ample use of the material he had gathered.

In another way Osbert's work has an interest not intended by the author. It cannot be commended for its style, perhaps, which is certainly turgid and overwrought, but it furnishes an excellent illustration of the antithetical rhymed prose to which many mediaeval writers and sermonizers were addicted. Faulty in taste though we may consider this manner of prose, its use indicates a sophistication that should restrain us from the easy sneer. We have the right to believe it all wrong, but we must admit the ingenuity that went to its making; and we ought, in candor, to observe that it satisfied the ears of many generations to whom Latin was a far more natural vehicle than it is to most scholars of our day, and that it performed the practical service of rendering prose easy to remember. No: Osbert and his kind were not indulging themselves in mere barbaric orgies when they decked out their sentences in the fine feathers of rhetoric.

Osbert was, indeed, an interesting man, and a fairly typical churchman of his time. Although he never achieved a higher dignity than the priorship of Westminster, he was the author of several theological and hagiographical works and of a collection of letters that are still preserved. In 1139 he was sent to Rome by King Stephen in the hope of getting from Innocent II official authority for the canonization of King Edward that had already been accomplished by public opinion. Through no fault of his own, Osbert failed in his mission, but he deserves remembrance if only for his passionate effort to establish the cult. He was, besides, a lover of literature, if not a very learned man. As

M. Bloch says of him: "Il présente un exemple parfait de cette dualité de culture que, bien avant la Renaissance, fut l'apanage ou tout au moins l'idéal de tant de brillants esprits." Plato, Seneca, Horace, Ovid are authors he liked to quote; and if he showed no profound knowledge of them, he did not differ in that respect from some writers much closer to our own day. To liken Queen Edith to Minerva seems to have been not wholly an affectation on his part, for classical stories were part of his mental furniture. I do not say that he was not a pedant, since only a pedant could have refused to name "propter vocabulorum barbariem" the two abbots sent to Rome in 1050, but he was not alone in his finicking abhorrence of Saxon names, which was no doubt quite genuine.

One of the most valuable contributions to knowledge in M. Bloch's introduction is his elaborate argument in regard to the date of the anonymous *Vita*, to which I have already referred. As the writer dedicated his work to Edward's widow, and as he spoke of her as if she were still alive, it has been dated between 1067 and 1076, since Queen Edith did not survive the latter year, and it has thus been given great weight as a document almost contemporary with the life of the saint. M. Bloch shows, conclusively I think, that the unknown author used the device so familiar in hagiology of pretending a close acquaintance with the events described that he did not really possess. A careful scrutiny of the text has revealed various important contradictions and errors hitherto unnoted, which make the commonly received date quite impossible. On the other hand, everything points to the years between 1103 and 1120 as the period within which the biography was compiled. As William of Malmesbury did not complete his *Gesta Regum* until 1124-5, the *Vita* remains the earliest form of the legend remaining to us, but it was written after the memory of King Edward had had time to assume a conventional form. The editor's conjecture that this *Vita* was put together at Wilton, and that it was designed to glorify the establishment there, has much to commend it.

In almost every particular, M. Bloch's treatment of Osbert and his relations is a model of ingenuity and good judgment. It is therefore a little surprising to have him condemn as a falsification a bull of Nicholas II, quoted by Osbert (cap. xi) solely on the ground that a pope would never have given such far-reaching powers to any king. Quite possibly the bull may not be authentic, but it must be condemned on better grounds than this if it is to be regarded as a forgery. In another detail the editor perpetuates an old error, or rather gives an old error a new turn. He says (p. 17): "L'écrit d'Ailred a été imprimé pour la première fois en 1516, par Capgrave, il est vrai dans une forme resumée." Although John Capgrave's name has

been associated with the collection known as *Nova Legenda Angliae*, first put together by John of Tynemouth, we are not even sure that he actually revised the legends; and he certainly did not print them in 1516,<sup>1</sup> since he died in 1464.

These are small blemishes, however, in an admirable piece of work. Osbert of Clare will hereafter be secure in the little place he deserves as a legend writer; and many points in the history of Stephen's reign that have been troublesome may be regarded as settled for all time. One is glad to note that a new edition of Osbert's letters may be expected in the near future.

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**ALTSÄCHSISCH**; Heliand, Genesis und Kleinere Denkmäler, in erläuterten Textproben mit sprachlich-sachlicher Einführung, von Otto Basler. Freiburg im Breisgau, Fr. Wagner'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung. 1923. IV+229 Seiten.

Angeichts der kulturfeindlichen Verhältnisse im gegenwärtigen Deutschland, die in einem weniger geisteskräftigen Volke wissenschaftliches Streben und Schaffen längst zum Stillstande gebracht hätten, muss ein gerechtes Ausland seine höchste Bewunderung beiden zollen: den *Gelehrten*, die unter Entbehrungen aller Art, in stetem Kampfe gegen Hunger, Kälte, Sorgen und Aufregungen, in echt deutschem Gelehrten-Idealismus ihre unendlich erschwerten wissenschaftlichen Forschungen fortsetzen, sowie den *Verlegern*, die, trotz der fortgesetzt steigenden Kosten für Druck und Papier und trotz der immer unsicherer werdenden Nachfrage nach gelehrten Büchern, die Herausgabe solcher Bücher mit allem daran haftenden Risiko übernehmen. Solche Bewunderung verdient sowohl Otto Basler, Universitätsprofessor in Freiburg i/Br, der Verfasser unseres Werkes "Altsächsisch," als auch K. Henn, "der opferwillige Drucker," wie der Verfasser in seinem Vorwort ihn mit Recht anerkennend bezeichnet, um ihm dann "aufrichtig zu danken" und erklärend hinzuzufügen: "Obwohl die wirtschaftlichen Schwierigkeiten während des Druckes von Bogen zu Bogen stiegen und Gefahr für die Vollendung des Werkes bestand, hat er es treulich zu Ende geführt" (S. IV der Einleitung).

Dies Werk stellt in Anlage und Methode einen bedeutenden Fortschritt dar inbezug auf berechnete, und für germanistische Klassen *hierzulande* notwendige, Vereinfachung und Popularisierung, besonders verglichen mit den meisten deutschländischen Werken, welche zuviel Wissen und Verstehen voraussetzen.

Es wird, da diese Vereinfachung keineswegs auf Kosten der Wissenschaftlichkeit erreicht ist, sicher seinen Platz in den germanistischen Bibliotheken finden, und es gehört in die Hand jedes Lehrers des Altsächsischen. Von unseren Studenten werden es jedoch nur die mit Gewinn benutzen können, welche modernes wissenschaftliches Deutsch mit vollem Verständnis zu lesen vermögen. Um dies nützliche und zuverlässige Werk, das übrigens die *englische* Druckschrift gebraucht, *allen* unseren Heliand-Studenten zu gute kommen zu lassen, müsste es,—und dies wäre dringend zu wünschen,—ins Englische übersetzt werden, wobei einige Kürzungen sowohl als Erweiterungen zu empfehlen sind.

Um ein klares Bild zu geben von der Anordnung und Darstellung in dieser "Einführung in das Altsächsische," wie der Verfasser selbst sein Werk richtig bezeichnet, (Vorwort, S. III) wobei er es einen "ersten Versuch" nennt, ist es nötig, die eigenartige Reihenfolge, welche der Verfasser mit gutem Bedachte ganz verschieden von der bisher üblich gewesenen aufgestellt hat, genau zu beachten.

Einer Einleitung von nur zwei Seiten folgt sogleich ein Abdruck der ersten 31 Verse des Heliand mit Simrocks Übersetzung, damit das Verstehen "ein Erleben werde" (S. 3). Hieran schliessen sich, und das ist eine der eigenartigen Neuerungen, deren Für und Wider sich die Wage halten mögen, auf 6 Seiten mit kleinerem Druck, sehr detaillierte, für den Anfänger bestimmte, für unsere Studenten daher sehr brauchbare, Wort- und Form-Erklärungen, in welche 18 Paradigmen der altsächsischen Deklinationen sowie die Flexion der starken und schwachen Adjektiva eingeschlossen sind. Auf S. 10 ff findet sich dann H.v. 32 bis 60, aber ohne Übersetzung, gefolgt, wie der erste Heliand-Abschnitt, von Wort- und Form-Erklärungen,—diesmal die Pronominalflexion einschliessend—auf 5 Seiten, sowie von einigen ganz kurzen literarischen Bemerkungen.

Auf S. 17 beginnt, mit grossem Druck, eine "Geschichte der Heliand-Forschung bis 1830," auf 9 Seiten, in schlichter, klarer und zugleich wissenschaftlich wohl begründeter Darstellung, die Ergebnisse der neuesten Forschungen, wie es überall im Buche geschieht, verwendend. (Vgl. S. 19 Anm. 1. "Eine neue Spur, —für die Praefatio und Versus—, die auf Minden in Hannover weist, deckt Kluge im Nd. Korrespondenzblatt 37 (1919) auf. Ihr wird nachzugehen sein."). Eine Buchbesprechung ist nicht der Platz, einzelne Urteile oder Anschauungen, die der Verfasser äussert, eingehend zu untersuchen, zumal nicht auf dem Gebiete der Heliandforschung, das trotz aller Forschungen noch immer so reich ist an ungelösten und verwirrenden Problemen. Es sei daher hier nur ein Fragezeichen gemacht hinter den Satz (S. 19, Z 27ff): "An der Echtheit der beiden Stücke

(Praefatio und Versus) darf nicht gezweifelt werden; sie sind es nach Sprache, Stil und *einzelnen Angaben*." Es geschieht übrigens, wohlthuender Weise, sehr selten, dass sich der Verfasser so apodiktisch ausspricht. Vielmehr ist es gerade einer seiner grössten Vorzüge, dass er den Streitfragen gegenüber sachliche Ruhe und Zurückhaltung zeigt.

Im unmittelbaren Anschluss an die "Geschichte der Heliandforschung" finden wir, und zwar,—was leicht der Verbesserung fähig ist—auf derselben Seite und ohne Abschnitt oder neue Überschrift—von Seite 25 bis 29 die Verse 196b bis 239a abgedruckt, nebst den üblichen aber jetzt sehr verkürzten Wort- und Form-Erklärungen und ohne grammatische Einlagen. Ob es ratsam und praktisch ist, diese Erklärungen, wie es vorher *nicht* geschehen ist, aber von nun an regelmässig geschieht, auf dieselbe Seite mit dem betreffenden Textwort zu setzen, mag fraglich erscheinen.

Im folgenden Kapitel "Geschichte der Heliandforschung von 1830 ab" fällt die Kürze auf. Nur 4 Seiten sind diesem wichtigen und weiten Gebiete gewidmet. Der Verfasser gibt jedoch das meiste von dem, was man *hier* erwarten würde, in späteren Kapiteln, worin er die einzelnen Streitfragen gründlich und ausführlich behandelt, z. B. S. 63-65 die Handschriften, S. 86-93 Die Heimat der Handschriften, S. 111-114 Die Heimat des Gedichts, S. 125-41 Quellen und Arbeitsweise des Dichters, S. 159-172 Praefatio und Versus. Zeit der Abfassung des Heliand. Stand des Dichters.

Auffallend ist auch die Anfügung eines *grammatikalischen* Einschiebels, auf S. 35 ff, von 6 1/2 Seiten, gerade an diesen historischen Abschnitt, und diesmal nicht, wie sonst, im Anschluss an einen Textteil. S. 42 bis 45 gibt einen Einblick in die Metrik und Stilistik, auf Grundlage von Sievers "Altgermanische Metrik", woran sich unvermittelt anschliesst Heliand Vers 243-295a mit den gewohnten Anmerkungen unter dem Texte, auf 4 Seiten, d. h. etwa 12 Verse mit Erklärungen auf jeder Seite. S. 50 bringt wieder literarische Notizen, aber sehr kurz: nur 1/2 Seite für 53 Verse! Hier ist der Punkt, wo alle unsere Heliand-Kommentare, der Basler'sche mit eingeschlossen, einer Erweiterung und Vertiefung am dringendsten bedürfen. Es ist in der Tat schwer zu verstehen, warum die Otfrid-Forschung das Bedürfnis der literarischen und theologischen Kommentarisierung gefühlt und längst mehrfach befriedigt hat, (Vgl. Paul Piper's zweibändiges Werk; v. J. 1882, Band I: 100 Seiten, u. zwar: 1. Einleitung, ca 300 S! 2. Text (mit Anmerkungen) ca 700 S; Band II. Glossar (654 Seiten) und Abriss der Grammatik; sowie Oskar Erdmanns im gleichen Jahre erschienenen Kommentar: Otfrids Evangelienbuch, von 500 Seiten. Ja, schon i. J. 1856 widmete Johann Kelle demselben Otfrid einen Kommentar von ca. 600 Seiten, während die Heliandforschung auch nicht annähernd ähnliches

hervorgebracht hat, obgleich in fast allen "Literaturgeschichten" der Heliand an Kunstwert hoch über den Krist gestellt wird. Behagels neuste Heliand-Ausgabe (1910) aber hat z.B. nicht mehr als 290 Seiten, Klein-Format, wovon nur 40 Seiten auf das Wörterbuch entfallen. Nur J. R. Köne (Münster 1855) hat in seiner Heliand-Ausgabe vor fast 70 Jahren, auch theologische und sachliche Erklärungen gegeben, und dazu 238 Seiten verwendet. Seine Arbeit hätte nicht so gänzlich missachtet werden sollen, sondern von philologisch besser geschulten und auch theologisch weitherzigeren Gelehrten verbessert und weiter geführt werden sollen. Aber weder Behagel noch Moritz Heyne in seiner Heliand-Ausgabe v.J. 1865, 4. A. 1905, haben irgend etwas erwähnt, was ausserhalb der Philologie lag; beide bringen nur formelle, nie sachliche Erläuterungen. Immerhin ist Heynes Glossar auf 220 Seiten angewachsen. Auch die grundlegende und bisher wertvollste Ausgabe des Heliand von Eduard Sievers (Halle 1878) gibt zwar die Parallelstellen aus Tatian und aus Bibelkommentaren, aber nicht genügend theologische oder zeitgeschichtliche Anmerkungen. Der verheissene 2te Band: "Altsächsisches Wörterbuch" ist nicht herausgekommen. Ähnliches gilt von Pipers "Die altsächsische Bibeldichtung" (Stuttgart 1897), die als weniger zuverlässig angesehen wird.

*Altsächsisch* scheint in der Tat vielfach als *Stiefkind* betrachtet und behandelt zu werden, gegenüber dem *Althochdeutschen*, besonders vonseiten der englischen Sprachgelehrten, während das Umgekehrte gerade für die letzteren natürlicher und erklärlicher wäre. Ist es nicht auffallend und bedauerlich, dass neben so vielen *deutschen* Ausgaben des Heliand nicht eine einzige *englische* zu finden ist, obwohl doch die Sprache des Heliand dem Altenglischen nicht viel ferner steht als dem Althochdeutschen, ja, die eine Haupthandschrift "C" starke angelsächsische Färbung zeigt? Und neben die 6 Übersetzungen ins *Neuhochdeutsche* hat sich zwar eine ins *Französische* gestellt, aber bisher noch keine ins *Englische*. Sogar für die *angelsächsische* "Genesis," obwohl in einer Oxforder Handschrift übermittelt, besitzen wir nur *eine* Ausgabe in englischer Sprache, von Thorpe, aber diese ist vor 93 Jahren erschienen. Nur kleinere Stücke dieser "Genesis" sind in Sweets "Anglo-Saxon Reader" aufgenommen. Dagegen besteht keine Übersetzung derselben ins Englische, wohl aber gibt es 2 vollständige und mehrere teilweise Übersetzungen ins *Neuhochdeutsche*. Dasselbe gilt von der altsächsischen "Genesis." Auch an der kritischen Bearbeitung haben sich neben den deutschen zwei holländische Gelehrte beteiligt, aber fast gar nicht englische. Und doch wäre es nicht bloß im Interesse des Heliand und der Genesis, sondern vornehmlich für die Studenten der *englischen* Philologie aufs dringendste zu wünschen, dass diesen beiden Werken lebhaftere Teilnahme, mehr Zeit und Kraft auch in Ländern

mit englischer Sprache zugewendet würde. Als ein erfolgversprechender Schritt in dieser Richtung müsste es besonders auch von amerikanischen Universitäten freudig begrüßt werden, wenn entweder Baslers "Altsächsisch" ins Englische übersetzt und durch Heranziehung angelsächsischer Parallelen erweitert oder eine *englische* Ausgabe des Heliand unter angelsächsischem Gesichtspunkt unternommen würde. Basler selbst (S. 33 Anm.) kündigt die Vorbereitung eines "Vollständigen Wörterbuches zum Heliand und zur Genesis" an. Gleich hier mag bemerkt werden, dass das völlige Fehlen eines Wörterbuches in unserem "Basler" manchem Benutzer seines Werkes als empfindlicher Mangel erscheinen wird. Durch ein solches würden die Studenten des lästigen, zeitraubenden Zurückblätterns beim Suchen nach früher gegebenen, aber seitdem vergessenen Erklärungen überhoben sein. Noch mehr aber wird der Mangel fühlbar für den, der die ersten Textteile vom Heliand überschlägt oder nur einzelne später abgedruckte lesen will.

Nach dieser uns zeitgemäss erscheinenden Darstellung und Begründung unsrer "pia desideria" nehmen wir die Beschreibung der eigenartigen Stoffordnung in Baslers Werk wieder auf. Von S. 58 bis 60 folgt ein Abschnitt: "Zum altsächsischen Vokalismus", nur 2 1/4 Seiten umfassend, in derselben gedrängten Kürze, wie die nächsten "Zum as. Konsonantismus" (S. 61 u. 62; 1 1/2 Seiten) und "Die Handschriften" (S. 63 bis 65). Als ausserordentlich praktisch und belehrend muss es bezeichnet werden, dass sich hieran sofort Parallelabdrucke (auf gegenüberliegenden Seiten) von Abschnitten aus sämtlichen vorhandenen Handschriften (M, C, P und V) anschliessen und zwar: v. 959b-1019 aus M, C, und P (vom Fragment P nur v. 959b-984a); v. 1279-1304a aus C, M, V (V enthält nur die Verse 1279 bis 1358, wovon also 1/3 hier abgedruckt sind); endlich v. 1134b-1211 aus M and C.

In wohlbedachter,—aber leider äusserlich unübersichtlicher—Anordnung setzt Basler auf S. 68 bis 70 und, wieder unterbrochen durch Paralleltexte, auf S. 74 bis 77, die auf Seite 63 begonnene Darstellung der Handschriftenprobleme fort, um dann von S. 86 bis 93 die "Heimat der Handschriften" klar und gründlich zu behandeln, wobei mit Recht das nordöstliche Sachsen (Neu Korvey) begünstigt wird. Nachdem auf S. 94 bis 110 mehrere Teile der Bergpredigt abgedruckt sind, mit Noten unterm Text und kurzen Anmerkungen zwischen den Textteilen, beginnt auf Seite 111 eine Besprechung der "Heimat des Gedichts", die sich, wieder unterbrochen, aber auch förderlich illustriert, durch auf das Seeleben bezügliche Textteile, bis S. 124 hinzieht. Es folgen: "Quellen und Arbeitsweise des Dichters" (S. 125-158) wieder illustriert durch passende Textteile, wie die Speisung, Petri Schlüsselamt und die Blindenheilung bei Jericho, sowie als letztes literarhistorisches Kapitel:

“Praefatio und Versus. Zeit der Abfassung des Heliand. Stand des Dichters”, mit Abdruck der “Praefatio und Versus”, sowie des Beda’schen Berichtes über die Berufung des Kādmon. Bemerkenswert ist hier, dass Basler trotz seiner ausgesprochenen Wertschätzung der Praefatio auf S. 169<sup>r</sup> (wo des Besprechers Beitrag zum “Journal of English and Germanic Philology” S. 21 (1922) wie auch auf S. 112 u. 118, herangezogen wird) doch zur Annahme eines “gelehrten *Geistlichen*” (S. 172) als Verfassers des Heliand gelangt, was übrigens trotz des Widerspruches zahlreicher Germanisten das richtige ist.

Mit 30 Seiten (S. 173 bis 204) nun nicht mehr unterbrochenen Abdruckes von Textteilen (Einzug in Jerusalem, Thomas, Weltgericht, Abendmahl, Verleugnung, Verurteilung und Kreuzigung) nebst kurzen Noten und Literaturangaben endet der Hauptteil des Werkes. Daran schliesst sich die “Genesis,” deren Bruchstücke (337 Verse) fast zur Hälfte abgedruckt sind, mit Noten unterm Text und einer historisch-kritischen Einleitung von 8½ Seiten. Unter der Überschrift: “Kleinere Denkmäler” sind dann noch angefügt die folgenden 9 Stücke, und zwar mit ganz kurzen, ein- bis zweizeiligen Anmerkungen betr. Handschriften (Zeit. und Ort) und Literatur, wobei besonders hingewiesen wird auf Ehrismanns “Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur” Bd I 285ff, ein Werk, dessen Wert und Bedeutung vom Verfasser auch sonst bezeugt wird: 1. Taufgelöbnis; 2. Beichte; 3. Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum; 4. Segensformeln; 5. Übersetzung eines Teiles einer Homilie Bedas; 6. Abecedarium nordmannicum; 7. Aus dem Essener Heberegister; 8. Aus dem Freckenhorster Heberegister; 9. Aus dem ältesten Werdener Heberegister. Die letzte Seite bringt eine “metrische Probe” zu Heliand v. 1 bis 9a, anschaulich und lehrreich für Heliandleser.

Rückblickend und zusammenfassend können wir feststellen, dass Basler zwar in erfreulicher Weise die eine der bisher vorhandenen Lücken ausgefüllt, indem er eine reichhaltige, auch für Anfänger brauchbare und nützliche Auswahl altsächsischer Literaturstücke zusammenstellte, dass aber die grössere Lücke, nämlich der Mangel eines ausführlichen und umfassenden philologisch-theologischen Kommentars zum Heliand, wie solche z.B. für die biblische Genesis reichlich vorhanden sind, noch besteht. Die *eigenartige Anordnung des Stoffes* durch den Verfasser erscheint in den meisten Kapiteln als eine *Durchbrechung der gewöhnlichen Anordnung*. Statt, wie es meist in Heliand-Klassen geschieht, erst die Grammatik zu erledigen, sodann die Geschichte des Heliand zu geben und endlich einen, meist sehr geringen, Teil des Epos zu lesen, bringt er die Grammatik, und zwar nur das allernotwendigste davon, in *getrennten Kapiteln*, jedes angeschlossen an einen Textabschnitt, so dass sich beide gegenseitig beleuchten oder stützen, geht dann in weiteren durch

Textteile unterbrochenen oder illustrierten Kapiteln auf die Heliandprobleme ein. Diese Anordnung bedeutet unbestreitbar einen Fortschritt gegenüber der bisher überwiegenden Methode: zuerst formelle Grammatik, die in der Luft schwebt, weil ihr der Halt des stützenden Textes mangelt; sodann Geschichte der Heliand-Forschung, welche wiederum, ohne Kenntnis des Epos, leblos und farblos bleiben muss; und zuletzt das, was zuerst, oder doch viel früher hätte kommen sollen, das Lesen und Einschätzen des Epos selber.

Unser Urteil über Baslers "Altsächsisches" wird das folgende sein: die methodischen Grundsätze des Verfassers entsprechen denen unserer gegenwärtigen Unterrichtslehre und sein Werk bedeutet auch in Einzelheiten Fortschritt und Gewinn. Es dürfte sich als sehr brauchbar und nützlich erweisen besonders bei dem Durchschnitt unserer Studenten, für welche die meisten Werke deutscher Philologen zuviel voraussetzen an Wissen, Können und Verstehen. In einigen mehr äusserlichen Punkten sind Verbesserungen möglich und wünschenswert.

Mit zu dem Wertvollsten in seinem Werke gehört: erstens die reiche Auswahl (37) von kürzeren (5, 6, 8, 10 Verse) und längeren (bis 182 Verse) Textstücken aus dem Heliand, insgesamt rund 1820 Verse, d.h. fast 1/3 des ganzen Epos; zweitens die auf Gegenseiten abgedruckten *Paralleltexte aus allen 4 vorhandenen Handschriften*. Diese beiden Vorzüge allein überwiegen bei weitem etwaige Schwächen, die bei einem solchen "Versuch" natürlich mit unterlaufen, und werden sich als eine *Quelle lebendigen Interesses und wertvoller Selbstbelehrung für unsere Studenten* erweisen.

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*THE POETIC EDDA*. Translated from the Icelandic, with an Introduction and Notes, by Henry Adams Bellows. 2 vols. in one. New York, *the American-Scandinavian Foundation*. 1923. \$4.

It is a remarkable fact that not until now has the Poetic Edda been made accessible to the English speaking world. Thorpe's translation (1866) was laughably inept, Vigfusson's prose version (1883) suffered from his erratic notions, Olive Bray's translation (1910) is left half done. However, in justice to English and American scholarship it is but fair to state that several other translations exist in MS.—the writer has one in his desk—and that it is the pusillanimity and lack of idealism of publishers, on either side of the Atlantic, which has prevented publication. It redounds to the honor, and speaks well for the usefulness, of the American-Scandinavian Foundation to have

seen the need and to have made an end of the embarrassing situation.

The following examination of Bellows' translation is made by one who, while fully aware of the peculiar difficulties of the undertaking, may, as is human, be biased by his own solution of them. Let that be fully understood. Needless to say, this caution would not be required if my judgment were favorable. However, I must here deliberately set it down that, in my opinion, the translation is but passable—that it fails to do justice to the original within the limits of the attainable. It is fair, insofar as it adheres closely to a text conscientiously compiled and is a generally faithful rendering; and disappointing, insofar as it is spiritless and fails to give an adumbration of the 'feel' of the original. And to that the reader is entitled quite as much as to accuracy.

The prime source of trouble is not hard to locate. Enough attention is not given to the matter of rhythm—which is of fundamental importance in the translation of Old Germanic poetry. Now it may be possible to translate the Poetic Edda into prose—into modern rimed verse, for aught I know; but if the attempt is made to do the various poems into English verse approximating the forms of the original, then the intricacies of these forms must be given close study. I may consider flint an archaic material for artefacts, but it will never do to fashion them with modern tools: to imitate them you will have to sit down and chip them out of the flint nodule just as did our forebears. In the same manner he who wishes to translate into alliterative measures cannot afford to do this by halves: he must, to the best of his ability, call in the help of rhythm. The question is nowise whether the old rhythms are in fashion, or pleasing, nowadays. In the translation before me, the rhythmic regularity, and hence monotony, of the lines is the one outstanding fact. Technically speaking, poem after poem exhibits the related types A and B, with the dactylic E type all too frequent. Types C and D are conspicuously, almost totally, absent. In other words, the principle of juxtaposed accents (or missing thesis) to which Germanic alliterating verse largely owes its characteristic vigorous, craggy effect, its heroic stride, is entirely disregarded—and promptly punished by the dreary flatness alluded to. I refrain from citing examples—it is *passim*.

Another matter, on which, however, less stress is to be laid, inasmuch as the Eddic poems themselves, in a restricted measure, violate the rule: the alliteration of the second half-line should fall on the first accented syllable. In the translation before us it falls fully as often on the second arsis of that line; e.g. in the first five stanzas of the *Helreith*, which was chosen at random, twelve times (out of a possible twenty). This is open to criticism. Much worse, and absolutely to be condemned, is

the practice of having two alliterative syllables in the second half-line, which occurs in a very great number of instances.<sup>1</sup> To allow initial *s* to alliterate with *sk*, *sl*, *st*; *w* with *wh*, *ge* . . . with *gl*, and similarly, is taking liberties which, to my knowledge, are accorded nowhere in the whole field of alliterative poetry. Appealing to the eye, these 'letter-alliterations' are no real alliteration at all.

On the other hand, an apology for "using considerable freedom as to the number of unaccented syllables in a line" (p. XXV) is uncalled for. For one thing, there is the well-recognized latitude, what with *Auftakt* and resolutions, of the old verse in this respect. Then, allowances will certainly be made in the case of translation from a highly inflected language into one largely analytic.

In reproducing poetry by translation, a complete mastery of the idiom into which the translation is to be made is as essential as an adequate understanding of the original. Your translation may be ever so 'close', it will be still-born unless the idiom into which it is done be handled with ease and power. And, *nota bene*, the idiom into which the Edda is to be done is not just English, the average language of literature with its worn-out metaphors and stale tricks, but one which has really gone back to the well of English undefiled, which (for the purpose in hand) has reinforced itself with the racy, pungent turns of our own ballad literature. This, Bellows has not done. Hence the ineffectual, zestless monotony of the work. Take the *Thrymskvitha*, for instance, justly praised as one of the finest ballads in the world. Alas, it has become very tame. To make good this assertion I shall be so ungentlemanly as to resort to the invidious comparison. This is the way Bellows' translation reads (*Thrymskvitha* 1, 2):

Wild was Vingthor	when he awoke,
And when his mighty	hammer he missed;
He shook his beard,	his hair was bristling,
As the son of Jorth <sup>2</sup>	about him sought.
Hear now the speech	that first he spake:
"Harken, Loki,	and heed my words,
Nowhere on earth	is it known to man,
Nor in heaven above:	our <sup>3</sup> hammer is stolen."

Too much hypotaxis, quite unidiomatic in the above sense. This is the way I should fancy it:

Wroth was Vingthor	when awaking he
Miollnir missed,	the mighty hammer;

<sup>1</sup> A number of these might have been corrected with a little care—or feeling—for the old rhythms. E.g. *Helreith*, the very first line: "Thou shalt not further / forward fare" would be both less prosy, and conform better to the rules, if it were made to read: "Further forward / thou shalt not fare." And thus in a number of other cases.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. note 4.

<sup>3</sup> This is a slip! *Qss* not *os*, even were that possible here.

his beard gan shake,      his shaggy head  
 Fiorgyn's first-born,<sup>2</sup>      fumbled about him.

These words then first      fell from his lips:  
 "hear thou, Loki,      what loss I have,  
 which no wight knows—      neither on earth  
 nor in heaven:      my hammer is stolen!"

Or again, take stanzas 14 and 15 (with Heimdall's counsel to dress up Thor:

Then Heimdall spake,      whitest of the gods,  
 Like the Wanes he knew      the future well:—  
 "Bind we on Thor      the bridal veil,  
 Let him bear the mighty      Brisings' necklace;  
 "Keys around him      let there rattle,  
 And down to his knees      hang woman's dress;  
 With gems full broad      upon his breast,  
 And a pretty cap      to crown his head."

Too many ands, too much entirely unnecessary padding. I should like the stanzas done somewhat like this:

Whereon Heimdall,      whitest of gods—  
 he fathomed the future      as foreknowing Van—:  
 "Busk we Thor then      in bridal linen,  
 and buckle on him      the Brising necklace;"  
 Let a house-wife's door-keys      dangle about him,  
 let woman's weeds      be worn by him.  
 On his breast he bear      bridal jewels,  
 a hood on his head      as behooves a bride."

In some part, to be sure, the loss in quality referred to is due quite as much to an over-anxious, even timid, clinging to the *ipsissima verba* of the original. The translator would have been more successful had he, once in a while, resolved a kenning, or substituted a similar one<sup>4</sup> from the thesaurus of Eddic figures—in general, if he had given his lines a more quaint and antique dress. And this can be done, I am sure, without having them bristle with archaisms à la William Morris. Why, for instance, not use *fell*, *sound*, *isle*, *firth*, *ness* to render *fjall*, *sund*, *ey*, *fjord*, *nes*? This alone would have eliminated from the text scores of unmeaning words.

As against these sins of omission, those of commission are gratifyingly rare. There are comparatively few 'stylistic anachronisms.' I do not like the awful "toast" for *heitstrenging* (*Helgakviða Hjorvarthssonar* 32).—"Next I let / the leader of Goths, Hjalmgunnar the old / go down to Hell (sic; passim) *Helreith* 8, rather evokes a smile. I suggest instead: "To Hel I sent / Hjalmgunnar old, the Gothic king etc."—Similarly, to the odd "They cooked a wolf / they cut up a snake" (*Sumir ulf svipu*, *sumir orm snipu*, *Brot* 4) I would prefer: "Some a wolf did

<sup>4</sup> As I did e.g. in line 4 of stanza 1, above.

steak, / some a worm did bake.'—And the words monarch, prince (for king, hero), heroic, subtle, killer (for banesman), carpet (for hangings), wagon (for wain) are bad. By the way, what sort of beast is an ice-bear (O. N. *isbjörn*)? And, being a stickler for accuracy, even in English, I must insist that the oblique case of the second person plural pronoun is not *ye* but *you*!

.....  
 So much in justification of my adverse judgment on matters æsthetic. Proceeding to the planning, the apparatus, and the execution of the volume, I am compelled to be fully as severe. Fundamentally, it labors under the fatal mistake of divided appeal: it aims to satisfy the needs of both specialist and layman; and, as was to be expected, falls between two stools. I shall not for a moment deny that a translation aimed to satisfy both lay and learned *may* not be successful—Hertz' translations from the Old French and the Middle High German are instances in point; but this is accomplished only by the rigid separation of philology and poetry. When Bellows says (Preface XXIII) that he has "risked overloading the pages with textual notes in order to show, as nearly as possible, the exact state of the original together with all the more significant emendations" he *eo ipso* tries the impossible. Let the editors of the original attend to that; and let any one interested, i.e. the one out of a thousand readers of this book, consult their Gering-Hildebrand or their Sijmons, where they will find variants, emendations, etc. to their hearts' content. And if the hope is expressed "that this English version may give to some . . . a clearer insight into the glories of that extraordinary past etc.," then all this philological material which forms the bulk of the notes ought to have been excised.<sup>5</sup> What *might* have been done, however, was to indicate interpolations, emendations, regroupings etc. by simple typographic devices. Indeed, the æsthetic value of the work would have been enhanced by boldly incorporating—with these safeguards—the many excellent improvements proposed by such as Grundtvig and Bugge.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> What in the world is the layman to do with a note like this (p. 23): "This and the following stanza are clearly in bad shape. In *Regius* only lines 1 and 4 are found, combined with stanza 56 as a single stanza. Line 1 does not appear in the *Hauksbók* version, the stanza there beginning with line 2. Snorri, in quoting these two stanzas, omits 55, 2-4, and 56, 3, making a single stanza out of 55, 1 and 56, 4, 2, 1, in that order." Etc.—Or does it serve any useful purpose to explain (NB. in a work of this nature) that "in the MS. the phrase 'knowest' is abbreviated after the first time," when that phrase occurs just eight times in the stanza, and when no editor questions the correctness of the resolution? And this kind of thing is not of single, but of literally hundredfold, occurrence.

<sup>6</sup> B. is, on the contrary, too much inclined to select and reject. He sees interpolations with the most radical editors, and goes so far as to ignore the *galdralag* as a stanza form as in (*Hovamol* 106).

In other respects the notes are satisfactory. Though differing—as is natural—in scores of places with the readings chosen, and the explanations and etymologies offered, I noticed only a few downright errors. Thus, the suggestion (p. 89) that the name of the goddess *Sága* points to some relation to history or story-telling harks back to a time when it was not clear that the connection is, rather, with O.N. *at sjá* (Goth. *sathvan*): 'She who sees, and knows, all.'—*Ratatosk*, the squirrel, is of course not 'the Swift-tusked' (!), but 'Gnaw-tooth' (p. 97).—The note on Thor's bait (p. 144) is preposterous. But I forbear to pick flaws when the possibilities of error are legion.

The laborious effort to be all things to all men has, similarly, swollen the Introductory Notes to the individual poems to inordinate length. Thus the one introducing the Prose link *Fra dautha Sinfjolla* is longer than the piece introduced. The Introductory Note to *Gripisspo* tries to elucidate the whole terribly complex question of the Sigurth cycle; after which we are told "those who read the Sigurth poems in the Edda, or the story told in the *Volsungasaga*, expecting to find a critically accurate biography of the hero will, of course, be disappointed." Well, whoever would expect such a thing? I do not wish to disparage or belittle in themselves the frequently admirable little treatises in which the attempt is made to indicate the status and source of each poem. But—again—the reader who needs to be told the most elementary facts about the Edda will be puzzled and discouraged by the bewildering maze of *Quellenkritik* and exegetic subtleties, especially when there are so many points immediately concerning the text before him which he would care to know about. And, heavens know, there are plenty of them in the Edda!

On the whole, however, these Introductory Notes are much superior to the repetitious and frequently loose General Introduction. Yet that the "interested reader" most certainly will read, so the utmost care should have been taken not to talk at random or to make inaccurate statements—a charge which I must beg to be excused from substantiating here. Only this: the amateurish treatment of verse forms contrasts strangely with the learning exhibited in the Introductory Notes. And then: the selection of the title 'ballad' to render *-mql* is the most unfortunate possible; for of the ten pieces entitled *-mql*, fully one half are didactic, that is anything but balladic, in nature.

Weakest, from the point of scholarship, is the Pronouncing Index. Here I find fault, not with the principles of transliteration adopted; for they are good<sup>7</sup> and consistently worked out,

<sup>7</sup> However, *í* would have been preferable to *j* (as in Hiorvarth), especially in initial position (as in *Jonakr*—not *Jonak* (!) by the way).—I cannot understand the reason for spelling Herfather 'Heerfather' (passim).

nor with the proof-reading; for the index is commendably free from errors; but all the more with the suggestions for pronunciation. These are bad and thus defeat the very purpose of the index. To indicate that *o* is pronounced "as in 'on' " is misleading unless the enclitic preposition is specified. But what is one to think of the direction to pronounce Icelandic *y*, *ý* "as *i* (in 'is') and *ee* (in free)," "both with a slight sound of German *ü*?" The fact that both the i-umlaut of *u*, *ü*, and the u-umlaut of *i*, *í*, are written *y* by the keenly observant Icelanders directly precludes this. Then, to describe *æ* (long) "as *a* in 'fate' " (instead of as *a* in 'bad') is as wrong as could be, for *æ* and *é* are always kept scrupulously apart, e.g. *sær*: *sér*. The pronunciation of *æ* (short) "as *e* in 'men' " is a misunderstanding, for a short *æ* practically never occurs in Icelandic MSS.—nor, for that matter, in the Pronouncing Index! Neither, by the way, does the diphthong *ai*. Both *ei* and *ey* we are told to pronounce "as in 'they' " (sic). One does not trust one's eyes—and refuses to make further comments.

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*STUDIES IN ENGLISH RHYMES FROM SURREY TO POPE.* A Chapter in the History of English. By Henry Cecil Wyld. John Murray. London: 1923.

Professor Wyld has again rendered a service for which teachers and students of English will thank him; and although he very modestly states in his preface that "most of what is said here will be perfectly familiar to philological students," I am inclined to think outside of Scandinavia, where scholars for some time have been especially concerned with the problems of sixteenth century pronunciation of English, even the trained philologist will be helped by this latest discussion, at any rate he must read it with pleasure. It is now no longer possible to write about early English pronunciation and not stand in one of two opposing camps, either with those who champion the "Continental vowel values," or with those more recent writers who have followed Weymouth, Jespersen, and Zachrisson, allowing very little change in English pronunciation from the sixteenth century to the present time. Professor Wyld, as we know from his other works, "A Short History of English" and "A History of Modern Colloquial English" has been from the first in agreement with Zachrisson's conclusions, viz, (1) the sound changes to which recent Standard Pronunciation owes its characteristic features had commenced to operate as early as the fifteenth century—(2) the pronunciation of Elizabethan England must have borne a strong resemblance to that of the present day. These conclusions, needless to say, are always in

the offing in Professor Wyld's latest work. In approach this work is quite different from that of Zachrisson's, for Professor Wyld has been at some pains to collate his evidence from a variety of sources; and far from relying upon the testimony of the grammarians,—Salesbury, Gill, and Bullokar—he admits their discussion only when it is in agreement with other evidence. The author sets much weight by 'occasional spellings' from the Cely Papers, the Paston Letters, and by the untrammelled spellings of Henry Machyn's Diary, all of which Viëtor in his "Shakespeare Phonology" and Zachrisson in his "Pronunciation of English Vowels" regarded inadmissible. There is, however, no escaping the author's shrewd thrusts at the grammarians in his introduction, where he shows their evidence is not only conflicting, copious, and highly inexact, but that the chief fault of the grammarians is their consuming interest not with the actual pronunciation of their time but with an ideal system they wished to introduce as "correct." On the whole, the method of this work, that of citing rhymes which differ from present use in connection with pertinent comment from all other sources, is not only fair to everybody concerned, but it often sheds an unexpected light which settles a difficulty, as in problems connected with the rhymes: *teeth-with*; *swolne-bemoan*; *would-behold*. It is, of course, now too soon to fix a *terminus a quo* for the changes from Middle English vowel sounds; but one of the very good services of this book is to show how the old and new modes of pronunciation existed side by side. In this connection the author appositely quotes from Dr. Johnson's "Plan of a Dictionary," 1741, showing the 'new' pronunciation of *seat* as 'seet,' and *great* to rhyme with it:

As if misfortune made the throne her seat  
And none could be unhappy but the great,

while the 'usual' pronunciation of *great* was illustrated in Pope's verses,

For Swift and him despised the farce of state,  
The sober follies of the wise and great,

As a matter of fact, says the author, Rowe undoubtedly intended *great* to be pronounced as it is now, and *seat* in the old way so as to rhyme perfectly with it. It is not likely that American readers of this work will be astonished by many of the 'old' pronunciations,—*soot*, for instance, pronounced 'sut' to rhyme with *cut* is still very often heard in New England, where 'sence' for *since* is also frequent, while the curious pronunciation of *prince* to rhyme with *inch* is common in rural Pennsylvania, as are 'hushband,' 'vesshel,' 'blessing,' and verbal forms in 's,' as 'makesh' for makes. In the chapter on special separate words there are interesting discussions of such words as *phlegm*, which was pronounced 'fleem' to rhyme with *extreme*,

*past* pronounced like *waste*, as in Shakespeare's sonnet—xxx, not cvi, by the way—, *oblige* as 'obleege,' and *yellow* as in the rhyme—yaller-taller. The real service of this work is not that it presents any startling discovery or new hypothesis, but that it assembles much fairly inaccessible material and discusses it ably, if somewhat popularly for the general student of English Literature.

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**BEOWULF OCH BJARKE** (Studier i nordisk Filologi, XIV, 3). C. W. von Sydow, Helsingfors. 1923.

In spite of its title, Mr. von Sydow's interesting monograph deals, not with Beowulf and Bjarki themselves, but with certain stories attached to them, viz., stories of a fight which each had with a beast or monster at or near the Danish court. In the English poem we have the story (hereafter referred to as Gr) of Beowulf's fight with Grendel and Grendel's dam. In Saxo, the *Hrólfs saga kraka* and the *Bjarkarmur* we have variant stories (hereafter referred to collectively as Bj) of Bjarki's fight with a beast or beasts of some sort. The author compares Gr and Bj and comes to conclusions which he summarizes as follows (p. 44):

Resultatet av min undersökning är alltså att det förvisso finns en viss sannolikhet för att Beowulf och Bjarke ursprungligen varit en och samma historiska person. Men den nordiska sagan om hur Bjarke gjorde Hjalte till en av Rolf Krakes bästa kampar, är i allo en helt annan saga än den i Beowulf-dikten berättade sagan om hur Beowulf dödade Grendel i Heorot och trollmodern nere i hennes boning på havsbotten. Likaså saknar såväl Gr som Bj allt sammanhang med den över hela Europa spridda sagan om Björnsonen. Och den i Grettissaga omtalade episoden om Grettis strid med de båda trollen är visserligen släkt med Gr, men den saknar värde för en rekonstruktion av Gr, emedan den själv måste härstamma indirekt från Beowulf-sången, ej från en gemensam källa. Hela Gr härstammar från en irisk saga och innehåller åtskilliga egenheter och motiv, som även om de ej hämtats från just den iriska saga som ligger till grund för Gr, dock måste ha hämtats från irisk tradition. Utom det iriska elementet i Gr, kan emellertid också rent engelska element i den påvisas, hämtade ur engelsk natur, åskådning och folksägen.

The author considers (p. 43) that the source of the English poem contained Bj in some form, and that the English poet *substituted* Gr for Bj, presumably because he thought he could thus make his poem more effective. In this way is to be explained the fact that Bj and Gr appear in the same framework.

Two tasks confronted the author in his study of Gr. First of all, he must determine its relationship to Bj. He therefore made a comparison of the two tales, and concluded that they were unconnected. This comparison, and its results, are laid before us in the work under review. Secondly, he must deter-

mine the sources of Gr. These sources, he tells us, he has discovered in Irish story, and he promises us a book devoted to the subject. His present work, however, presents the Irish material with such brevity that the reviewer, however intrigued, can only express his interest and hope for the early appearance of the promised volume. This review, then, will be confined to the author's study of Gr and Bj in their relation to each other and to the Bear's Son folk-tale.

The author begins with a clear statement of the general grounds which led scholars to equate Gr and Bj. When however he concludes (p. 2), "Om de två berättelsernas identitet . . . tycks numera råda fullständig enighet bland filologerna," he overlooks both Axel Olrik (*Danske Helledigtning*) and O. L. Olson (*The Relation of the Hrólfs saga kraka . . . to Beowulf*, Chicago dissertation, 1916). It would appear, indeed, that he is unacquainted with the English edition of Olrik's work (*The Heroic Legends of Denmark*, New York, 1919). This is all the more regrettable since the *Heroic Legends* is no mere translation of *Danske Helledigtning I*, but rather a revised edition—the definitive edition, in fact. But, besides Olrik and Olson, there are others, known by the name of philologist, who hold that Gr and Bj are independent. In my *Literary History of Hamlet* (I 80) I expressed myself to that effect. I added that the evidence called for a common historical basis, and here too I am glad to find myself in agreement with the author. Cf. also Klæber, *Beowulf* xix f.

The author is on surer ground when he reproaches us for accepting too readily Panzer's thesis. Here he only falls in line with present tendencies, it is true; see, e.g., Klæber, *ed. cit.* xiv. But I, for one, must plead guilty. The author has now convinced me that neither Gr nor Bj goes back to the Bear's Son folk-tale, whether independently (as I had thought) or through a common prototype (as Panzer would have it). When however he leaves demolition and essays construction, he becomes less convincing. His account of the development of Bj is particularly unsatisfying. This is not the place to develop an alternative theory; I have already presented my ideas elsewhere (*op. cit.* I 78 ff.), in outline form, and I hope to publish shortly a full discussion of the problem. Cf. also Mr. S. J. Herben's promised study of the subject. Here limitations of space compel me to confine my comments to a few special points.

In the first place, the author's discussion would have been materially different in several places had he utilized Olson's dissertation (cited above). Thus, Olson would have given him a different conception of the relationship to each other of the Icelandic versions. Secondly, the author's theory that the sagaman of the *Hrólfs saga* had in mind only a bear as the

opponent of Bjarki is unwarranted by the evidence. If the sagaman had meant a bear, he would surely have said so. He actually has Hött describe the beast as a winged monster, and he nowhere explains to his readers that this description was false, and was meant to represent only "Hötts skräckfantasier." No sagaman, and nobody else in his senses, would leave his readers in the dark on so fundamental a point. We have absolutely no right to conclude that the narrator was playing tricks on his audience in any such fashion. We must take the text at its face value, not make the beast into a bear when in fact it is represented as a winged monster! Thirdly and finally, the author disregards the evident corruption of the text of the *Bjarkartímur* in his interpretation (p. 11 f.) of the following passage (V, stanzas 5-6):

I grindur vandist grábjörn einn  
í garðinn Hleiðar,  
var sá margur vargrinn beinn  
og víða sveiðar.  
Bjarka er kent, að hjarðarhunda  
hafi hann drepna,  
ekki er honum allvel hent  
við ýta kepna.

Here it is surely clear that the *hann* of stanza 6, line 2 refers to the *grábjörn* of stanza 5, line 1. But the author makes it refer to *Bjarka*, doubtless relying on *Bjarkartímur* IV, 40-41. As he lays a good deal of weight on Bjarki's dog-slaying, I have thought it worth while to quote the passage in full.

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*GULLIVER'S TRAVELS. A CRITICAL STUDY.* By William A. Eddy, Ph.D. Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, to the Faculty of English, Princeton University. Princeton University Press. Princeton: 1923. 216pp.

The study consists of three main divisions. Its chief value lies in its treatment of the sources of *Gulliver's Travels* in Parts I and II. The broad background of satire in the fantastic voyages and travels Dr. Eddy has delineated in Part I with judgment and thoroughness. Though most of the important sources have long been known to scholars, much confusion exists as to the precise nature and extent of Swift's debt to them,—a confusion but slightly corrected by superficial studies like that of Max Poll. The evidence for Swift's use of these works Dr. Eddy finds conclusive: Philostratus' *Imagines*, Lucian's *True History*, Rabelais, Cyrano de Bergerac's *Histoire comique de la lune*, and Tom Brown's *Amusements Serious and*

*Comical.* In spite of the labored arguments of Hönncher and Borkowsky, which have by their appearance of thoroughness misled subsequent writers, Dr. Eddy rejects Foigny's *Jacques Sadeur*, Vairasse's *Histoire des Sèvarambes*, and Godwin's *Voyage to the Moon*, and replaces them with Lucian's *Voyage to Heaven*, *Dialogue between Terpsion and Plutq*, and *On Mourning for the Dead*; D'Ablancourt's *Sequel to Lucian's History*; and Cyrano de Bergerac's *Histoire comique du soleil* (all, except the last, heretofore unnoticed in connection with *Gulliver's Travels*) as significant sources of Swift's satire.

In his second main division Dr. Eddy takes up successively *Gulliver's* four voyages and relates each "to its own special tradition in fiction and satire." It is then a continuation of the source study supplemented by a consideration of the character and purpose of the satire. His method is to discover Swift's literary art through a comparison of *Gulliver's Travels* with its published sources. For instance, the voyage to Lilliput he projects against the background of the pygmy commonwealths; that to Brobdingnag against the background of the giant traditions; and that to the land of the Houyhnhnms against the background of the beast utopias, especially D'Ablancourt's *Isles des animaux* and Cyrano de Bergerac's *Histoire des oiseaux*. But in spite of considerable elaboration of theories and opinions previously advanced, and a number of interesting observations, Dr. Eddy's criticism does not to me appear to add anything especially new to the subject.

The final section, Part III, is a brief chapter dealing with the continuations and imitations of *Gulliver's Travels* in subsequent eighteenth century English literature.

Dr. Eddy has on the whole done his work well; but it is impossible to agree with him at every point. His treatment of Holberg's *Klimius* (a work of uncertain date, probably later than *Gulliver's Travels*) is vexing; he begins (p. 43) by saying that Swift 'probably did not know' it; presently (p. 67) he declares the matter unsettled; and finally (p. 106) he treats it actually as a forerunner. Further confusion arises from the fact that while attempting a thorough study of *Gulliver's Travels* and its sources (p. 30), Dr. Eddy arbitrarily limits his source study to those voyages which are of a philosophical (that is to say, allegorical) nature. If he wishes to investigate the influence of the philosophical voyages on Swift's work, he is free to do so; but when he comes to study its sources he must take them wherever he finds them. Strangely enough he traces the influence (real or possible) on *Gulliver's Travels* of Berkeley's *Theory of Vision*, Lucian's *Dialogue* and *On Mourning*, Sturmy's *Mariner's Magazine*, and Herbert's *Travels*, but he nowhere finds place to consider Dampier and Defoe, whose influence I venture to assert is more obvious and more important than

that of a number of writers to whom Dr. Eddy gives considerable attention. It is sufficient here to point out that in the voyage to Lilliput Gulliver's shipwreck is an imitation of Crusoe's experience, and that in the account of the Houyhnhnms appear a number of devices from the desert island stories. Dampier not only influenced Swift's style (a fact casually recognized in the study), but also contributed to the fable. Compare with Gulliver's statement that he sailed from Bristol for the East Indies on May 4, 1699, aboard the *Antelope*, Dampier's account of meeting the *Antelope* on June 3, 1699, rounding the cape of Good Hope on her way to the East Indies.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Eddy seems to be very much under the influence of the studies of French voyage literature by Dr. Atkinson; hence his disproportionate attention to French works as compared with English. He does not refer, in discussing the giant bird tradition, to the eagle in Chaucer's *House of Fame*. Furthermore, Dr. Eddy's bibliography (though otherwise commendable, and classified in a useful manner) shows scant attention to authentic and pseudo-authentic English voyages; such a work as Neville's *Isle of Pines*, which might pass as both a *fantastic* and a *philosophical* voyage, is wholly ignored. It is significant that though he comments upon resemblances between *Mandeville's Travels* and those of Odoric, he is apparently unaware of the well-known fact that the former is in large part plagiarized from the latter.

Typographically the book has few errors, the worst being that on p. 100: the line that should be at the top of the page appears at the bottom. By a similar accident Dr. Eddy attributes Burton's *Queen Anne* to the author whose name immediately precedes Burton's in the bibliography. On the same page, volume I of Dr. Atkinson's study is given as of 1820 instead of 1920. A period occurs where a comma was intended, p. 67, n 78, line 5. On p. 99 the section heading (I) comparable to II on p. 105 is omitted; and on pp. 122, 123, 134, and 135 sections are designated by arabic numerals (2, 3, 4, and 5), whereas the series began on p. 116 with roman notation. On p. 86 read *are* for *as*; p. 89, *excel* for *excell*; p. 158, *idiosyncrasies* for *ideocyncracies*; p. 183, *prince* for *price*; p. 190, *thesis* for *theses*.

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<sup>1</sup> Dampier, *Voyages*, I (1906), p. 416; *Gulliver's Travels* (ed. Dennis), p. 18.

## THE HISTORICITY OF ARTHUR

Cap. 56 of the *Historia Brittonum*<sup>1</sup> begins thus: In illo tempore Saxones invalescebant in multitudine et crescebant in Brittannia. . . . tunc Arthur pugnabat contra illos in illis diebus cum regibus Brittonum, sed ipse dux erat bellorum. Here, in ms. C, appear three late interpolations, inserted at different times and found in the following order: 1. et in omnibus bellis victor extitit. 2. Mab Uter (Britannice), filius horribilis (Latine), quoniam a puericia sua crudelis fuit. 3. Artur Latine translatus sonat ursum horribilem vel malleum ferreum, quo confringuntur mole leonum.<sup>2</sup> The same series of *inserta* appears in ms. L, but in the order 1, 3, 2.

Of the two etymologizing glossators, the first (hereafter called A) evidently took *Uter* as an adjective meaning 'horrible, cruel.' Cf. the Welsh *uthr*, which, if we follow Pedersen's etymology,<sup>3</sup> originally meant 'admirable, marvellous,' but which, with a pejorative development, came to mean also 'horrible, cruel.'<sup>4</sup> The second glossator (hereafter called B) gives two alternative etymologies for *Artur*. He seems to consider the name a metathetic or syncopated form of a compound made up either of *arth* 'bear' and *uthr* in the sense 'horrible' or else of *arth* 'hammer' (a variant of *ord* otherwise unrecorded) and *uthr* in the sense 'cruel.'

The etymologies, as such, are of course not to be taken seriously. They give us food for thought, however. In the first place, the variant *arth* 'hammer' of glossator B needs to be explained. Two words for 'hammer' appear in the British dialects: a native word *ord* (where *d* means *ð*) and a loan word *morthwyl*, *morthol*, *morzol* etc. from some variant of the Latin

<sup>1</sup> ed. Mommsen p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vulgate *Psalm*. LVII 7: Deus conteret dentes eorum in ore ipsorum: molas leonum confringet Dominus; and note that Gildas §23 speaks of the Saxons thus: tum erumpens grex catulorum de cubili leaenae (i.e., Germaniae) barbarae etc. (ed. Mommsen p. 38).

<sup>3</sup> H. Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen* I 93 with II 44 and 660. But see A. Walde, *Latin. etymol. Wörterbuch* sv. *paveo*.

<sup>4</sup> E. Lhuyd, *Archaeologia Britannica* svv. *crudelis* (p. 52) and *horribilis* (p. 66).

*martellus*.<sup>5</sup> The *morth-* for earlier *marth-* in the loan word came in by association with the native word. When a British speaker had occasion to say something about a hammer, both nouns might occur to him. He had to choose between them, of course, but the pronunciation of the noun chosen might be affected by that of its synonym, since both were "up" in his mind. Influence of this sort produces what is called *contamination*. Here the vowel of *ord* was substituted for the first vowel of its synonym, when that synonym was used. But obviously, if *ord* were used instead, it might be affected in the same way by its synonym, with *ard* or *arth* as the spoken product. And, if we may judge from our gloss, a form *arth* actually developed somewhere. Where? In Welsh and Breton the native word appears only as *ord*, with its descendants *gordd*, *horz*; in Cornish the native word is wanting altogether. The provenience of *arth* thus remains uncertain.

Let us now turn to A's gloss. This clearly needs elucidation, for as it stands it is most peculiar. The natural interpretation of *Mab Uter* is 'son of Uther,' and this is doubtless what the epithet means, in spite of the glossator.<sup>6</sup> Why did A reject this obvious explanation? He seems indeed to have heard stories about Arthur's enfances, and these were clearly of the usual type.<sup>7</sup> But this alone would hardly account for his interpretation. In fact, we can make his gloss intelligible only by supposing that he did not distinguish two persons, Arthur and Uther, but looked on *Uther* simply as an epithet applicable to Arthur or as an alternative name for Arthur. If so, *Mab Uther* of course could not mean to A what it meant to the coiner of the expression and consequently the patronymic had to be explained away. But if *Arthur* and *Uther* actually were alternative names for the same person, the alternation is best explained on the assumption that the names were variant forms of the same word. And in fact we find in Welsh, alongside the adjective *uthr*, a derivative *aruthr* of precisely the same meaning. Could this

<sup>5</sup> Pedersen *op. cit.* I 193 and 239 (where the suffix is discussed).

<sup>6</sup> So also Greulich, *Die Arthursage . . . des Galfred von Monmouth* p. 41 f. The point however was first made by J. Ritson, *Life of King Arthur* p. 54.

<sup>7</sup> According to our glossator, Arthur was a *filius horribilis*, that is to say, an *enfant terrible*. Cf. *Grettissaga* cap. XIV ff. (ed. Boer p. 38 ff.) and *Egilssaga* cap. XXXI, 5 and XL (ed. Jónsson p. 95 f. and 115 ff.).

derivative have developed to the form \**arthur*? Not in Welsh, certainly. In the other insular British dialect, however, viz., in Cornish, such a development would be possible enough, as we shall see presently. Furthermore, there is a considerable amount of literary and traditional material which connects both Arthur and Uther with Dumnonia.<sup>8</sup> Thus, Uther's name is of Welsh origin (no equivalent of the adjective *uthr* exists in either Breton or Cornish), but the Uther legend, the preservation of which we owe to Geoffrey of Monmouth, is localized in Cornwall and bears every mark of Cornish origin, even the name of the hero appearing in a Cornish dress—the Welsh *Uthyr* would have given \**Uthurus* in Geoffrey; cf. his *Elidurus* for *Elidyr* (Mabinogion), *Elidr* (Tysilio). I hope to make plausible the hypothesis that Arthur underwent a parallel development, and that *uthr* and *aruthr*, in Wales synonymous adjectives and equivalent epithets applicable to the same figure, were imported into Dumnonia in the latter use and there suggested a differentiation of their owner into two figures, one for each epithet.

First let us take up the matter from the grammatical side. The Welsh adjective *aruthr* (like *uthr*) has no Cornish equivalent, but other words exist the history of which throws light on the development which a Welsh epithet \**Aruthr* might have had in Dumnonia. Thus, among the 9th cy. *Smaragdus Glosses*, which Loth has shown to be Cornish,<sup>9</sup> appears *cintil* 'gentilis,' a word which d'Arbois de Jubainville identified with the *kinethel* of the 12th cy. Old Cornish *Vocabulary*;<sup>10</sup> cf. also the 10th cy. *Manumissions* in the Bodmin Gospels, where appear the proper names *Ongyneþel* and *Wenceneðel*.<sup>11</sup> The word in question, like its equivalent the Welsh *cenedl*, was originally a dissyllabic oxytone (the *l* was not syllable-forming). How did its development proceed in Cornish? In both *cintil* and *kinethel* an anaptyctic vowel appears before the liquid, or, at any rate, a vowel originally anaptyctic. Furthermore, *cintil* shows

<sup>8</sup> On Cornish tradition see especially F. Lot, in *Romania* XXX 1 ff. and J. Loth, *Contributions à l'étude des Romans de la Table Ronde*, p. 60 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Archiv für cell. Lex.* III 249 ff., and *R(evue) C(eltique)* XXXV 215 f.

<sup>10</sup> *RC* XXVII 152; but see Loth in *Arch. f. cell. Lex.* III 253.

<sup>11</sup> W. Stokes, in *RC* I 335 and 337.

syncope of the old ultima vowel.<sup>12</sup> No syncope could have occurred, of course, so long as this vowel retained its stress. We must assume a stress shift, then (in this word, certainly), by the end of the 9th cy. at the latest. And in fact we know that in both Welsh and Cornish the word-stress, at first fixed on the ultima, later shifted to the penult. It would thus seem that in Cornish the penultimate stress system was already in force at the time of the Smaragdus glosses. There is however another possibility. As early as the date of the glosses the anaptyctic vowel may have become a full vowel; if so, and if at that time the ultima stress system still prevailed, the new ultima would of course necessarily draw to itself the stress, and the new penult, by virtue of its loss of stress, would become capable of reduction by syncope of its vowel.<sup>13</sup> Of course we need not choose between these alternatives. For us it is enough to record the fact that the shift took place, and to point out the syncope which followed. The syncopated vowel however did not vanish without leaving a trace of its former presence. From it the svarabhakti

<sup>12</sup> Loth *loc. cit.*; Loth points out that *ardar* 'plough' and *tardar* 'auger' show the same syncope; cf. Welsh *aradr*, *taradr*.

<sup>13</sup> For the curious it may be noted that in general the old anaptyctic vowels of Cornish show no signs of ever having borne the word-stress; on the contrary, their leveling under *e*, though not carried completely through even as late as the *Vocabulary*, indicates plainly enough that they remained unstressed. Nor is the development in *cintil* parallel to that in Mod. Irish *blogom* (for *bolgam*) etc. Furthermore, Cornish early exhibits reduced vowels in the ultima, as the proper name *Modred* (*Modredes*) of the *Manumissions* (cf. the *Modrot* of the *Cart. de Redon*). And though Pedersen (*op. cit.* I 279) hesitatingly explains the penult *e* (for *e*) in three or four Mod. Cornish words as a result of original lack of stress, in each case the preservation of the back round vowel is better explained as due to the influence of neighboring labials. I incline, then, to the opinion that the stress shift to the penult took place first, and that, later on, the svarabhakti vowel became syllabic. An effect of the second change was to make of *kinethel* a trisyllabic word stressed on the antepenult. But this stress was entirely out of harmony with the penultimate stress system then prevailing. Normalization could be effected in one of two ways: shift of stress to the new penult, or syncope of the penult (old ultima) vowel. And in fact some speakers used the one device, some the other, giving the extant doublets *kinethel* and *cintil*. Similarly, we find the doublets *aradar* and *ardar*. In most cases however one or the other of the two forms drove out its rival, so that only a single form is extant; thus, the syncopated in *tardar*, the unsyncopated in *banathel* 'broom.' Cf. the English doublets *a* and *an*, *my* and *mine*, almost the sole survivors from a time when such doublets were numbered by the hundred.

vowel took its tamber. Thus, in *cintil* the new vowel has front tamber; in *ardar*, *tardar*, back tamber. That this tamber actually came from the syncopated vowel is shown by the unsyncopated forms *kinethel*, *aradar*. If, then, not only the Welsh epithet *Uthr* but also its equivalent \**Aruthr* came into use in Dumnonia, we may assume with some plausibility that by the end of the 9th cy., if not before, this had there developed to the form *Arthur*, a form strictly parallel to the *cintil*, *ardar* and *tardar* cited above. And just as in the case of Uther name and legend in their Cornish form made their way back to Wales and were recorded by Geoffrey the Welshman, so likewise in the case of Arthur may name and legend in their Cornish form have made their way back to Wales, to be recorded (not without additions!) by the Welsh compiler of the *Historia Britonum*.

Before proceeding further we must consider briefly another factor. In Ireland no less than in Dumnonia a Welsh *aruthur* would become \**arthur*. The following quotations from Pederesen<sup>14</sup> will serve to show the nature of the phonetic development in Irish. Der Akzent liegt im Ir. in der Regel auf der ersten Silbe. . . . Die letzte Silbe bleibt immer verhältnismässig gut erhalten (vor allem verliert sie niemals ihren Vokal). . . . Der Vokal der urspr. zweiten und vierten Silbe schwindet im Irischen, wenn diese Silben Binnensilben sind. A good example of the Irish stress-shift and syncope in a loan-word is *adraim* 'adōrō.' I assume that the Welsh *aruthur* would be taken over into Irish as a trisyllabic word (the anaptyctic vowel being imitated as a full vowel). If so, it would normally develop to the form \**arthur*. And in fact the earliest records of the name *Arthur* appear in Irish monuments, although in them the name is not brought into connexion with the king Arthur of pseudo-history, but appears attached to apparently historical persons of little consequence.<sup>15</sup> Now Nennius, the editor of the definitive edition of the *Historia Britonum*, was of Irish origin,<sup>16</sup> and presumably he would favor the Cornish rather than the native

<sup>14</sup> *op. cit.* I 257 ff.

<sup>15</sup> For the persons in question, with dates and bibliography, see J. D. Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance* I 6.

<sup>16</sup> For the Irish connexions of Nennius see A. G. van Hamel sn. *Nennius* in Hoops's *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*.

Welsh form of the name under discussion, because of its agreement with the Irish form. At any rate the name appears as *Arthur* in Nennius's work.<sup>17</sup>

An etymology of *Arthur* very different from my own has been frequently suggested, and has been adopted, e.g., by Bruce.<sup>18</sup> According to this etymology, the name is to be derived from the Latin proper name *Artorius*. It is quite true that Latin names came to be used to some extent in Britain. One may urge, however, that if Arthur were in truth a Romanized Briton, his failure to appear in Gildas, that violent partizan of the Roman faction, is all the more astonishing. But apart from any such considerations, the decisive point is one of method. It will not do to take the name *Arthur* in all isolation, and look for a phonetically possible etymology. We must consider the name in connexion with the entire body of Arthurian material. The etymology which fits in with this material is the etymology which we must adopt (provided, of course, that it is sound phonetically). The rest of this paper, then, will be devoted to an attempt to show that my etymology does fit in with the story of Arthur—indeed, that only through my etymology can that story be made intelligible.

A number of questions now arise. In the first place, how would the Welsh pronounce such a form as *Arthur*? The answer is easy. Whatever the position of the Cornish stress, the Welsh stress would be on the ultima. For Welsh exhibits certain phenomena, in particular reduced vowels in the penult as against full vowels in the ultima, which make it clear that ultima stress maintained itself for a long time in that tongue. The shift to penult stress seems not to have taken place, indeed, until the 12th cy., or even later.<sup>19</sup> The Welsh, then, would stress the ultima of *Arthur*, and the original tamber of the vowel would thus be preserved in Welsh usage. The same would apply to Continental usage, where, in the dialect of Vannes, ultima stress has maintained itself to the present day. The difference of the final syllables of *Uther* and *Arthur* thus corresponds neatly to the fact that the former appears on the Welsh scene late, the latter early.

<sup>17</sup> For Arthur as an import into Wales see Bruce *op. cit.* I p. 74 note 74.

<sup>18</sup> *op. cit.* I 3 f.

<sup>19</sup> J. M. Jones, *A Welsh Grammar* p. 48 f.

Secondly, before we have a right to identify Arthur and Uther we must establish or at any rate make plausible their original equivalence not only in name but also in nature, as shown by the attributes and activities of each, so far as records of these have survived to us. The French romances can be used here only with great caution, of course, since they embody a great deal of originally alien material which became attached to Arthur after Geoffrey had made Arthurian story fashionable. We have to depend for the most part, then, on the early chronicles and on the native Welsh tradition. Before we attack the problem on our own account, it may be well for us to note that Uther is generally looked upon as mythical; indeed, Rhys, with his theory of Uther as a "dark divinity," seems to hold the field. Arthur, on the other hand, is generally regarded as historical, although everyone admits that mythological material was early attached to his name; even Rhys felt it necessary to postulate, alongside his mythical Culture Hero, an historical Arthur with whom the Hero was fused.<sup>20</sup>

Our enquiry had best begin with the Uthyr of non-Gal-fredian Welsh tradition. Our chief source of information here is the so-called *Death-Song of Uthyr Pendragon*, a poem of uncertain meaning and uncertain date, but of a content admittedly ancient and mythical.<sup>21</sup> The first four lines of the poem apparently represent Uthyr as a storm god or demon, known by the epithet *Gorlassar* 'the blue' and belted with a rainbow. The noise of battle is here likened to a storm, it would seem, and the god of battle is the storm god, whose epithet is perhaps derived from the livid effect produced by the storm cloud. Cf. our English expression "a bolt from the blue." One is reminded

<sup>20</sup> Rhys's arguments and conclusions are to be found in his *Hibbert Lectures on . . . Celtic Heathendom* and his *Studies in the Arthurian Legend* passim. He defines his "dark divinity" as follows (*Studies* p. 260): "The dark divinity is the god both of beginning and ending, of life and death; as the former he is the god of plenty, and as the latter he is the god of the departed, who adds to the number of his subjects by frequenting, among other places, the field of battle. He acquires therefore the character of a god of carnage." Rhys speaks of Uthyr likewise (*Studies* p. 9) as "the king of Hades, the realm whence all culture was fabled to have been derived." He seems, then, to regard Uthyr as in some sort a Culture Hero, like Arthur, or at any rate as a source of culture.—See also Greulich *op. cit.* p. 19 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Printed in W. F. Skene's *The Four Ancient Books of Wales* II 203 f.

of the Germanic Woden, who in origin was a storm demon, conceived of as leading the host of dead souls in its wanderings through the air,<sup>22</sup> but who through his rule over the dead came to be likewise a god of death, slaughter and battle. Indeed, the very names *Uthyr* 'the terrible one' and *Woden* 'the furious one' approach each other.

Our poem goes on to speak of Uthyr as a dark prince equipped with baskets, a second Cawyl. The combination of darkness and baskets seems to indicate a god like Pluto, an underworld god of plenty or riches. Cf. the sack or bag of plenty of the chthonic Gaulish god Cernunnos. I take *Cawyl* to be the epithet appropriate to the basket god, i.e., to the god of plenty. Since however Uthyr calls himself a second Cawyl, it is to be presumed that his function as god of plenty is a secondary one, and that the chthonic sphere was not originally his. And in truth his expedition to Ireland (i.e., to Hades), as narrated by Geoffrey, hardly fits in with the conception of him as king of Hades. On the contrary, he is represented as robbing the king of Ireland of certain marvelous stones and bringing them back with him to Britain, where they were set up at Stonehenge. In my opinion Uther's invasion of Ireland is simply another version of the mythical invasion of Hades usually credited to Arthur, a version which serves to substantiate my identification of the two heroes.<sup>23</sup> The development of Uthyr from plunderer to original possessor of the riches of Hades is not hard to understand, of course. And only by postulating such a development can we reconcile the contradiction pointed out above.—Woden too, in a famous old story, is represented as robbing the underworld of magic treasure. And, oddly enough. Woden accomplishes the task through his agent Loki, much as Uther accomplishes it through his agent Merlin.

From the rest of the poem one would judge Uthyr to have been god of battle and slaughter, poetry and music, and magic and enchantment. Here again he resembles Woden, who had jurisdiction over all these matters. Uthyr appears too, like Woden, as world-father, and (if his *gwas* Mabon<sup>24</sup> actually was,

<sup>22</sup> K. Helm, *Allgermanische Religionsgeschichte* I 264.

<sup>23</sup> For Arthur's visit to Hades see Rhys, *Studies* p. 10 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Skene *op. cit.* II 51 top; cf. Rhys, *Lectures* p. 20 ff. for the theory of Mabon's identity with Apollo Maponos, particularly p. 28 f.

in origin, a major divinity) as an over-god. Indeed, the resemblances between the two deities are so numerous and so striking that we should be justified in calling Uthyr a British Woden—without implying, of course, that any derivation was involved. And we might reasonably expect to find that on the Anglo-British border Uthyr and Woden would now and then be identified or confused, because of their many common attributes. For evidence of some such confusion see below.

Our poem contains several obscure passages the elucidation of which is beyond my powers. Among others there is a reference to Arthur. This is immediately preceded by a reference to strife between Uthyr and the *meibon Cawrnur*. Now Arthur had difficulties in that quarter himself, as the *Kadeir Teyrnnon* testifies (if *gawrnur* be the right reading).<sup>25</sup> It seems likely therefore that the two references go together, and that both Arthur and Uthyr warred against the *meibon Cawrnur*. If so, we probably have a case parallel to the invasion of Hades already discussed, and to be explained in the same way, viz., as due to imperfect differentiation: when the heroes were differentiated the adventure, instead of being assigned definitely to the one or the other, was associated with both.

This almost exhausts our list of early references to Uthyr (apart from Geoffrey's account). In a poem of the *Book of Taliessin*<sup>26</sup> a certain Madawc, apparently a minstrel and juggler, is called *mab Uthyr*. It would seem that Madawc was so good an entertainer that he was spoken of as a son of Uthyr. The expression is not to be taken literally, of course: it emphasizes an aspect of the god likewise emphasized in the *Death-Song*.<sup>27</sup> The *Hut Uthyr Pendragon* 'illusion of Uthyr Pendragon' is referred to, in one of the triads, as among the three primary illusions of the island of Prydein.<sup>28</sup> This puts Uthyr among the

<sup>25</sup> Skene *op. cit.* II 155 (l. 3 from bottom) and 405.

<sup>26</sup> No. XLI as printed by Skene *op. cit.* II 197.

<sup>27</sup> Professor Loth writes (in a private letter): " . . . un certain Madawc dont j'ai eu tort de faire avec Arthur un fils d'Uthyr Pendragon, dans une note."

<sup>28</sup> No. XXV as printed by Skene *op. cit.* II 460 (l. 18 f.).—The *Hut* of this phrase might conceivably be taken, by mistake, as part of the hero's name, and in fact we find, in one ms. of Geoffrey, one case of this sort: instead of *Uther Pendragon* appears *Hus Pendragon* (the *s* for *t* is Cornish; cf. *bros* 'aculeus' in the *Vocabulary*). But see Greulich *op. cit.* p. 22.

enchanters, of course, and confirms the evidence of the *Death-Song*. Since however Uthyr learned his illusion of another,<sup>29</sup> his function as enchanter seems to be of secondary growth; here too he resembles Woden, whose connection with the runes, certainly, was not original. The illusion in question was doubtless shape-shifting; at any rate, Geoffrey makes of Uthyr a shape-shifter. Again, since the proper title of the *Death-Song* is *Marwnat Uthyr Pen*, Rhys has identified Uthyr with Bran of the venerable head. But *Uthyr Pen* probably means 'the terrible chief' or 'Uthyr the chief' and the *Pen* is meant to mark Uthyr as over-god (see above) or, in euhemeristic interpretation, as supreme ruler, set above the common run of kings. Certainly the expanded name *Uthyr Pendragon* must be so taken. The connexion with Bran the blessed is thus highly dubious.

Let us now turn to Arthur. Here I shall begin by quoting from Loth:<sup>30</sup> Dans les Traditions galloises, les poésies, c'est un personnage souvent surnaturel; les propriétés de son épée, de son manteau, rappellent celles de certains héros de l'épopée irlandaise. Il faudrait un volume pour réunir tout ce qu'on trouve dans la littérature galloise seule sur ce héros de la race bretonne. S'il a réellement existé . . . la légende lui a, à coup sûr, attribué les traits de héros ou de demi-dieux plus anciens. I hope to show that these traits are most readily explicable on the hypothesis that Arthur was, in origin, a mythical figure, identical with Uther or an hypostasis of Uther. Rhys long ago made the dictum, "In Irish and Welsh literature, the great figures of Celtic mythology usually assume the character of kings of Britain and of the sister-island respectively, and most of the myths of the modern Celts are to be found manipulated so as to form the opening chapters of what has been usually regarded as the early history of the British Isles."<sup>31</sup> This dictum is still generally accepted as a sound working basis in the study of early Celtic tradition, which has admittedly come down to us in euhemerized form. It seems unlikely that Arthur was an exception to the general rule, and I think we shall find that, in fact, his case was not exceptional.—The differentiation of one

<sup>29</sup> As we find out from the *Red Book* version of the triad; see Loth, *Les Mabinogion* II 229.

<sup>30</sup> *op. cit.* I 187 note.

<sup>31</sup> *Lectures* p. 119 f.

god into two gods, father and son, is of course a familiar mythological phenomenon (witness Freyr and Fjölfnir) and offers no inherent difficulties.

The Arthur of such poems as the *Kadeir Teyrnion* is clearly a slaughterer, a great fighter, and so agrees in function with the Uthyr of the *Death-Song*. His figure remains undefined, however, and already reminds us of the Arthur of the romances, who is content to leave most of the actual work to his followers, a method of operation frequently characteristic of gods, it is true, and so perhaps primitive. Much more indicative nevertheless is the part he plays in a curious passage in Gervase of Tilbury's *Otia Imperialia*:<sup>32</sup> *narrantibus nemorum custodibus, quas forestarios vulgus nominat, se alternis diebus circa horam meridianam et in primo noctium contincinio sub pleniluno luna lucenta saepissime videre militum copiam venantium et canum et cornum strepitum, qui sciscitantibus se de societate et familia Arturi esse affirmant.* Cf. the "Arthour knyght he raid on nycht, vitht gyltin spur and candil lycht" of the *Complaynt of Scotland*.<sup>33</sup> Now Woden, as we have seen, was, in origin, leader of the Wild Hunt, or Wild Host (i.e., host of dead souls), and when we find Arthur functioning in this very capacity we begin to suspect that there was something Woden-like about him and that his resemblance to Uthyr in this respect was not accidental.

But it is time for us to turn back to the earliest reference to Arthur, viz., the passage from the *Historia Brittonum* quoted at the beginning of this paper. Here I take *dux bellorum* as the Latin equivalent of *Pendragon*. If so, the whole passage refers to the still undifferentiated hero, here called Arthur and represented as lending supernatural aid to the kings of the Britons. That the aid was supernatural appears plainly enough in the account of the twelfth battle: *duodecimum fuit bellum in monte Badonis, in quo corruerunt in uno die nongenti sexaginta viri de uno impetu Arthur; et nemo prostravit eos nisi ipse solus.*<sup>34</sup> And the image of the Virgin which Arthur

<sup>32</sup> II, §12. I quote from R. Jente, *Myth. Ausdrücke im ae. Wortschatz* 122 f. since the original is not accessible to me.

<sup>33</sup> *EETS Extra Series*, Nos. 17-18, p. 63. For other material on Arthur and the Wild Hunt see Bruce, *Romantic Review* III 191 ff., and Archer Taylor, *ibid.*, XII 286 ff.

<sup>34</sup> ed. Mommsen p. 200.

bore on his shoulders in the eighth battle may well be interpreted as a Christianized survival of days when the pagan Britons (like the Hebrews and the Milanese)<sup>35</sup> took with them to battle some object sacred to their god in order that he might thereby be induced to appear likewise and give them the victory (unless indeed the god and the object were looked upon as inseparable).<sup>36</sup> It is noteworthy, too, that the author of the *Historia Brittonum* does not represent Arthur as a king. This the glossator of the Vatican ms. tries to rationalize by hinting that Arthur had worked himself up from a comparatively humble station by dint of sheer genius. But the truth is quite otherwise. The author of the *Historia Brittonum* of course did not conceive of Arthur as a god; the euhemeristic teaching which set in with Christianity must long since have reduced him to a hero. But the hero had the dimensions of a mythical being; he still possessed supernatural powers and he could not yet be lowered to the level of a mere king. Hence he is represented as *dux bellorum* and this goes well enough with the Uthyr of the *Death-Song*.

As to the Arthur of the *Mirabilia*, the name of the boar *Troynt* or *Troi*<sup>37</sup> is Cornish in form. Note in this connexion that Geoffrey calls Arthur *aper Cornubiae* (VIII, 1). Was Arthur, in the theriomorphic stage, a boar-god, and does the hunt go back to a practice of sacrificing to him his earthly embodiment? If so, the story of Anir gives us a striking anthropomorphic parallel. For this story seems to be reminiscent of human sacrifice, and the place of Anir's tomb was perhaps originally a cult center, where such sacrifices took

<sup>35</sup> Cf. also the so-called Battle of the Standard between Stephen and the Scotch in 1138.

<sup>36</sup> There is clearly nothing to hinder us from supposing that such a practice was continued into Christian times, the image of the Virgin (or the Cross) being substituted for the old idol, and the image-bearer doing duty for the god—losing his identity in favor of the god, indeed, with the lapse of time.—William of Malmesbury and Geoffrey of Monmouth rationalize this incident by attaching the image (as a kind of device only) to Arthur's arms and shield respectively. The latter location was doubtless suggested by the fact that the Welsh words for 'shoulder' and 'shield' are very like.

<sup>37</sup> The latter is the correct form, though not the best reading. Cf. Loth *op. cit.* I 248 note 2.—According to the story of *Kulhwch and Olwen*, Arthur finally overcame the boar in Cornwall.

place. When it is said that Arthur killed and buried his own son, we may suppose that the god required the sacrifice of a human victim who had first been consecrated to him (and so was in some sort his embodiment or "son"). For parallels we need search no further than Christianity itself, the central feature of which is such a sacrifice of son to father; indeed, the Christian belief may have inspired the British practice. Finally, we find twice in the *Mirabilia* the expression *Arthur miles* 'terrible warrior.' Behind the phrase lie the same mythological ideas as those we have already found behind *Arthur dux bellorum* 'terrible head-dragon.'

We now come to the question of the date, not so much of the Nennian or pseudo-Nennian compilation<sup>38</sup> as of the Arthurian traditions which this compilation incorporates. Here we must begin with the twelfth battle assigned to Arthur, since this is the only event mentioned which we know to have an historical basis. Gildas speaks of it as the *obsessio Badonici Montis*.<sup>39</sup> In the siege the Britons seem to have won a great victory: the author apparently attributes this victory to "unexpected help" from a source not specified. Now Lot's researches<sup>40</sup> have made it clear that Gildas was born, and Badon fought, c. 500 A.D. The *De Excidio* however gives us no information as to the leader of the Britons on this occasion. Nor have we any reason to suppose that this leader was an historical Arthur. Indeed, so far as we have any evidence at all, it points to the conclusion that the British leader was a person otherwise of little consequence, or at any rate of an importance insufficient to effect the preservation of his name. For when we come to the next account of these events, that of Bede, we find the narrative supplied with the leaders' names so oddly missing in Gildas. Bede knows not only the names of the English leaders, Hengest and Horsa, but also the name of their British opponent, Vortigern. Evidently he had good sources of information independent of Gildas, sources that probably took the form of glosses in his copy of the *De Excidio*, though Nothelm may possibly have brought him a certain amount of oral Kentish tradition from

<sup>38</sup> For such a discussion see W. W. Newell, in *PMLA* XX (1905) 622 ff.

<sup>39</sup> ed. Mommsen p. 40.

<sup>40</sup> *La Vie de saint Gildas*, in *Mélanges d'histoire bretonne* p. 207 ff.; see especially p. 265 note 5. Cf. also Thurneysen in *Zf cPh* XIV 13 ff.

pre-Christian times in addition to the clerical material with which Bede credits him. Now if there had really existed a British leader identifiable in name and fame with the Arthur of Nennius, and if this Arthur had actually won so decisive a victory as that of Badon, one would expect Bede to supply us with his name even as he supplies us with the names of Hengest, Horsa and Vortigern. The failure of Arthur to appear in Bede indicates that Arthur's association with Badon was not original and, as late as Bede's day, was not generally (if at all) made.

This brings us well into the 8th cy. When now we come to Nennius, we find the story of Badon radically transformed. Instead of *obsessio* we have *bellum*. Instead of a victory won through "unexpected help" we have a victory won through the unaided and supernatural efforts of a single person, and he a person not so much as mentioned either in Gildas or in Bede. Even the names do not quite agree: for *Badonicus mons* we have *Mons Badonis*. Evidently the author of the *Historia Brittonum* got his information, not primarily from Gildas or Bede, but from a popular tradition which had transformed the struggle into a mythical event. Now it takes time to effect such a transformation. Furthermore, no trace of the legend appears in Bede, in spite of that writer's manifest familiarity with sources of information mediately or immediately Celtic. I should therefore be inclined to set the beginning of the 9th cy. as the earliest plausible date for the tradition recorded in the *Historia Brittonum*.

The historical germ out of which the mythical tradition grew is nevertheless to be found preserved in Gildas. According to the *De Excidio* the siege was won through "unexpected help" of a sort not specified. As time elapsed this unexpected help would gradually take on a supernatural tinge in the oral tradition, and would grow at the expense of the other details until nothing was left of these. Thus the demi-god or hero Arthur effected an entrance into the story of the battle and finally came to possess it altogether. And another factor may have played a part here. The *Badonicus mons* 'Badonic mount' was traditionally located in the region of Bath or Badon, and, since this was the region about which saint Gildas was best informed, there is no reason why the localization should not be accepted. But, according to a tradition pre-

served in Godefroi's continuation of the *Charrete* of Chrétien, Bath was the seat of Melvas (Meleagant), the abductor of Guenevere. In the *Charrete* Lancelot rescues Arthur's wife, but originally Arthur himself must have done the rescuing, and so he does in the Caradocan *Vita Gildae*, according to which Arthur *besieged* Melvas in his stronghold.<sup>41</sup> The siege motif must be old, since it appears likewise in the parallel Irish *märchen* of Etain. It is likely, then, that in an earlier form the tradition used in the *Charrete* included a siege of Bath by Arthur. If so, it is possible that the two sieges became confused at least to this extent, that the hero of the mythological one was made to play the leading part in the historical one as well.—It ought to be noted in this connexion that the name *Melvas* 'prince of the dead' is Cornish in form, and that even in Welsh the Cornish form of the name is the one ordinarily used.<sup>42</sup> We have here an obvious parallel to the name-forms *Uther* and (if my etymology be accepted) *Arthur*.—As to the localization, Bath was apparently at first conceived of as an entrance to the realm of the dead; later, by rationalization, it became the seat of Melvas, the (euhemerized) mythical ruler of that realm.

However it may be with the mythical siege of Bath, the evidence that we have points unmistakably to an historical siege of Mount Badon, at first unassociated with Arthur but later made into an Arthurian victory. The localization of this siege points to Dumnonia as the region where Arthur was first introduced into the account of the conflict. This fits in well, of course, with my etymology of the hero's name, an etymology which necessitates the assumption that the earliest stories attached to this name-form arose in Cornish-speaking territory. The name-form itself may have arisen at any time during the 8th and 9th centuries, a period when the phonetic conditions were favorable to its development; unfortunately we have no means of dating it more precisely.

From the account in the *Historia Brittonum* it is clear that Arthur's name was also brought into connexion with what seems to have been a Welsh (rather than Cornish) list of 12

<sup>41</sup> ed. Mommsen p. 109.—The stronghold however is here identified with Glastonbury.

<sup>42</sup> Rhys, *Studies* p. 51; the etymology of *Melvas* here followed, however, is that of F. Lot (see *Romania* XXIV 327 ff.).

traditional victories over the English. This list was prefixed to the account of the Badon victory, but the orthodox number of victories, viz., 12, was maintained. As a result, one battle had to be left out, of course. In practice, some of the mss. omit the 11th, others the 12th battle of the original (pre-Arthurian) list, while still others combine the two battles.<sup>43</sup> One may suppose that the name-form *Arthur* and the Cornish stories attached to it spread north to Wales and were there adopted and supplemented (doubtless largely for reasons of euhemeristic convenience). At the same time the very limited amount of Arthurian material in Nennius would indicate that the legend was then still in the early stages of its development. From this point of view we may date the *Arthuriana* of the *Historia Brittonum* (roughly enough) as of the 9th or 10th cy. My dating can readily be brought into agreement with other datings based on other criteria (all of which, I may point out, are more or less dubious).

Ms. Harley 3859 includes not only the *Historia Brittonum* but also a collection of material which goes by the name *Annales Cambriae*. The compiler of these annals seems to have written in the latter half of the 10th cy., or at any rate not later than the end of that century.<sup>44</sup> Two entries in the *Annales* concern us here. According to the first, Arthur, in the battle of Badon, bore the Cross of Christ on his shoulders three days and nights. Apart from the endurance feat, itself supernatural, this cross-bearing is obviously a variant of the image-bearing attached to the eighth battle in Nennius. William of Malmesbury and Geoffrey of Monmouth agree with the *Annales* in associating the trait with the battle of Badon. And here it properly belongs, in my judgment, despite current critical opinion. The unexpected help mentioned in the *De Excidio* calls for just such a dramatic event as we find in this image story. We may fancy that the appearance of the sacred object put new heart into the Britons and resulted in a great slaughter of their foes, whence arose the story of Arthur's prowess in the battle. The transfer of the trait to Castle Guinnion in Nennius may safely be credited to a Welsh patriot. Certainly Nennius takes away from the uniqueness of the battle of Badon by making it simply the tail-

<sup>43</sup> For a different interpretation see A. Anscombe, in *Zf cPh* V 116.

<sup>44</sup> See Loth, *op. cit.* II 203, on Phillimore's dating.

piece in a series of 12 victories. What more natural than to tone down still further the battle of Cornish tradition and to glorify at its expense one of the conflicts of the North?<sup>45</sup>

The other Arthurian entry in the *Annales* reads: Gueith Camlann in qua Arthur et Medraut corruerunt. So far as it goes, this entry tallies well enough with the story told by Geoffrey. The usual localization of Camlann<sup>46</sup> indicates that the story of Arthur's last battle was of Cornish origin. Both the entries in the *Annales Cambriae*, then, seem to go back ultimately to Cornish tradition.—In this connexion ought to be mentioned the Arthur of the second Harleian genealogy.<sup>47</sup> The appearance of Arthur here reminds one of the appearance of Woden in the Old English royal genealogies. The position of the name in the body of the pedigree can also be paralleled in the Old English records. Arthur's chronological position in the pedigree is that appropriate to a participant in the so-called second battle of Badon, i.e., the battle of 665 mentioned in the *Annales Cambriae*. One may conclude that the genealogist connected Arthur with that battle rather than with the Badon mentioned by Gildas; in other words, that as late as the time of the genealogist the Badon tradition was still essentially Cornish and was liable to inaccurate application in Wales. Finally, the pedigree indicates that at the time of its composition the differentiation of the euhemerized god into Arthur and Uther, son and father, had not been made or at any rate was not known to the genealogist: Arthur is given a certain Petr for father.

It is of some interest to note that in non-Galfredian Welsh tradition Uther and Arthur seem mutually exclusive. They are nowhere related, whether as father and son or otherwise. This is best explained, I think, on the present hypothesis, viz., that the two names were originally equivalent epithets for the same person. One thus chose between them, and such choice naturally involves exclusion of the epithet rejected. Later on, of course, differentiation would set in, but the relationship of father and son seems to have had its origin in Cornwall.

<sup>45</sup> But see Fletcher, *Arthurian Materials in the Chronicles* p. 32 ff.

<sup>46</sup> See, e.g., Lot, in *Romania* XXX 16 ff.

<sup>47</sup> As printed by Loth, *op. cit.* II 305 ff. (cf. p. 313).

There is a good deal of further Arthurian matter independent of Geoffrey, notably the *Kulhwch and Olwen*, where Arthur is "un personnage de féerie," as Loth puts it. For a discussion of the *Kulhwch* I refer the reader to my distinguished colleague.<sup>48</sup> I shall confine myself here to certain points on which I have something new to offer. First let us look at the Arthur of the Caradocan *Vita Gildae*.<sup>49</sup> St. Gildas was a Pict by birth, as everyone knows. The hagiographer proceeds to equip him with no less than 23 brothers, all of whom (unlike Gildas) warred against Arthur. One in particular, Hueil by name, was an active raider. He was finally killed by Arthur, who then sought and obtained from Gildas forgiveness for his deed. The saint's charity is made all the more laudable by a systematic depreciation of Arthur, who is represented as *rex rebellis* (i.e., a king who unreasonably refuses to stay beaten?) and as *tyrannus*, while Hueil is made a person in great favor with the people, who seem even to expect his eventual accession to the throne. The hostility between Arthur and the brothers of Gildas clearly goes back to the historical raids which the Picts made into British territory. The British Woden, euhemerized or no, would naturally be called upon for help under these conditions, and in later story would be thought of as the defender of Britain against these attacks. The bias of Caradoc may be explained in part by the fact that St. Gildas was a Pict; the hagiographer would naturally tend to side with his hero's people, and this all the more since in Caradoc's day the Picts were hardly longer distinguished rigidly from the Britons proper. But this is not a full explanation of the matter. Where did Caradoc get the notion that Arthur was a usurper? I fancy we have to do here with the remains of an ecclesiastical tradition of opposition to Arthur as an object of worship. He had no legitimate title to such worship, the Church would argue, and this objection would linger long, though evaded by the god's transformation into a hero. On this theory Caradoc reflects the last stages of the Church's hostility to Arthur, and such hostility is intelligible only on the assumption that the hero-worship recorded from the 12th cy. on had been preceded by worship of a rather different

<sup>48</sup> J. Loth, *Contributions* p. 37 ff.

<sup>49</sup> ed. Mommsen p. 108.

kind. The meagerness and lateness in date of the first references to Arthur and Uther obviously point in the same direction. A hero looked at askance by the Church would get short shrift at the hands of the average clerk.

Certainly hostility to Arthur is not confined to the *Vita Gildae*. In the *Vita Paterni*<sup>50</sup> we find this description: *deambulabat quidam tyrannus regiones altrinsecus, Arthur nomine*. In the course of his wanderings he came to Padarn's cell, saw and coveted the saint's consecrated tunic, and asked for it. The saint replied: *non habitu cujuslibet maligni hec tunica condigna est; sed habitu clericatus*. Later Arthur returned in a fury, to take the tunic by force, but (at the saint's command) the earth swallowed the "tyrant" up to the chin, and he was able to escape from his humiliating position only by complete submission to God—and to Padarn. The fact of hostility between Arthur and the Church (in the person of the saint) is here patent. The nature of the dispute is also significant; both parties laid claim to a *sacerdotal* garment. I interpret the whole as a survival of a religious rivalry; Christianity *versus* Arthur-worship.

Again, in the *Vita Cadoci*<sup>51</sup> is told the story of a dispute between Cadoc and Arthur which was ended by an award of cattle to the latter. Arthur however insisted that the beasts have certain markings: *verum discolores accipere voluit, scilicet in anteriori parte rubei, in posteriori vero candidi, coloris distinctas plurima tergiversatione gestivit*. Cadoc however by working a series of miracles managed to avoid payment. Arthur's stipulation as to markings is explicable enough if we consider that these had religious significance; from time immemorial specific markings have been associated with beasts destined for consecration to gods. On any other hypothesis however Arthur's tactics are less easy to explain. To be emphasized here too is the triumph of the representative of Christianity; on the present theory, Cadoc deprived the heathen god of the sacrificial offerings to which he was entitled, here in euhemeric disguise as *wergeld*.

Perhaps the most curious story of all however is that which tells of an adventure that befell Gundlei (or Gwynlliw), the

<sup>50</sup> W. J. Rees, *Lives of the Cambro British Saints*, p. 193.

<sup>51</sup> ed. Rees (as above) p. 48 ff.

father of Cadoc.<sup>52</sup> Gundlei was being pursued by Brachan, whose daughter he was carrying off. Pursuer and pursued had reached a hill which marked the boundary between their respective kingdoms when Arthur and his two followers Kay and Bedevere came into view, sitting on the hill-top playing at dice.<sup>53</sup> When Arthur saw what was forward, he first wanted to appropriate the maiden, but was dissuaded by his followers, whom he thereupon sent to enquire of the approaching warriors which of them was the lord of that kingdom (toward which the flight was moving). When he found that Gundlei was the lord in question, he took his part and put Brachan to rout. Gundlei kept his captive and married her. Here Arthur evidently functions as defender of the border. Since Gundlei's border was the one which was being crossed, Gundlei was the one entitled to his help. This automatism is readily explicable if we take into consideration the fact that for hundreds of years the Britons had been on the defensive. The conception of Arthur as defender of the realm, as guardian of the border, might in time make of him as automatic a figure as the keeper of the ford. Here certainly he opposes the invader without hesitation or question as to the rights of the case. Such automatism however befits an offended deity much better than an historical champion. Indeed, it is at bottom wholly incompatible with humanity. True, a human being, under orders or under spells, may exhibit similar automatic responses. But neither condition obtains here; Arthur is not subordinate to Gundlei (or to anyone else) in any sense, and never can have been. The Arthur of this episode, then, is to be explained as a god degraded (under the influence of Christianity) to an automatic, but still independent position as supernatural defender of the border. For a similar conception cf. the *Kadeir Teyrnion*.

Let us now turn our attention to the *Vita Carantoci*.<sup>54</sup> According to this work a certain Cato and Arthur reigned together in Dumnonia, living at Dun Draithov. The joint rule of the two princes, and their use of the same capital, strikes one as curious. Cato seems moreover to be the superior; his name is always given first, and when the saint and Arthur after their

<sup>52</sup> ed. Rees p. 23 f.

<sup>53</sup> The throws of the dice perhaps determined the fate of mortals in battle.

<sup>54</sup> I use here the text printed by Lot in *Romania* XXX 2 f.

serpentine adventure repair to court Cato receives them graciously as becomes a lord and master. This state of things is best explained on the supposition that Cato and Arthur were father and son. The conclusion is not so startling as it seems. When Arthur came to be felt as a human being his need of a father would become pressing. We are familiar with one solution of the problem: the epithet *Uther*, originally nothing more than an alternative form of *Arthur*, was seized upon and made into a special name, and out of the differentiation grew Uther and Arthur, father and son. But our hero was known by another epithet. Nennius calls him *Arthur miles*, which, in Cornish, would be *Arthur Cadwur*. Now there is no intrinsic reason why the epithet *Cadwur* might not be utilized for father-naming purposes even as the epithet *Uther* was so utilized. And in fact a Cador appears in Geoffrey in a part best explained as originally paternal. But of that more anon. Here we are concerned with the name *Cato* or *Cado* (the dental was a d whatever the spelling). Lot has noted<sup>66</sup> a certain king Cathovius of Dumnonia who lived in the 8th cy. This king Lot identifies with the Cato of our *Vita*. In early times the king's name was something like \**Cadui* (cf. Welsh *Cadwy*). Now it is a peculiarity of Cornish that the second element of the diphthong *ui* tended to lose its characteristic quality in favor of that of the first element. By virtue of the process *ui* might become *uw* or *wu*, according to whether the first or the second element had the top of the syllable. In the former case we get (by dissimilation) *ow* as a final product; in the latter case, smoothing to *o* eventually took place. Hence the forms *Cathov*, *Cado*, *Cato* cited by Lot.<sup>66</sup> The date of the smoothing is uncertain, but note Geoffrey's *Cador* as against the *Cadwur* of the Old Cornish *Vocabulary*.<sup>67</sup> In any case it is surely not overbold to conjecture that some patriotic Cornish poet or clerk made Arthur into the son of a Cornish king by dropping the *r* of *Cadwur* or *Cador*. The process was arbitrary, no doubt (though

<sup>66</sup> In *Romania* XXX 11 note 4; cf. also p. 12 with notes.

<sup>66</sup> For a different explanation see Pedersen *op. cit.* I 521.

<sup>67</sup> Here the *wu* has a slightly different origin, of course.—The Galfredian form indicates that Geoffrey's Cornish is more advanced than that of the *Vocabulary*. The same may be said of *Gorlois* if that name means 'the very grey one,' i.e. 'the venerable one.' Cf. the 12th cy. *hus* in note 28 above.

far less so than the procedure of the Harleian genealogist), but the gain was great and the cost little! In this way, then, I think, Arthur Cador or Arthur son of Cador became Arthur son of Cado (Cato). In any case the association of Cato with Arthur is additional evidence that the latter had no historical connexion with the siege of Mount Badon c. 500 A.D.

On the present theory, out of the two epithets attached to Arthur arose two fathers, viz., Cador and Uther. The former was tied to Cornwall by virtue of his identification with the historical Cornish king Cado. The Cornish origin of Uther pater seems equally well assured, in view of the Cornish form of the name and the Cornish localization of the birth story. It would appear, then, that two conflicting traditions as to the parentage of Arthur arose in Cornwall or at any rate were early known there, and that it was in Cornwall that the attempts to harmonize these traditions were made. How was the harmonizing to be effected? The situation is not uncommon in mythology. Heracles had two fathers: Amphitryon and Zeus. The problem of his paternity was solved by making Amphitryon the reputed, Zeus the true father. As the story goes, Zeus, taking the form of Amphitryon, visited Alcmene in her husband's absence and begot on her Heracles. We find a parallel tale in Geoffrey. It may be analyzed as follows:

- 1) Uther pays court to Igern, the wife of Gorlois duke of Cornwall.<sup>68</sup>
- 2) Gorlois, angered at this, withdraws from court and shuts up his wife, for safety, in Tintagel castle. He himself repairs, with his army, to Dimelioc castle, where he is besieged by Uther's forces.
- 3) During Gorlois's absence from Tintagel, Uther takes the form of Gorlois, visits Igern and begets on her Arthur.
- 4) Gorlois attacks Uther's forces but is defeated and slain.
- 5) Uther gives up Igern and retires to his army.
- 6) Later Uther returns to Tintagel in his proper form and forces Igern to marry him.

<sup>68</sup> The origin of Gorlois will appear below. That the two dukes of Cornwall are doublets is a thesis first upheld by Greulich, *op. cit.* 44 ff. Greulich makes it clear that Cador was the original, Gorlois the secondary figure. His arguments would be strengthened if with me he maintained the primitive identity of Uther and Arthur, the lords of the two dukes.

Here traits 1, 3 and 5 agree substantially with the Greek myth. Traits 4 and 6 however are in total disagreement with it, and trait 2 includes a hostility between reputed and true fathers that is foreign to the Greek. The presence of traits 4 and 6 has the further effect of making pointless Uther's shape-shifting, while it reduces Gorlois to a reputed father in name only, whereas Amphitryon, it will be remembered, actually brings up Heracles as his own son. Geoffrey, then, by no means gives us the reputed father myth (hereafter abbreviated RF) in an original or consistent form. Furthermore, if we look at the Galfredian romance as a whole (instead of confining ourselves to the birth incident), we see that for the most part it goes back to a different solution of the problem of the hero's two fathers, a solution which made of the additional parent not a reputed but a foster-father. For our purposes the foster-father myth (hereafter abbreviated FF) is best exemplified in the Irish *märchen* of Etain, which may be outlined as follows:<sup>49</sup>

- 1) The fairy prince Dagda falls in love with the unnamed wife of the fairy Elcmair; she agrees to gratify his passion.
- 2) Dagda sends Elcmair off on a mission, and delays his return by putting magic hindrances in his way.
- 3) Meanwhile Dagda begets Oengus (or Mac Oc) on the wife of Elcmair.
- 4) Oengus is turned over to foster-parents, the fairy Mider and his wife Fuamnach, and Elcmair on his return finds nothing to suspect.
- 5) Oengus is brought up in ignorance of his parentage.
- 6) At the proper time he discovers who his parents are, and through the help of his two fathers (true and foster) he reduces his mother's husband Elcmair to submission, making Elcmair's domains his own.
- 7) Oengus becomes a suitor of Etain, the daughter of the fairy Ailill. Ailill rejects his suit (the rejection is rationalized, but is all the worse motivated for that).
- 8) Etain appears in the home of Mider, apparently as foster-daughter.
- 9) Oengus steals Etain from the home of Mider and keeps her in a cage.

<sup>49</sup>I follow in the main the outline of L. C. Stern, in *ZfCPh* V 522 ff.; for an earlier comparison of Geoffrey and the *märchen* see Rhys *Studies* 25 ff.

- 10) Oengus's deed estranges him from Mider. Eventually however the two meet to effect a reconciliation. In their absence Fuamnach steals Etain and by magic arts transforms her into a fly, which finally falls into the goblet of the wife of a certain king Etar. Etar's wife drinks the fly down, is made pregnant thereby and gives birth to a reincarnate Etain, who now goes as the daughter of Etar. Oengus kills Fuamnach.
- 11) Etain marries Eochaid king of Ireland.
- 12) Mider reappears, and after much maneuvering carries Etain off to his fairy mound.
- 13) Eochaid after a year's search finds the mound, lays siege to it and forces Mider to restore Etain to him.
- 14) To Eochaid and Etain is born a daughter, Etain III, the grandmother of Conaire king of Ireland.
- 15) On Conaire the fairies avenge his ancestor's destruction of Mider's stronghold.

In comparing this curious *märchen* with Geoffrey's romance we had best begin by drawing up a table of corresponding characters, as follows:

romance	<i>märchen</i>
Uther	Dagda
Gorlois	Elcmair
Igern	Elcmair's wife
Guenevere	Etain
Arthur	Oengus (Mac Oc) and Eochaid
Cador	Mider as foster-father
Modred	Mider as rival lover

The magicians Merlin and Fuamnach cannot be included in the table, of course, since they are incommensurable. The absence of Fuamnach from the romance had the effect of limiting Guenevere to one life, as against Etain's three incarnations. Hence Arthur answers to both Oengus and Eochaid. That there were originally three Gueneveres however is made probable, as Rhys has pointed out, by "the fact that one of the Triads speaks of Arthur as the husband not of one wife called Gwenhwyvar, but of three wives bearing each that one and the same name."<sup>60</sup> The elimination of the incarnation machinery, then, and the concentration of the long series of

<sup>60</sup> *Studies* p. 35.

events within the limits of a single lifetime, is to be looked upon as another example of rationalization.

The Elcmair of the Irish FF is a befooled husband, but not a reputed father: in this respect he differs from Geoffrey's Gorlois. We shall see, however, that Gorlois as reputed father is unoriginal, and that he goes back to a British FF in which he was simply a befooled husband like his Irish counterpart.

Mider's double function in the *märchen* is peculiar, and cannot be original. To start with, Mider was doubtless simply the rival lover. His usurpation of the additional part of foster-father probably came about somewhat as follows. The hero and the heroine in the primitive story had the same foster father. They fell in love with each other, but their common fostering put their marriage under tabu. This tabu was Ailill's true motive in rejecting Oengus's suit. The hero, though rejected, did not acquiesce in the situation, but carried off the heroine from the house of the foster-father, where she was then living. Thus difficulties arose between foster-father and foster-son. The fact of these difficulties, and the further fact that the subject of them was the heroine, resulted in the identification of foster-father and rival lover in the Irish version, where however the original distinction survives in the reconciliation of Oengus with Mider, a trait incompatible with rivalry in love and thus pointing to an earlier form of the tale in which foster-father and rival lover were different persons. No such development took place in the British version, where foster-father and rival were kept quite distinct and the lovers' difficulties with their elders were disposed of by eliminating the common fostering, a method which got rid of the tabu and made it possible for hero and heroine to marry without parental objection.

The concentration which the Galfredian account in particular shows is most strikingly exemplified in the story of the rape of Guenevere. The *Vita Gildae* attributed to Caradoc and the French romances, taken together, give us a version of the rape quite similar to that found in the Irish *märchen*. In both the hero recovers his wife. Geoffrey however combines this story with the "passing of Arthur" story, which originally was doubtless a kind of sequel to the rape much as is the Conaire story in the Irish version.<sup>61</sup> Yet Geoffrey does hold the

<sup>61</sup> For Modred and Guenevere before Geoffrey, see Loth *Mabin*. II 223 ff.

two tales separate, after a fashion: Modred is defeated and loses Guenevere in his first battle with Arthur, and the second battle, that of Camlann, has no immediate connexion with the rape.

We are now able to tackle more intelligently the problem of the evolution of Cadwr in British tradition. Here three stages may be distinguished. In the first stage there are conflicting reports as to the identity of the father of Arthur, but no birth-myth has as yet arisen to harmonize these reports. Relics of this stage are the interpolations in Nennius and the Cato of the *Carannog Vita*. In the second stage we have two birth-myths, both explaining away the double paternity but each doing it after its own fashion. One myth, RF, makes Cadwr the reputed father; the other, FF, makes him the foster-father. The third stage, represented in the version of Geoffrey, is an attempt to harmonize the two myths.

We have no direct evidence of the actual existence of RF. The appearance of the shape-shifting motif in the Galfredian account, however, forces us to look for a reputed father, for this motif has no point or purpose except in connexion with such a father. There is an alternative, it is true. We may assume that Geoffrey or some predecessor deliberately inserted the shape-shifting trait into FF, in spite of its total lack of point, simply because he happened to be acquainted with the device and liked it. I cannot deny the possibility of this. But after all, medieval writers as a class were not so illogical and unreasonable as some people seem to think. There are many inconsistencies in their narratives, but these inconsistencies are nearly always best explained from tradition, not from innovation. A medieval writer might well cling to a trait, even though it were inconsistent with his narrative as a whole, if that trait were handed down to him. He had great respect for "authorities." Hence when he combined two versions of the same story he usually failed to harmonize the accounts in the thoroughgoing fashion that a strict regard for logic (at the expense of tradition) would dictate. But this does not justify us in assuming that he had no feeling at all for logic or consistency.

The existence of a foster-father myth in connexion with Arthur is amply attested in the French romances, of course. The original form of the myth can be determined by comparison

of the extant versions with the Irish parallel, the *märchen* of Etain. This *märchen* corresponds to Arthurian legend, as we have seen, not only in the birth-myth but also in the rape of Guenevere story. In fact, it gives us the mythical (as distinguished from the pseudo-historical) framework for the Arthur legend. It would thus appear that the prototype of the *märchen* was common Celtic property, that it was pre-Arthurian, and that it got attached to Arthur by virtue of the fact that it offered a solution for the problem of the two fathers of the hero. Now a peculiar feature of the *märchen* is the trait according to which hero and heroine have the same foster-father. This same trait must originally have appeared in the British version, but, as we have seen, that version eventually eliminated the common fostering. The elimination could proceed in two ways. The fostering could be confined to the hero, or to the heroine. Hence we should expect to find two British variants of FF, in which Cador was foster-father of Arthur and of Guenevere respectively. What do we actually find? According to Geoffrey, Cador was foster-father of Guenevere. As to the French romances, Arthur's foster-father seems to have borne the name *Arthur* in Robert de Borron.<sup>62</sup> The later romances exhibit a variety of name-forms (Artus, Auctor, Ector, Arntor, Anthors, Anthor), all however explicable as corruptions of Robert's *Arthur*. How did Robert come to give the foster-father such a name? On the present theory the explanation is easy. Originally *Cador* was simply an Arthurian epithet, occurring in the phrase *Arthur Cador* 'Arthur the warrior.' When *Cador* became the foster-father of Arthur the old phrase *Arthur Cador* did not immediately go out of existence; it must have survived for a time by mere force of tradition. But in non-Celtic lands, certainly, the phrase would be misunderstood. *Arthur Cador* would be considered as the full form of the name of the foster-father and *Cador* would thus come to be interpreted as a mere tag which served to distinguish the foster-father from his foster-son the Arthur *par excellence*. Besides, it must have been thought appropriate that foster-son was named after foster-father. In this way the foster-father acquired the name *Arthur*.

<sup>62</sup> Here I follow Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance* I 145 note 33, and H. O. Sommer, *Vulgate Version of . . . Romances* Index p. 9, note 1.

If Robert's name for the foster-father actually came into existence through a misinterpretation of the expression *Arthur Cador*, the foster-father's surname ought to be derivable from *Cador* much as his Christian name is derivable from *Arthur*. His full name occurs, as it happens, only once,<sup>63</sup> where it appears as *Anthors de Cors*. Here the surname *Cors* is, I think, a phonetic development of *Cador*. In Northern French, *Cador*, once borrowed, would presumably develop, first of all, to *\*Cahors* > *\*Caors*.<sup>64</sup> And in the Anglo-Norman dialect, at least, the pre-tonic *a* in hiatus may be lost.<sup>65</sup> Cf. the parallel early loss of pretonic *e*.<sup>66</sup> Now Robert de Borron, though apparently himself a Burgundian,<sup>67</sup> doubtless got the proper name in question through Anglo-Norman. As for the *de*, cf. the name *Dinas de Lidan* in the Tristan story, properly *Dinas Lidan*.<sup>68</sup> Our *Anthors de Cors*, then, probably goes back to an original *Arthur Cador*.

It is clear that we have to deal with two distinct varieties of FF. These may be distinguished as pre-G(alfredian) and non-G(alfredian), according to whether the original double fostering was confined to heroine or hero. The question now arises, how was the upbringing of the hero to be accomplished in pre-G, now that no foster-father was available for the purpose. Geoffrey gives us the answer. The boy was brought up by his true father. But this involves slaughtering off almost at once Gorlois, the British equivalent of Elcmair, in order that true father and mother might be married and the hero's upbringing properly attended to. Hence the hero's father must dispossess Gorlois, and accordingly the extant (but not the original) Gorlois differs from Elcmair in that he is the victim of the father rather than of the hero. It is noteworthy however that even in Geoffrey the actual slaying of Gorlois is not attributed to Uther, and that the befooled husband is got rid of summarily and secondarily enough.

Geoffrey gives us a harmony of RF and pre-G, and in the absence of evidence to the contrary we may as well assume that

<sup>63</sup> Sommer *ed. cit.* VII 12 (line 2).

<sup>64</sup> Cf. the name *Cahoer d'Angleterre* in E. Langlois, *Table des Noms* . . .

<sup>65</sup> L. E. Menger, *The Anglo-Norman Dialect* p. 49.

<sup>66</sup> J. Vising, *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature* p. 28.

<sup>67</sup> See W. A. Nitze in *Manly Anniversary Studies* p. 313.

<sup>68</sup> J. Loth, *Contributions* p. 107.

he was the harmonizer. How did he proceed? He found in RF a Cador who answered 1) in name, to the pre-G foster-father of Guenevere; 2) in function as the befooled husband, to the Gorlois of pre-G; 3) in function as the hero's mainstay in youth, to the Uther of pre-G. He accomplished the harmony by keeping Cador as foster-father of Guenevere and as the hero's mainstay in his early career, but by assigning to Gorlois not only his own but also Cador's part as befooled husband. In this way shape-shifting came to be used against Gorlois. Uther, on the other hand, does not help his son as he doubtless helped him in pre-G; this help has all been left to Cador the foster-father of Guenevere by virtue of his identification with the helpful Cador of RF. Hence Arthur's upbringing and enfances are passed over in silence. That there was something to be told, however, is attested by our glossator A.

The non-G variant of FF has survived to us only in late literary form. It therefore shows much contamination from the Galfreidian account, which of course had a tremendous literary vogue. In particular the influence of Geoffrey affected the birth story, and made nonsense of the secret fostering of the hero. In spite of this, however, the fostering was not given up, and its survival has made it possible for us to trace the true history of the Arthurian legend back to its beginnings, and to show that Arthur was indeed "un personnage de féerie."<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> I wish to thank the following for reading and criticising this paper in ms.: Professors T. P. Cross, J. Loth, H. Pedersen and F. N. Robinson. To Professor Pedersen, under whom I began my Celtic studies, I am especially grateful; had it not been for him, this paper never would have seen the light.

## DAS ERSTE MODERNE CHRISTUSDRAMA DER DEUTSCHEN LITERATUR

Ein sündloser und sich darum innerlich nicht entwickelnder Mensch kann nicht Held eines Dramas werden; solange man darum Christus als den eingeborenen Gottessohn ansah, der nur äusserlich als ein Mensch auf der Erde wandelte, war ein Christusdrama nur als eine Schauhandlung möglich, wie sie das naive Mittelalter brauchte.<sup>1</sup> Als dann die Zeit ein anderes Drama forderte, ward der Christus-Stoff in Deutschland fast nur noch episch behandelt, besonders seit Klopstocks "Messias" ein weithin leuchtendes Vorbild gegeben hatte.

Erst Strauss's und Bauers Kritik erschütterte in weiteren Kreisen den Glauben an die Göttlichkeit Jesu, und die Kämpfe, die sie herbeiführten, bildeten in Deutschland lange Zeit einen Brennpunkt des öffentlichen Interesses. So wurden um die Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts verschiedene deutsche Dramatiker auf die Möglichkeit aufmerksam, Christus als einen Menschen und sein Leben als die Tragoedie eines missverstandenen Genies aufzufassen; welche gewaltige Aufgabe aber bot sich damit! Schon aus Grabbes letzter Lebenszeit<sup>2</sup> besitzen wir einige Scenentrümmer eines "Christus," schon Otto Ludwig hatte 1844 in sein Tagebuch eine Skizze zu einem Christusdrama "zur Glorie der christlichen Religion" eingetragen.<sup>3</sup> Von der neuen philosophischen Richtung angeregt, hatte aber erst Richard Wagner 1848 seinen "Jesus von Nazareth" entworfen.<sup>4</sup> Er wollte Jesus als einen Empörer gegen das Eigentumsrecht und die Zwangsehe darstellen; sein Jesus ist ein ethisch-sozialer Revolutionär, wie der Otto Ludwigs ein reiner Mensch.<sup>5</sup> Das Volk glaubt, Jesus wolle es von der irdischen

<sup>1</sup> Vgl.: Paul Friedrich in den Ostdeutschen Monatsheften, Jahrgang I, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Die in den Werken (Ausgabe von Eduard Grisebach, Berlin 1902, Bd. III, p. 408) veröffentlichten Bruchstücke stammen von 1835.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Gesammelte Schriften, herausgegeben von Erich Schmidt, Bd. IV, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. Nachgelassene Schriften und Dichtungen, 2. Aufl., Leipzig 1902, p. 45.

<sup>5</sup> Viele Beziehungen gehen von Wagners Ausführungen zu Feuerbach hin. Vgl. Koch, Wagner, Bd. II, Berlin 1913, p. 164.

Herrschaft erlösen; seine Rede im Tempel aber entfremdet ihm alle, und nun können seine Feinde, die Aristokraten, ihn verderben, ohne dass sich eine Stimme für ihn erhebt. Neben den beiden anderen grossen deutschen Dramatikern aus der Mitte dieses Jahrhunderts hat sich dann auch Hebbel mit dem Christus-Stoff beschäftigt; in seinem Christus sollte wie in seinem Hiram im "Moloch" alles bis hinein ins Mythische wachsen; Christus sollte nach einer Niederschrift von 1863 erst beim Herannahen des Todes den Gedanken an ein irdisches Reich aufgeben und das himmlische predigen.<sup>6</sup>

Der erste deutsche Dichter aber, der an ein Christudrama in modernen Sinne nicht bloss dachte, sondern es wirklich schuf, war ein dem grossen Publikum gänzlich Unbekannter, der ostpreussische Sonderling Albert Dulk.<sup>7</sup> Denn die mit dem Kritiker Rötcher befreundete Schauspielerin Elise Schmidt beschäftigte sich in ihrem "Judas Ischarioth"—er war 1849 zuerst vollständig—mit dem Judas—, nicht mit dem Jesusproblem in erster Linie.<sup>8</sup>

Dass gerade dieser Albert Dulk sich als Bahnbrecher betätigte, ist nicht weiter verwunderlich, wenn man die Eigenwilligkeit beachtet, die der Dichter auch sonst an den Tag legte; es genüge, daran zu erinnern, dass er in einer Zeit schärf-

<sup>6</sup> Der Christusstoff war ein Lieblingstoff Hebbels. Vergl. Werners Einleitung zum V. Bd. seiner Ausgabe der Werke, p. XL.

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. auch die Jahresberichte für neuere deutsche Literaturgeschichte, XVII-XVIII, p. 926.—Über Albert Dulk unterrichten am besten: Ziel, Albert Dulk; sein Leben und seine Werke (in: Albert Duls sämtliche Dramen, erste Gesamtausgabe, herausgegeben von Ernst Ziel, 3 Bände, Stuttgart, I. H. W. Dietz, 1893-1894 oder auch in: Literarische Reliefs, IV. Reihe, Leipzig 1895, p. 1-114). Ferner: Fraenkel (in: Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Bd. XLVIII, p. 149. Auf Ziel beruhend.) und Brümmer (Lexikon der deutschen Dichter und Prosaisten vom Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart. 6. Aufl. Beruht auf eigenen Angaben des Dichters). Meine eigene umfangreiche Arbeit ueber "Albert Dulk als Dramatiker" harrt noch auf den Druck. Sie arbeitet auf Grund ganz neuer, bisher unbenutzter Quellen und überholt alles Bisherige in vielen bis dahin unbekannten Einzelheiten; ein Auszug aus dieser im Leipziger Universitätsarchiv handschriftlich verwahrten Dissertation erscheint im Jahrbuch der Leipziger Philosophischen Fakultät (1922, zweite Hälfte). Der hier abgedruckte Aufsatz ist die wenig veränderte Wiedergabe eines Kapitels aus meiner Arbeit.

<sup>8</sup> Die Kultur, Koeln 1903, Bd. II, p. 1258, ist zu vergleichen. Elise Schmidts Drama hat in einer Bearbeitung von Wiegand und unter dem Titel "Das Licht der Welt" im April 1921 zu Bremen seine Uraufführung erlebt.

ster politischer Reaktion es fertig brachte, fast im vollsten Lichte der Öffentlichkeit mit drei Frauen zusammenzuleben, deren zwei ihm Kinder gebaren; oder man erinnere sich, dass dieser Hüne 1865 mit der Durchschwimmung des Bodensees die Leistung Lord Byrons noch übertraf!

Wichtiger ist, dass diese eigenwillige Persönlichkeit zugleich tief religiös war—ein lebendiges Zeugnis für den zwischen althergebrachtem Idealismus und neu sich entwickelndem Materialismus unsicher tastenden Geist jener Tage!<sup>9</sup> Von Jugend auf hatte den Dichter eine schwärmerische Liebe zu dem Gottmenschen Jesus Christus beseelt, so berichtet seine handschriftliche Selbstbiographie von 1883. Nur noch mehr beschäftigte Albert Dulk diese Gestalt, als sie in seinen Augen den göttlichen Schimmer verloren hatte. Als Dulk wegen eines politischen Verdachtes in Halle gefangen sass, studierte er eifrig Klopstocks "Messias," und zwar nicht bloss aus dem Grunde, weil er ausser der Bibel kein anderes Buch bekommen konnte; denn der Ostpreusse kommentierte das Werk des Odendichters ausführlich. Immer stärker kam Dulk über solchen Studien die von Feuerbach zuerst ausgesprochene Erkenntnis, dass der Charakter der christlichen Religion ein subjektiver sei, und diese Einsicht drängte ihn zu dichterischer Aussprache.<sup>10</sup>

Aus den unerquicklichen politischen Verhältnissen in Deutschland suchte auch dieser 48er Mitkämpfer einen Ausweg; aber nicht nach der neuen Welt wandte er sich, wie so viele seinesgleichen, sondern nach der Urheimat des Christentums lenkte er seine Schritte. Schon auf der Fusswanderung von Rom nach Neapel, in den pontinischen Sümpfen, entwarf Dulk die Scenerien seines Christusdramas. Aber erst als er in der arabischen Wüste seinen religiösen Betrachtungen ungehindert nachgehen konnte, wurde ihm die Beschäftigung mit diesem Stoff zu einer brennenden Lebensfrage. In einer wilden Sturmnacht kam es ihm übermaechtig zum Bewusstsein, dass er hier seine tiefste Sehnsucht gestalten konnte. "Die Hoffnung gab

<sup>9</sup> "Ich bin wesentlich religiös" schrieb Dulk in einem Brief an Paul Heyse vom 16. Frühlingsmonds 1879. Über den Briefwechsel zwischen beiden Dichtern vergleiche meinen Artikel in den "Ostdeutschen Monatsheften" vom September 1922. Auch dieser Aufsatz teilt wichtige Ergebnisse meiner Arbeit mit.

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. Dulks aus dem Nachlass herausgegebene "Reiseerinnerungen aus Egypten und Arabia Petrea," Leipzig, 2. Aufl., 1889, p. 28.

meinem einsamen Leben eine neue Erfüllung. Ich wollte die mythische,<sup>11</sup> mich so tief erregende Jesuspersion klarstellen, die Widersprüche, welche ihr Prophetenleben in mir hervorrief, lichten, erkennen—im Gott den Menschen finden. Und während in dunkler Nacht der Sturm um mich tobte, trat die Macht des Geistes vor meine Seele: Ich fühlte die Ekstase, welche die Naturgewalten über den Menschen bringen können—ich verstand den Dämon, welcher Jesus beherrschte und ihn zur Selbstverherrlichung führte; meine Zweifel schwanden, und die Erkenntnis des Wahren trat an mich heran. Ich fühlte mich frei,—aus tiefster, eigenster Erkenntnis frei und durfte mich energisch an die Arbeit machen. Wie herrlich reihte sich nun Gedanke an Gedanke, mit welcher Lust sass ich Tag um Tag auf meinem Stein und schrieb!“<sup>12</sup> Und nun reifte das Werk ganz organisch: “Zwar ging es mit meinen Arbeiten nur langsam vorwärts; aber ich ward nicht ungeduldig; denn was entstand, kam mir alles aus tiefster Seele.”<sup>13</sup>

Das Werk wurde Ostern 1855 im Wadtland, Dulks nächstem Aufenthaltsort, beendet—in einer Naturumgebung, die das Entstehen eines solchen Dramas nur fördern konnte. Wie Wilhelm Jordan seine “Nibelunge,” so trug dann auch dieser Ostpreusse sein Werk des öfteren mündlich vor, zuerst 1855 in Zürich, zuletzt 1864 in Heidelberg; und erst 1865 erschien es als Buch.<sup>14</sup> Wie das noch vorhandene, bei den Vorlesungen benutzte Manuskript zeigt, hat das Stück in den 10 Jahren zwischen der Abfassung und der Drucklegung keinerlei nennenswerte Änderungen mehr erfahren.

Der “Jesus der Christ” ist durch die nicht ganz eindeutige, erst vom 20. März 1865 datierte Vorrede des Verfassers und noch mehr durch seine von der damals üblichen abweichende Christusauffassung von vornherein der Missdeutung ausgesetzt gewesen, ein Tendenzstück zu sein. Gewiss wollte Dulk

<sup>11</sup> Hier merkt man den Einfluss David Friedrich Strauss's!

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. “Reise-Erinnerungen,” p. 69-70.

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. “Reise-Erinnerungen,” p. 81.

<sup>14</sup> Vgl. Ziel, a.a.O.I, p. 36. und Dulks Vorrede ebda. II, p. 3. Die Vorlesungen waren damals noch eine gewagte Sache. So forderte nach der ersten Vorlesung ein orthodoxer Dr. Waechter den Dichter auf, solche frevelhafte Gotteslästerung nicht fortzusetzen; aber das Auditorium zerstreute sich mit lautem Beifall für den Angegriffenen. Vgl. auch von Reichlin-Meldegg in den Heidelberger Jahrbüchern, 1865, p. 761-762.

mit seinem Werke auch in die Entwicklung der Geistesgeschichte eingreifen. Ganz sicher gedachte er mit seinem Christus-bilde Glauben und Vernunft "in den Herzen derer, die sich nach Christi Namen nennen," zu versöhnen und "zu dem einigen, freudigen und gesunden Leben der Zukunft des Christ" den Weg zu bahnen.<sup>16</sup> Aber in erster Linie wollte der Dichter ein mögliches Anschauungsbild Jesu geben. Ausdrücklich verwahrt er sich einmal gegen die Angriffe eines Kritikers, der seinem Drama Belehrungsabsichten unterschiebt; Dulk will vielmehr mit dem Stücke "da, wo die unbekümmert negierende Wissenschaft uns den Halt entzieht," "dem tiefsten, dem religiösen Bedürfnisse innerhalb des Christentums genügen."<sup>16</sup> Die Vorrede des Dramas sagt im Grunde auch deutlich genug, sein Standpunkt sei von dem *kritischen* (!) Standpunkt Strauss's und Bauers so weit verschieden wie die Kunst von der Wissenschaft. Und der Dichter hatte damit vollständig recht. Denn Strauss's "Leben Jesu" von 1835 hatte einen fast rein negativen Charakter,<sup>17</sup> und Bruno Bauers Schriften hatten Jesus überhaupt nur als erdichtete Idealgestalt gelten lassen wollen; erst Renan hatte 1863, Strauss in seinem, im selben Jahre erschienenen "Leben Jesu, für das deutsche Volk bearbeitet" den Versuch gemacht, dem zerstörten bisherigen Christusbild ein auf den neuen Forschungen beruhendes entgegenszustellen; und Dulk hatte das schon 1855 gewagt! Davon konnten die Kritiker, in deren Hände das Stück meist erst 1865 gelangte, allerdings nichts ahnen. Durch die verspätete Herausgabe seines Stückes hat sich Dulk somit um die besten Wirkungen gebracht.

Aber auch mit Strauss's ersten Forschungen ging der Dichter nicht eigentlich zusammen.<sup>18</sup> Denn sonst hätte er in seinem Stücke nicht die Himmelfahrt beibehalten. Vielmehr sah er mit dem Rationalisten *Paulus* die Wunder als historische Tatsachen an und suchte dieselben mit den Mitteln des gemeinen Verstandes zu erklären.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. Dulks sämtl. Dram., II, p. 6.

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. Rezensionen und Mittheilungen über Theater und Musik, Wien, 1865, p. 603.

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. Weincl, Jesus im 19. Jahrhundert, Tübingen 1903, p. 42.

<sup>18</sup> In einem Brief von 1865 fragte Dulk seinen Landsmann, den Romanschriftsteller Robert Schweichel, ob sein Stück denn wirklich auf Strauss' schem Boden stände; das hatte nämlich der Freund behauptet.

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. auch S.S. in der "Kultur," Koeln 1903, p. 1259.

Dulk war in seinem "Jesus der Christ" bemüht, Christus "dem aufgeklärten denkenden Zeitbewusstsein als Träger eines Geisteswesens klar und verständlich" zumachen, "welches sich selber in Rätseln gefangen sieht, die uns heute gelöst sind, welches sich daher als ein natürliches zu erfassen noch nicht vermochte."<sup>20</sup> Christus sollte sich als eine historische Erscheinung, "als eine echt menschliche Tatsache" darbieten. Aus den für ihn uneinheitlichen und dunklen Zügen der Evangelien wollte Dulk also eine lebendige Gestalt schaffen. Man wird zugeben, dass das eine künstlerische Absicht war.

War Dulks Wollen aber im engeren Sinne dramatisch? Diese Frage muss leider verneint werden, soweit wenigstens ein Wollen in Betracht kommt, das auf ein Drama im heutigen Sinne gerichtet wäre. Als ein "Stück für die Volksbühne" hat der Dichter seinen "Jesus der Christ" geschrieben. Er dachte dabei vor allem an eine Bühne, an der das ganze Volk zuschauend teilnehmen könnte:<sup>21</sup> "Wie nämlich das Volk selbst die materielle Einigung *aller* Parteien zu einem grossen Ganzen ist, so soll auch die Volksbühne der Ausdruck des ganzen Volkgeistes sein. Ihr Inhalt soll sein der sittliche Gehalt des Volkslebens," so drückt sich ein Briefentwurf an den Schauspieler Wolff in Elbing schon 1848 aus.<sup>22</sup> Man braucht nur an Wagners nachher in Bayreuth verwirklichten Plan eines Nationaltheaters zu erinnern, um die Zeitgemässheit solcher Ideen zu erweisen.<sup>23</sup>

Nun sah aber Dulk als Beispiele für seine Volksbühne neben den griechischen Dramen "die sogenannten Passionsspiele" an einigen Orten Deutschlands an.<sup>24</sup> Er hatte offenbar

<sup>20</sup> Vgl. Dulks Schrift "Der Irrgang des Lebens Jesu," Bd. I, 1884, p. 55-56.

<sup>21</sup> In den "Rezensionen" (1865, p. 602) nennt Dulk die Vermutung eines Kritikers, dass er nicht eine Bühne *fuer* das Volk meine, sondern eine, *wo* das Volk mitspielt, ein "auffallendes Missverstaendnis." An Schweichel schrieb er 1865, er sehe die ersten Ansätze zu seiner Volksbühne, die durchaus eine Sache der Zukunft sei, in den freien Volkstheatern der Schweiz.

<sup>22</sup> Wenn Dulk dann weiter erklärt, wir hätten ein Recht auf die Volksbühne, da wir seit dem März einen neuen Inhalt hätten, so wird der enge Zusammenhang seiner Volksbühnenideen mit seiner Begeisterung für die Ziele der 48er Bewegung deutlich.

<sup>23</sup> Kann man die Form, die Dulk für den "Jesus der Christ" anstrebte, da wirklich so ohne weiteres mit Ziel "aesthetisch reaktionär" nennen?

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. die sämtl. Dra., II, p. 3-4.

von ihnen nur eine ganz vage Vorstellung: denn er kannte die Oberammergauer Spiele nicht einmal aus eigener Anschauung.<sup>26</sup> Trotzdem hat diese ungewisse Vorstellung die vorliegende Form des "Jesus der Christ" wesentlich mit beeinflusst, wenn auch nicht allein verursacht. Als eine Schauhandlung bietet sich uns das Drama im ganzen dar; und doch enthält diese Schauhandlung den Ansatz zu einem Seelendrama echt Dulkscher Prägung. Um dies einzusehen, muss man sich vor allem vergegenwärtigen, dass die ganze Auferstehungs—und Himmelfahrtshandlung durchaus nicht einer Aufklärungsabsicht des Dichters ihren Ursprung zu verdanken hat, sondern ein notwendiges und für Dulk unabtrennbares Glied der inneren Entwicklung Jesu bildet; mit ihr ist das Drama erst eigentlich beendet. Nur die richtige Würdigung dieser Tatsache kann uns einem gründlichen Verständnis von Dulks dramatischer Eigenart näherbringen.

Dem Aufbau nach zerfällt sein Christusdrama in zwei Teile. Der erste umfasst die ersten sechs, der zweite die übrigen drei Handlungen. Überblicken wir zuerst ihren inneren Zusammenhang, so schildert uns der erste Teil den Irrgang eines Propheten, der die Stimme Gottes in seiner Brust für seine persönliche Stimme hält, sich darum in furchtbarer Täuschung selbst zum Gott macht und durch die Schuld dieses Wahns zu Grunde geht; im zweiten Teil der Handlung läutert sich dann Christus zum Aufgeben seines persönlichen Hochmuts und zum Hinsterven in das Allgemeine.<sup>27</sup>

Jesus ist als Essäer aufgewachsen; in der ersten Handlung sendet ihn nun Joseph von Arimathia, das Haupt des Ordens, in die Welt, dass er im rechten Ordensgeiste wirke. Jesus ahnt schon die Kämpfe, die er erleiden muss, und denkt schon entrückt an seinen Tod. Als einen Gottgesandten, den sie auf geheimnisvolle Weise empfangen habe—für uns ist deutlich Joseph von Arimathia Jesu Vater—schildert Maria der neuen Freundin Magdalena ihren Sohn; sie wird ihn beim Tempelfest wiedersehen. Pilatus will jetzt die kaiserlichen Fahnenbilder im Tempel aufstellen; das erregt den religiösen Fanatismus der Juden, so dass sie sich den offenen Lanzen der Römer entgegen werfen;<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Vgl. die "Rezensionen" von 1865, p. 603. Auch Eduard Devrients Buch "Das Passionsspiel in Oberammergau und seine Bedeutung für die neue Zeit" (1851) lernte Dulk erst später kennen. Vgl. den Brief an Schweichel vom 17. Dez. 1860.

<sup>27</sup> Dulks Einteilung im Vorlesungsmanuskript, wonach die Pause zwischen die 4. und 5. Handlung fällt, ist also als eine rein äusserliche zum Zwecke des Vortrags anzusehen.

<sup>27</sup> Dieser Zug wird auch schon in Otto Ludwigs "Makkabäern" (1850 bis 1852) zur Charakteristik des jüdischen Religionswesens verwandt, was natürlich auf keinerlei Abhängigkeit Dulks von Ludwig deuten soll.

daraufhin lässt Pilatus die Truppen abziehen. Jesus aber, der Zeuge dieser Scene geworden ist, wird von ihr aufs tiefste erschüttert und spricht zum ersten Male die Ahnung aus, er sei der Messias, auf den dieses Volk warte.

Aber gleichzeitig hat Jesus zu fühlen begonnen, dass er mit den tugendstolzen Heuchlern in Jerusalem nichts gemein hat; er fühlt sich einsam und elend und flieht darum aus Bethanien, wohin ihn Maria gebracht hat, in die Wüste, wo ihn in innerlicher Zerrissenheit die zweite Handlung uns vorführt. Dort begegnet er Johannes, der eben so mutlos über die Verderbnis im Hause Jakobs jammert. Da wird es Jesus offenbar, dass mit dieser Erschlaffung Gott nicht zu dienen ist; er befiehlt Johannes im Namen Jehovas, hinzugehen und das Volk zu bekehren. Nun meint er, der Herr habe aus ihm gesprochen; er hält sich für Gott. Aber die Macht, deren sich Jesus bewusst geworden ist, darf er nicht zur Befriedigung seiner persönlichen Gelüste verwenden; das wird ihm im Kampf mit den lockenden Stimmen des Versuchers in ihm offenbar. "Mein Kampf sei im Geist, des Friedens Kampf! Mein Sieg sei im Geist, der Wahrheit Sieg!"<sup>28</sup>, so fasst der Heiland seine Aufgabe. Maria und Magdalena, die ihn lange gesucht haben, finden ihn so und gehen mit ihm aus der Wüste. "Gott . . . Du hast mich heut' in die Welt gesendet!"<sup>29</sup>, so schliesst Jesus die zweite Handlung, in dem festen Bekenntnis zu seiner Mission.

In der dritten Handlung sehen wir Jesus lehrend. Er verkündet zum Entsetzen der Pharisäer seine Erkenntnis, dass das Reich Gottes innen im Herzen sei. Wie sie ihn fragen, aus welcher Kraft heraus er so predige, antwortet der Heiland, er sei Gottes Sohn. Das Volk will ihn dafür steinigen; aber Judas schützt den Herrn. Als sich die Menge zerstreut hat, beruft Jesus seine ersten Jünger.

Nachdem er hierauf drei Jahre lang predigend umhergezogen ist, entschliesst sich Christus zu einem entscheidenden Schritt gegen seine Feinde. Auch durch die Botschaft von der Enthauptung des Täufers nur für Augenblicke erschüttert, zieht er nach Jerusalem und treibt die Händler zum Tempel hinaus. Alles Volk jubelt ihm zu, die Pharisäer vermögen weder mit spitzfindigen Fragen noch mit Meuchelmördern seinen Triumph in sein Gegenteil zu verkehren. Aber als Judas den errungenen Sieg politisch ausnützen will, bleibt Jesus traurig über solche Wirkungen seiner Worte mit Petrus, Johannes und Jakobus zurück. Es ist klar, dass er sich bei einer so geringen Rücksichtnahme auf die wirklichen Bedingungen eines Erfolges nicht dauernd halten kann.

Ein Freund, der in Jesus den politischen Messias gekommen sieht, Judas nämlich, unternimmt es, ihn zum Handeln zu zwingen. Jesus durchschaut ihn und wird sich in einem Selbstgespräch darüber klar, Judas' Eifer zur Herbeiführung eines anderen Endes benutzen zu wollen. Gott soll, so deutet er dunkel an, ihn dann, wenn er gefangen ist, durch ein weithin für ihn zeugendes Wunder befreien. So will Jesus sein Erlösungswerk vollenden. Er befiehlt Judas, seine Absicht auszuführen, was dieser natürlich als Bestätigung nimmt, und bereitet sich in heissem Gebete zur Erduldung seines Schicksals vor. So gerät er in die Hände der Häscher. Judas' Befreiungsplan misslingt äusserlich durch einen Zufall, innerlich aber, weil Jesus einen anderen Weg zu gehen entschlossen ist

<sup>28</sup> Vgl. die sämtl. Dram. II, p. 51.

<sup>29</sup> Vgl. ebda. p. 55.

als den, den ihm sein Jünger vorschreibt. Es ist zwar ein Zufall, dass die Römer ihren Gefangenen einen anderen Weg führen als den, auf dem Judas die Zeloten in den Hinterhalt gelegt hat. Aber dieser Zufall ist dramatisch durchaus gerechtfertigt. Wohl könnte im anderen Falle Jesu Schicksal äusserlich ein anderes werden; aber sein innerer Ablauf könnte sich nur verzögern. *Nicht* durch diesen Zufall, wie man wohl gemeint hat, geht Jesus unter, sondern aus ganz anderen, rein innerlichen Gründen. Die Einheit der Motivierung ist keineswegs durchbrochen.

In der achten Handlung wird Jesus dann wegen Gotteslästerung verurteilt und hingerichtet; Pilatus lässt den Juden freie Hand, weil er sieht, dass Jesu Tod innere Zwistigkeiten in das Volk bringt. Jesus erträgt alle Leiden mit übermenschlicher Anspannung, weil er stets auf ein Wunder hofft; als keines geschieht, schreit er auf: "Mein Gott, mein Gott, warum hast Du mich verlassen!"<sup>30</sup> Entsetzt strömt das Volk auseinander; nur Joseph und Maria bleiben am Kreuze zurück; denn auch die Jünger fliehen.

Für die meisten anderen Dramatiker würde hiermit die Handlung beendet sein; Jesus wäre dann untergegangen an der tragischen Schuld eines masslosen Selbstvertrauens. Auch Hebbels Individuen gehen an ihrer Masslosigkeit zugrunde; aber bei ihm ist diese Masslosigkeit letzten Endes eine metaphysische Notwendigkeit, während sie bei Dulk lediglich historisch, durch einen vorübergehenden Entwicklungszustand der Menschheit, bedingt ist. Nach Dulks Glauben kann darum diese Masslosigkeit auch überwunden werden, und das Drama kann somit dem Fortschritt nur dienen, wenn es die Möglichkeit einer solchen Überwindung aufzeigt. Durch einen anderen Schluss würde Jesu Schuld als eine vom Wesen des Menschen unabtrennbare erscheinen und darum Dulks Weltanschauung nicht zum klaren dramatischen Ausdruck gebracht werden; in dem historischen Helden wäre nicht das Reinmenschliche aufgezeigt, das eben für Dulk letzthin gut ist, und wir hätten statt eines Kunstwerkes nur eine dramatisch ausgeführte Historie. Somit erweist sich der Schluss des Christusdramas ebenso sehr als eine künstlerische Notwendigkeit, wie er einer Erziehungs-(nicht Aufklärungs-) Absicht des Dichters entsprungen ist; in der Einzelausgestaltung aber wirken zweifellos auch aufklärerische Bestrebungen mit, die diesen Sachverhalt bisher haben übersehen lassen. Freilich arbeitet ja Dulk auch, um sein Drama erhebend zu beendigen, mit einem sehr bedenklichen Mittel: er führt die Scheintodhypothese

<sup>30</sup> Vgl. ebda. p. 172.

über Jesu Himmelfahrt auf die Bühne und verlangt damit sehr viel vom Glauben des Zuschauers. Aber auch in anderen Stücken Dulks werden die Helden wunderbar gerettet, damit sie sich innerlich weiter entwickeln können, und die dramatische Auferstehung Jesu erscheint somit nur als ein besonders krasser, aber keineswegs alleinstehender Fall eines von Dulk öfters angewandten Kunstgriffes. Dabei ist Dulk nicht einmal der einzige Dichter, der aus Jesu Kreuzestod nur einen Scheintod macht. Auch in George Moores Roman "The Brook Kerith" kommt der Auferstandene vor. Jesus ist bei Moore nur von einem Starrkrampf befallen gewesen; Joseph von Arimathia rettet ihn und heilt ihn. Danach tritt Jesus in ein Essäerkloster ein; seine frühere Lehre hält er für die grosse Verirrung seines Lebens, die er durch anstrengende Tätigkeit im Dienste des Ordens zu sühnen unternimmt. So hat auch bei Dulk die *ethische* Absicht, durch eine Läuterung Christi den Zuschauer zu erziehen, nicht die *didaktische*, ihn rationalistisch aufzuklären, die innere Form des Dramas bestimmt.

Joseph von Arimathia trinkt also den Gekreuzigten mit einem betäubenden Tranke; er weiss es von dem germanischen Kriegsknecht, der die Wache hat, zu erreichen, dass Jesu Beine nicht wie sonst üblich gebrochen werden; er erhält von Pilatus Jesu Leichnam, um ihn in sein Grabmahl zu legen. Dieses hat einen unterirdischen Zugang, und so kann Joseph in das versiegelte Grab gelangen und Jesus mit seinen ärztlichen Künsten aus seinem Scheintode erwecken. Der Auferstandene wird nach einem nahen Essäerhofe gebracht und kann dort weitergepflegt werden. Auf seinem Krankenlager aber wird Jesus demütig; rückblickend auf sein früheres Leben meint er in der letzten Handlung:

"Ich staune dieses Dunkel  
In mir, das unbewusste, an, das mich  
Erst ohne Kenntnis des, worauf ich wirkte,  
Zu wirken trieb, dies Chaos in der Brust,  
Das sich—durch einen Strahl von Gott erhellt—  
Plötzlich zum Wundergange eines Lebens  
Gestaltete und wachsend klar und mächtig  
Sich fühlte Gottes Stimme, Gottes Licht!  
Ich staune an die Kühnheit jenes Willens,  
Der, nur sich selbst erblickend, Mühe, Not  
Und Widerstand des Lebens kaum empfand  
Und, einmal fortgerissen in den Kampf,  
Selbststeigen nach der Dornenkrone griff  
Und ohne Wanken sich erhob—ans Kreuz!  
Ach, dieses Sturmes Macht ist nun gebrochen.  
Wo ist sie hin? Das Ich ist nun gekreuzigt!"

—Nun bin ich wieder, was zuerst ich war.

Ich rufe nicht mehr: Herr verkläre mich!"

"Denn hin ist ja mein Ringen, dessen Wille

Und Zweck gekreuzigt ward von Gottes Willen!"<sup>31</sup>

Aus dieser Erkenntnis heraus, dass Gott nicht nur in ihm ist, sondern in allen Menschen lebt und wirkt, hat Jesus eingewilligt in Josephs Plan, ihn fortzubringen und von den Jüngern zu trennen:<sup>32</sup>

"Sie müssen einsam bleiben und gesammelt,

Von aussen nichts mehr hoffen, Gottes Willen

Nicht mehr in mir, in ihnen selber suchen."

Auf dem Ölberg redet Christus vor seinem Hinweggehen mit den Jüngern noch ein letztes Wort und sendet sie aus in die Welt. Aber die Aufregung ist für den schwachen Körper zu heftig gewesen; als er sein Abbild im Nebel sieht, sinkt Jesus mit den Worten "Die Stunde des Thabor!" zusammen. Essäerjünglinge schaffen ihn fort und bedeuten den Jüngern Jesu, der Herr sei nun bei Gott.

Hölderlin hatte in seinen "Empedokles"-Entwürfen Empedokles als Ueberwinder der positiven Religionen durch die reine Unendlichkeitssehnsucht darzustellen versucht,<sup>33</sup> da naht sich die Gefahr, dass das Volk ihn zum Gott macht und so wieder eine bestimmte Religion einführt; um es bei der reinen Gefühlsreligion zu erhalten, stürzt sich Empedokles in den Aetna, zugleich um die Schuld zu sühnen, die er erst beging, als er dem Volke die neue Religion vorenthalten wollte. Dulks Jesus kommt ans Kreuz, weil er, das äussere Wesen der alten Religion bekämpfend, sich selbst als neuen Gott einsetzte, und scheidet in der Erkenntnis dahin, dass Gott in allen Menschen wohne. Wie Hölderlins Entwürfe die Anfangsphase des religiösen Fühlens der Romantik, so bringt Dulks "Jesus der Christ" die von Feuerbach in wissenschaftliche Formen gebrachte junghegelianische Religion zu ihrem dichterischen Ausdruck.

Doch nicht zum vollgültig dramatischen. Denn die Art, in der Dulk Judas' Verrat benutzt, zeigt uns ganz deutlich, wie sehr sein "Jesus der Christ" ein Monodrama ist. Jesu innere Entwicklung bedarf zu ihrer Auslösung nur einiger äusserer Anstösse; Kämpfe geistiger Art vollziehen sich nur in seiner Seele. Ledig-

<sup>31</sup> Vgl. ebda. p. 211 212. Auf Schweichels Meinung, das Stück hätte besser mit der Kreuzigung endigen sollen, antwortet Dulk 1865: Die Himmelfahrts-handlung erst steigere Jesu Persönlichkeit in den Geist der Menschheit.

<sup>32</sup> Vgl. die sämtl. Dram. II, p. 210.

<sup>33</sup> Vgl. Hölderlins gesammelte Dichtungen, herausgegeben von B. Litzmann, II., p. 265 311. und Liepe, Das Religionsproblem im neueren Drama, 1914, p. 69-77.

lich Joseph von Arimathia greift in dieses eigenmächtige Leben ein, und auch er erst in der Auferstehungshandlung, einem freilich ziemlich wichtigen Abschnitte. Auch Maria, die Ahnende, betrachtet Jesu Gang mehr und lässt ihn mehr gläubig geschehen, als dass sie ihn irgendwie selbständig beeinflusst; sie ist eigentlich nur die Prophetin ihres Sohnes. Die Jünger—natürlich ausser Judas—werden von Jesus geleitet, und sogar in dem äusseren Kampf mit den Pharisäern und Schriftgelehrten behält er die Führung; sie fangen ihn erst, als er sich fangen lässt. Die Römer schliesslich greifen ebenfalls nicht tätig in die Handlung ein und lassen Jesu Hinrichtung nur aus politischen Gründen zu, ohne sie innerlich zu billigen. Der einzige, dem wenigstens scheinbar ein Einfluss auf den inneren Ablauf von Jesu Schicksal zugestanden wird, ist Judas.

Erst der Neuzeit ist der einzige untreue Jünger Jesu zu einem Problem geworden; wie in vielen Einzelheiten, so gab auch hier Klopstock der deutschen Literatur das Beispiel, indem er Judas' Tat als die eines Menschen auffasst, der sich Jesus als den machtvollen Befreier vom römischen Joche denkt und ihn, enttäuscht, durch seinen Verrat zu einer schnellen Entscheidung zwingen will, ob er dieser Vorstellung entsprechend handelt oder nicht.<sup>34</sup> Diese Auffassung des Judas hat sich dann die deutsche theologische Forschung durch Karl August von Hase<sup>35</sup> zu eigen gemacht. Sie ermöglicht es, Jesus einen einigermaßen gleichwertigen Gegenspieler an die Seite zu stellen, und ist deshalb in den meisten Christusdramen zu finden, denen daran liegt, nicht, wie die meisten Geniedramen, im Monodrama stecken zu bleiben. Selbständig gingen unter Dulks Zeitgenossen nur Hebbel und Elise Schmidt vor, die Judas ins Gigantische zu steigern suchten.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Vgl. Büchner, Das. Judas-Problem. (Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht XXVII, p. 694.). Vgl. auch Goethes Dichtung und Wahrheit, Buch XV., Weimarer Ausgabe, I. Abteilung, Bd. XXVIII, p. 308-309.

<sup>35</sup> Das Leben Jesu, 1829. Vgl. auch Freytag in der Protestantischen Kirchenzeitung XLIII, p. 770.

<sup>36</sup> Nach Hebbel (Werke, herausgegeben von R. M. Werner, V., p. 317.) opfert der Verräter Christus bewusst auf, um die christliche Idee zu retten: "Judas ist der allergläubigste." Elise Schmidt aber sucht die Gegensätze metaphysisch zu begründen: Judas sucht Jesus zu seinem daemonischen Pessimismus zu bekehren und wendet, als es nicht gelingt, Gewalt gegen ihn an. Wagners Entwurf dagegen schliesst sich im wesentlichen der üblichen Auffassung an.

Auch bei Dulk verrät Judas den Meister nur, um ihn zur Entscheidung zu zwingen; aber Jesus merkt seine Absicht und treibt ihn bewusst durch seinen Befehl zu ihrer Ausführung, so dass Judas glauben muss, er handle im Einverständnis mit Jesus. So kommt es auch hier zu keiner inneren Auseinandersetzung zwischen Jesus, der sein Volk innerlich, und Judas, der es nur politisch erlösen will. Die beiden Prinzipien stehen nebeneinander, und auch Judas ist letzten Endes nur Jesu Werkzeug. Das eigentliche Drama vollzieht sich ausschliesslich in der Seele des Erlösers.<sup>87</sup>

Judas, der Geliebte Magdalenas, ist nach der Auffassung Dulks ein feuriger Zelot. Als sie Jesus kennen lernt, sieht Magdalena in ihm einen höheren Geist; aber bei der Begegnung in der Wüste weist der Herr sie mild zurück mit dem Worte, so ein Weib einen anderen Mann freie, so breche sie die Ehe. Judas stösst darauf sein eben gezücktes Schwert in die Scheide zurück und wird Jesu Freund. Er schützt den Erlöser gegen die Steinwürfe der Pharisäer und folgt ihm als sein Jünger nach. Innerlich nährt er während des Herumziehens im Lande immer die Hoffnung, Jesus sei der politische Messias; darum ist er hoch erfreut über dessen Entschluss, nach Jerusalem zu gehen. Die Tempelreinigung sieht er als den Schritt über den Rubikon an; schnell entschlossen versucht er, die Volkswut gegen zwei von den Pharisäern gedungene Mörder zur Erregung eines Aufstandes gegen die Römer zu benutzen. Als Jesus sich passiv verhält, möchte Judas ihn zur Entscheidung zwingen und kauft den Jüngern Schwerter. In der oben erwähnten Weise benutzt dann Jesus diese Stimmung, um seinen Verrat in Scene zu setzen. Judas folgt unbesonnen und wünscht nur hinterher, der Herr hätte ihm volle Aufklärung gegeben. Als der Verrat anders ausschlägt, als er gedacht hat, gerät er in die äusserste Verwirrung; laut schreiend rennt er davon, wie ihm die Möglichkeit aufgeht, Jesus wolle dulden und nicht befreien. Und je mehr sich seine Befürchtung bestätigt, desto entsetzlicher packt Judas die Reue. In wahnsinniger Zerrüttung gegen sich selbst wütend macht er schliesslich in einer Sturmnacht im Tale Ben Hinnom seinem Leben ein Ende.

Man muss anerkennen, dass Dulk die Tragödie des voreiligen Jüngers, der den Meister nicht ganz versteht und ihn zu

<sup>87</sup> Auch im "Irrgang des Lebens Jesu" (II, 1885, p. 268) weist Dulk eine Begründung des Verrates durch Judas' Habsucht weit zurück. Hier ist er der Ansicht, dass die Jünger nach dem grossen Anlauf der Tempelreinigung eine Misstimmung ergriffen hatte; Judas nun wählte in einem von Jesus selbst veranlassten Missverständnis freudig den grossen Augenblick gekommen, den Jesus unter dem *Schauspiel eines Verrates* herbeiführen wollte. Auch die Jünger waren dieser Ansicht und nahmen darum Jesu offene Bezeichnung des Verräters ruhig hin, zumal Jesus selbst ja nach seiner Erklärung mit Judas das Liebesmahl teilte. Als ihnen die Augen aufgehen, befällt sie sowohl wie Judas tödtliches Entsetzen, das diesen schon zum Selbstmord veranlasst haben kann.

der von ihm gewünschten Höhe treiben will, gut durchgeführt hat.<sup>18</sup> Aber freilich, diese Judastragoedie ist eine völlig selbständig durchgeführte Nebenhandlung, ebenso wie auch Magdalena eine gesonderte Entwicklung durchmacht. Statt des *einen* Christusdramas haben wir im Grunde genommen mindestens *drei* Dramen.<sup>19</sup>

Das hängt aber mit dem Grundfehler der Dichtung überhaupt zusammen. Denn der äusseren Form nach besteht das Drama aus einer Aneinanderreihung einer Anzahl bis ins kleinste durchgearbeiteter figurenreicher Bilder, die Dulk mit Recht in der Nachfolge von Grabbes "Napoleon" zu nennen erlauben. In diesen Bildern sucht Dulk den Geist der Zeit sichtbar zu machen; durch sie möchte er Jesus dem historischen Verständnis nahe bringen, Aber tatsächlich tritt durch diese Bildertechnik das eigentliche Seelendrama zurück und erscheint nur als eine

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. Helbig's Artikel im Allgemeinen Literarischen Correspondenzblatt, 1878, p. 124. und ebenso Freytag in der Protestantischen Kirchenzeitung XLII, p. 816.

<sup>19</sup> Die Auffassung der Magdalena als eines nach wahrer Liebe suchenden Weibes, das in Jesus die Erfüllung seines Sehnsens findet und sich durch ihn emporläutert, findet sich schon bei Elise Schmidt, ist aber so allgemein, dass eine Beeinflussung nicht vorzuliegen braucht. Wie sehr man sich gerade bei diesem Stoff vor der Annahme einer Beeinflussung durch dichtende Vorgänger hüten muss, zeigt Geibels Gedicht "Judas Ischarioth," das 1856, also neun Jahre vor Dulk's Drama, in den "Neuen Gedichten" erschien; Judas will darin durch seinen Verrat versuchen, das angefangene Werk nach seinen Sinn ins Gleis zu rücken oder, wenn es sich nicht fügt, es dadurch zerbrechen und dann auf seinen Trümmern den eigenen Weg gehen. Auch hier verrät Judas also den Meister, um ihn zur Entscheidung zu zwingen; aber schon aus dem äusseren Grunde, dass Dulk's Manuskript bereits 1855 abgeschlossen wurde, ist eine Beeinflussung Dulk's durch Geibel oder umgekehrt ausgeschlossen. Dazu kommen dann freilich noch innere Ursachen. Die Möglichkeit einer solchen Beeinflussung hatte Spiero erwogen (Königsberger Blätter, Beilage der Königsberger Allgemeinen Zeitung, 1907, Nr. 22).—Auch Heyse steht in der "Maria von Magdala" von 1899 kaum unter Dulk's unmittelbarem Einfluss, obwohl er dessen Stück kennen gelernt hat; wie Petzet (Paul Heyse als Dramatiker, 1904, p. 67) ganz richtig bemerkt, ist Heyse's Werk eine Dichtung durchaus eigenen Gepräges. Judas verrät hier den Herrn aus getäuschter Hoffnung, doch kann diese Übereinstimmung, die ja zudem nicht sehr weit geht, durchaus auf der durch die theologische Forschung verbreiteten gängigen Auffassung des Verrates beruhen. Ehe man jedenfalls mit Fraenkel (Jahresberichte für neuere Deutsche Literaturgeschichte, XVII-XVIII, p. 926) von einer "auffälligen Ähnlichkeit" zwischen Dulk's und Heyse's Dichtung redet, muss man erst durchschlagende Beweisgründe anführen; ich bezweifle aber, dass sie sich überhaupt finden lassen.

Nebenhandlung innerhalb des gewaltigen Geschichtsbildes, das uns entrollt wird. In Wahrheit ersetzt die geschichtliche Einheit die künstlerische. Hier zeigt sich jener oben besprochene Einfluss unklarer Vorstellungen über das Wesen des mittelalterlichen Mysteriendramas ebenso wie der Einfluss hegelianischer Vorstellungen vom Wesen des Genies, das in den gotischen Bogen, den der Zeitgeist selbst baut, nur den tragenden Schlussstein einsetzt.<sup>40</sup>

Schon die Judas- und die Magdalena-Handlung sind selbstständige, ohne Rücksicht auf die Oekonomie des Ganzen ausgestaltete Zweige des Dramas. Wie hier ist aber Dulk überall bemüht, den *ganzen* Inhalt der Evangelien der Anschauung nahe zu bringen. Durch dieses Streben nach historischer Vollständigkeit leidet das Stück an einem Uebermass der Exposition und der Motivierung. Vom Standpunkt der gegenwärtigen Bühne aus ist natürlich ein solches Drama nicht aufführbar; denn jeder Ansatz zur Handlung zerfließt gleich wieder in breite monologische oder dialogische Erörterungen und Erzählungen. Will man dem "Jesus der Christ" aber dennoch sein Recht widerfahren lassen, so muss man ihn als ein Lese-drama bezeichnen, das ein breit und farbig angelegtes und sorgfältig durchgezeichnetes Bild von Christi Leben gibt. Wir können dies Stück zur Sippe jener Geschichtsbilder rechnen, die man als Vorläufer von Gobineaus "Renaissance" (1877) betrachten kann und die in Grabbe und Büchner ihre ersten deutschen Vertreter haben.

Völlig in diese Richtung gehört das Nachspiel, das mit dem eigentlichen Stück durch keinerlei innere Bande mehr zusammenhängt. Auch Richard Wagner nimmt in seinem Jesus-Entwurf noch eine Bekehrungsscene in das Stück hinein und zeigt so durch die Andeutung des weltgeschichtlichen Fortganges den Sieg seines Helden noch im Unterliegen an. Nach Dulks Auffassung geht aber die welthistorische Wirkung von einem ganz anderen, nämlich von dem noch ungeläuterten Christus aus, und der Dichter konnte, wenn er einen erhebenden Ausgang des Stückes beibehalten wollte, die unheilvollen Folgen des Irrganges Jesu nur in einem gesonderten Nachspiel darstellen. Es führt uns nach der griechischen Kolonie Caesarea Stratonis. Der Aberglauben vieler Neubekehrter, die Streitigkeiten um die Zulassung der Heidenchristen, die sozialen Neuerungen der ersten Christengemeinden werden vorgeführt; Petrus, Jakobus und Paulus halten Predigten. Jakobus erleidet durch fanatische Juden den Märtyrertod des Gesteinigten; Paulus macht durch ein von Dulk sonder-

<sup>40</sup> Vgl. Rosenkranz, Hegels Leben, Berlin 1844, p. 180.

barerweise unerklärtes Wunder einen von Jerusalem abgesandten Bar Jahu blind. Dann entwickeln sich Kämpfe zwischen den Juden und den den Aposteln geneigten Griechen. Eine in eine Synagoge eingedrungene Griechenschar misshandelt erst einige Juden und wird dann selbst niedergemetzelt. Juda ben Tabai, der darauf in die Synagoge kommt, meldet den Untergang der übrigen Juden und rät zur Selbstopferung, um den Zorn des Herrn zu beschwichtigen. Und die ganze Versammlung stürzt sich in ihre Schwerter, als das Tor erbrochen wird; aber es ist Gamaliel, der mit römischen Soldaten den Frieden wiederherstellen wollte; so kann er nur noch seinen Stammesgenossen die Grabrede halten. Diese Szenen aus den Kämpfen zwischen Juden und Griechen haben zu der Handlung des Christusdramas fast gar keine Beziehung mehr; man müsste denn annehmen, sie sollten die tragische Vergeltung darstellen<sup>41</sup> oder durch ihre barbarische Grässlichkeit den fundamentalen Gegensatz auch zwischen dem ungeläuterten Jesus und der Zeitreligion aufweisen und so diesen noch nachträglich rechtfertigen. Aber diese Annahmen erscheinen etwas gewagt; man kann dieses Nachspiel kaum anders als ein Kulturbild aus dem ersten christlichen Jahrhundert bezeichnen.<sup>42</sup> Man sieht auch hier wieder, mit wie grossem Rechte Dulk in seinem Briefe an Devrient vom 14. Dezember 1866 den "Jesus der Christ" seinen ersten Schritt in dem Vorhaben, "die sogenannte Weltgeschichte selbst, und ihr geistiges Glied, die nationale Geschichte, zum Inhalte dramatischer Lebensbilder zu machen," nennen konnte.

Es war nicht anders möglich, als dass sich der Widerspruch zwischen dieser historisch-realistischen Absicht und der anderen, idealistischen, des Vorworts, in Jesus das Allgemeinmenschliche aufzudecken, auch im Stil der Dichtung ausprägte. In der historischen Hintergrundmalerei finden sich viele Ansätze zu realistischer Wirklichkeitserfassung. Wie farbig und wirklich gesehen ist z.B. Jesu Schilderung des Sonnenaufgangs über Judaea! Und solche wirklich erlebten Züge werden oft zu höchsten dichterischen Wirkungen verwandt; so fragt Maria, wie im Volkslied, sehr fein bei Jesu Kreuzigung: "Was ist es, das sie schlagen?" Auch äussere Stimmungsmittel<sup>43</sup> gebraucht Dulk oft sehr geschickt.

So finden sich auch in der Behandlung der einzelnen Charaktere Ansätze genug zu individueller psychologischer und sprach-

<sup>41</sup> Vgl. die "Reformblätter. Aus dem Kreise der ostdeutschen freireligiösen Gemeinden." III. Jahrgang, Königsberg i. Pr, 1882, p. 133.

<sup>42</sup> Nahezu unverständlich erscheint Dulks in seinem Vorlesungsexemplar aufgeschriebene Absicht, das Nachspiel als zehnte Handlung dem eigentlichen Stück auch äusserlich anzugliedern.

<sup>43</sup> So den Donner und die Nacht in der zweiten, die Musik in der vierten (Anfang der zweiten Darstellung!), den Nebel in der neunten Handlung (2. Darstellung). Der Anhang mit den weitläufigen Inszenierungsbemerkungen war vor der Reform der Meininger sehr nötig!

licher Behandlung. Ganz anders als Renan, der für Jesu gewaltige Tiefen nur wenig Verständnis mitbringt,<sup>44</sup> weiss uns Dulk das Daemonisch-Triebhafte an Jesus nahezubringen. Als einen "ruhelos erregten Geist" stellt ihn Joseph uns vor, und besonders in den "kolossalen Phantasmagorien"<sup>45</sup> der zweiten Handlung wird dieses Wesen im Hin- und Herflattern des Monologes zur Erscheinung.<sup>46</sup> Aber dieser Jesus ist nur ein Ansatz geblieben, und im späteren Verlaufe des Stückes ist der Held fast nur noch der Vortragende seiner eigenen Aussprüche aus den Evangelien, bis dann in der neunten Handlung wieder einmal sein Inneres in erregten Reden mehr herauskommt.

Etwas klarer und individueller sind Judas und Magdalena gezeichnet. Wir erhalten von jenem gleich einen starken Eindruck, als er sich in der ersten Scene, in der er auftritt, fast keine Zeit nimmt, Magdalena zu umarmen, und sie mit knappen Worten an die Tempelpforte bestellt. In wenigen, kurzen Ausdrücken redet er auch sonst und erscheint so als ein Feind langer Überlegungen. Auch wenn er den Herold, der Sejan's Hinrichtung verkündet, spöttisch unterbricht: "Nicht auch Pilatus?" oder wenn er im zweiten Auftritt der vierten Handlung bei Magdalenas Nahen abgeht: "Sie kleidet ihn! Auch das noch! Ich will es nicht sehen—mit ihm, nicht wieder ihn will ich kämpfen!"—immer zeigt er sich als der schnellhandelnde Zelot.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Vgl. Weincl, Jesus im 19. Jahrhundert, Tübingen 1903, p. 80.

<sup>45</sup> Vgl. Gottschall, Die deutsche Nationalliteratur des 19. Jahrhunderts, 7. Aufl., Breslau 1901, III, p. 331.

<sup>46</sup> Vgl. die sämtlichen Dramen, II, p. 48. Auch die oft angeführte Erzählung Marias von der Empfängnis (a.a.O. p. 23.) ist ein Beispiel dafür, wie gut sich Dulk in die zum Glauben an das Unerhörte neigende Zeit hineingelegt hat. Gottschall hat in den Blättern für literarische Unterhaltung (1865, p. 433) sehr gut ausgeführt, wie mystisch-übersinnlich dieses Erlebnis Marias ist; denn zwischen einem solchen Traum und der wirklichen Empfängnis besteht doch eine ziemliche Kluft. Dieselbe Mystik finden wir aber nicht nur in der zweiten Handlung, sondern auch in den Erzählungen Josephs von seiner ärztlichen Kunst (8. Handlung) und in den Berichten Jesu von seinen Erlebnissen während des Scheintodes.

<sup>47</sup> Voll Leidenschaft sind auch Judas' Selbstgespräche am Ende seines Lebens (VII, 9). Hier begreift man Gottschalls Bemerkung (Die deutsche Nationalliteratur des 19. Jahrhunderts, 7. Aufl., 1901, III, p. 331), solche wilden Monologe in schauerlicher Beleuchtung habe nur noch Grabbe gedichtet.

Auch Magdalena hat nach den Worten einer neueren Beurteilerin<sup>48</sup> "einiges andere zu sagen als Bibelsprüche" und ist "in Dulks Drama die einzige menschlich wahre Gestalt." Nach derselben Kritik ist Maria "eine gewaltige fesselnde Persönlichkeit—oder eine Somnambule." Sie lebt ganz in einer entrückten Welt, ganz im Glauben an ihren Sohn, einem Glauben, den nichts zu brechen vermag.

Aber nur ansatzweise gelingt Dulk eine kräftigere Sprachbehandlung, und die Nebengestalten sind äusserst wenig herausgearbeitet. Die Jünger etwa tragen ganz die herkömmlichen Charakterzüge und nehmen—selbstredend von Judas abgesehen—kaum in stärkerem Grade an der Handlung teil. Dagegen heben sich im Ganzen die jüdischen Parteigruppen, die lange Bibelzitate gegeneinander schleudern, in ihrer aufgeregten Redseligkeit sehr fein gegen die wortkargeren und mehr ironisch gefärbten Römer ab.

Vielleicht wären die Personen des Stückes deutlicher hervorgetreten, wenn Dulk sich nicht so sklavisch an die Bibel angelehnt hätte. Zwar wäre gegen die Verwendung lutherischer Wortformen wenig einzuwenden. Aber Dulk übernimmt ganze Reden und Szenen fast wörtlich aus der Bibel, und die allzu häufigen Bibelzitate belasten die Handlung derart mit breiten, undramatischen Reden, dass alle Bewegung dadurch gehindert wird. Immerhin ist ein solches Verfahren ganz im Sinne der Zeit; so gibt etwa Lassalle im "Franz von Sickingen" ganze Reden Huttens historisch wörtlich wieder.

Wenig verschlägt es auch gegen das Übel allzu eintöniger Charakterzeichnung, dass der Dichter Vers und Prosa sehr geschickt verwendet. Alle Male dort, wo Ruhepunkte der Handlung eintreten sollen und der Dichter im friedlichen Ausmalen der Stimmung Genüge findet, gebraucht er den Vers. Auch zum Ausdruck der individuellen Stimmung dient er in bescheidenen Grenzen. Doch alle solche Versuche, dem Hin- und Herwogen des dramatischen Kampfes mit der Sprache zu folgen, sind nur Versuche geblieben, und neben einzelnen wirklich kraftvollen Aussprüchen oder Auftritten stehen ermüdend lange Szenen ohne jedes dramatische Gepräge.

So hat dann naturgemäss die zeitgenössische Kritik mit dem so widerspruchsreichen Stück wenig anzufangen gewusst.

<sup>48</sup> Vgl. Maria Luise Becker in "Bühne und Welt," V. 2, p. 1027.

Sie blieb im ganzen beim Vorwort stehen. Allgemein empfand man Dulks Auffassung von einer Volksbühne als unklar, und natürlich erklärte man das Drama für durchaus unaufführbar. Ferner stiess man sich meist an des Dichters rationalistischer Jesus-Auffassung. Aber nicht alle Kritiker nannten Dulks Christusgestalt einfach flach, und selbst eine so scharfe Beurteilung wie die der "Augsburger Allgemeinen Zeitung"<sup>49</sup> musste Dulk einiges Talent zugestehen. Aber auch sachlichere Besprechungen wussten nicht recht, wie sie sich dem Stück gegenüber verhalten sollten; doch entdeckte Gottschall in den "Blättern für literarische Unterhaltung," dem Hauptorgan der zeitgenössischen Kritik, sehr richtig, dass sich das Stück oft in eine Art Betina'scher Schwebeligion verliere,<sup>50</sup> und der Aesthetiker von Reichlin-Meldegg pries in den "Heidelberger Jahrbüchern"<sup>51</sup> mit tieferem Verständnis als die meisten anderen Beurteiler den "tiefen religiösen Sinn" des Dichters. Allgemeine Ablehnung fand nur das Nachspiel.

Auch nach Dulks Tode beurteilte man das Stück noch oft von einem einseitig theologischen Standpunkte aus. Doch kann freilich selbst eine mehr ästhetische Betrachtungsweise Dulks Christusdrama nicht immer rechtfertigen. Nennt es Isolde Kurz des Dichters "feurigste und packendste Schöpfung," loben es andere wenigstens mit Einschränkungen,<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Vgl. Jahrgang 1865, Beilage 250.

<sup>50</sup> Vgl. die Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung, 1865, p. 434.

<sup>51</sup> Vgl. Jahrgang 1865, p. 764. Nach dem Gutachten Kürnbergers für die deutsche Schillerstiftung (Vgl. Goehler, Geschichte der deutschen Schillerstiftung, Berlin 1909, II, p. 26) ist Dulks Drama ein "Stück von grossem Wurf, phantastischer Kühnheit und doch zugleich realistischer Naturwahrheit."

<sup>52</sup> Vgl. Isolde Kurz, Aus meinem Jugendland, 14. Tausend, Berlin 1919, p. 107. Die Grenzboten 1896, p. 613 ff. Vgl. ferner über das Stück: Rezensionen und Mittheilungen über Theater und Musik, Wien 1865, p. 533. Altpreuussische Monatsschrift, II, p. 559 (1865). Gross im Morgenblatt der bayrischen Zeitung von 1865 (mir nicht bekannt geworden). Baumgärtner, Albert Dulk und sein Christusdrama (Protestantische Kirchenzeitung 42, p. 709, 727). Friedrich, Das Christusdrama der Gegenwart (Bühne und Welt XIV, 2. p. 393. 1912) Die Studierstube VI, p. 404 (1908). Helbig im "Allgemeinen Literarischen Correspondenzblatt für das gebildete Deutschland," 1878, II, p. 101. p. 123. Kappstein, Ahasver in der Weltpoesie, Berlin 1906 (Anhang). Kinzenbach im "Pfarrhaus" XIX (1903), p. 55, 68. Heinrich Kurz, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, 5. Aufl. IV. Proelss, Geschichte des neueren Dramas, III, 2, p. 336 (1883). Ausserdem die schon genannten Schriften.

so finden beispielsweise die "Grenzboten" wieder in einem Artikel, dass sich "Jesus der Christ" der Grösse des Stoffes durchaus nicht gewachsen zeige. Die einsichtigste Beurteilung hat Dulks Stück bei Paul Friedrich gefunden, der es in den "Ostdeutschen Monatsheften" "kürzlich mit Recht" "trotz seiner Problematik und seiner nicht zu übersehenden Mängel die *einzigste* dieses Vorwurfs würdige *Dichtung*" nannte.<sup>63</sup> Er hat auch zuerst diejenige literarhistorische Einordnung zu geben versucht, die wir im vorstehenden breiter begründet haben. Es dürfte an der Zeit sein, dass die Literaturgeschichte auf dieses zu Unrecht vergessene Werk wieder ihre Aufmerksamkeit richte. Spricht es doch für seinen Wert, dass der junge Gerhart Hauptmann nach glaubwürdigen Angaben<sup>64</sup> Dulks "Jesus der Christ" zu studieren unternahm, als er sich mit dem gleichen Stoffe trug.

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<sup>63</sup> Jahrgang 1921, p. 127.

<sup>64</sup> Vgl. die Königsberger Blätter (Beilage der Königsberger Allgemeinen Zeitung), Jahrgang 1907, Nr. 22. (Spiero). Auch Prof. Heuser von der Columbia Universität teilte 1923 auf der Jahresversammlung der Modern Language Ass'n in Ann Arbor, Mich., auf Grund eigener Unterredungen mit Hauptmann mit, dass Dulks Schriften auf diesen in seiner Jugend von grossem Einfluss gewesen seien; in Heuser's zu erwartendem Werk über die mystischen Elemente in Hauptmann's Schaffen wird man näheres darüber finden können.

## FÍU, RUNISCHE FORM FÜR AISL. FÊ, 'VIEH'

In dem *Codex Leidensis* steht nach Bugges Mitteilung<sup>1</sup> eine aus runischen Buchstaben transliterierte Form *fiu* 'Vieh,' der runische Name für den Buchstaben  $\text{f}$  = lat. *f*. Diese Form *fiu* betrachtet Bugge als ungenaue Schreibart für *fêu*, welche letztere Form er für lautgerecht (aus *\*fêhu* entwickelt) hält.

Der *Codex Leidensis* enthält die jüngere nordische Runenreihe mit den Runennamen, sowohl mit den Runenzeichen wie auch mit den lateinischen Buchstaben geschrieben. Auf Grund der lautlichen Gestalt dieser Runennamen setzt Bugge (a.a.O., S. 19) die Sprache der ursprünglichen Handschrift des *Leidener Codex* in das 9. Jahrhundert (etwa zwischen die Jahre 825-850).

Der Grund, weshalb Bugge die Form *fiu* des *Leidener Codex* als fehlerhafte Schreibung für *fêu* ansieht, ist wohl in dem Umstande zu suchen, dass in der St. Galler Handschrift *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* (gleichfalls aus dem 9. Jahrhundert) die Form *fêu*<sup>2</sup> vorliegt.

Ich glaube aber nicht, dass Bugge zu dieser Annahme berechtigt ist. Zwar wurde in der jüngeren nordischen Runenreihe das Zeichen | für  $\bar{e}$ , sowohl wie auch für  $\bar{i}$ , benutzt, jedoch darf man aus diesem Umstande nicht unbedingt folgern, dass der Schreiber des *Leidener Codex* hier das Runenzeichen | durch den lateinischen Buchstaben *i* statt *e* (d.h. *fiu* statt *feu*) irrtümlicherweise wiedergegeben habe. Da die Transliteration des Runenzeichens | entweder lateinisches *i* oder *e* gestattet, könnte die angegebene Form *fiu* eben die richtige Lautgestalt des Runennamens darstellen. Bugges Annahme, diese Form *fiu* stehe für *fêu* (vgl. Noreen, *Aisl. Gr.*<sup>3</sup>, §74, 4; der sich hier der Bugge'schen Ansicht angeschlossen hat), rührt eigentlich von der vorgefassten, herkömmlichen Ansicht (vgl. Noreen, *Aisl. Gr.*<sup>3</sup>, §§74, 4; 87; 224, 1; Heusler, *Aisl. Elementarab.*<sup>2</sup>, §§89; 221) her, dass *fêu* die lautgerechte Form (aus *\*fêhu* = got. *faihu* entwickelt) sei; daher wäre eine Form *fiu* wohl nur eine ungenaue (durch die zweideutige Natur des jüngeren Runenzeichens

<sup>1</sup> *Bidrag til den ældste skaldedigtningens historie*, Chra. 1894, S. 22: "Blandt de Runenavne . . . findes *fiu*, vistnok udtalt *fêu* (af *fêhu*) = oldnorsk *fê* . . ."

FIII

<sup>2</sup> Für diese Form des *Abcc. Nordm.* vgl. Finnur Jónsson, "Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser," udg. av *Dcl. Kgl. Videnskabernes Selskab*, 3, Kbh., 1920-21, S. 214.

|=*e* oder *i* verursachte) Schreibart für die "richtige" Lautgestalt *fēu*.

Die herkömmliche Ansicht, dem aisl. *fē* liege eine Grundform *\*fēhu*=got. *faihu* zugrunde, lässt sich aber angesichts der geschichtlichen Tatsachen nicht aufrecht erhalten. Ich will im folgenden versuchen zu zeigen, dass, gegen Bugge, die angegebene Form *fu* (= *fū*) des *Leidener Codex* die lautgesetzliche Form dieses Wortes darstellt, während die Form *fēu* erst jüngeren Ursprungs sein kann.

Erstens liegt kein Grund vor, mit Rücksicht auf die Regelung des Stammvokales *e/i* im Paradigma das Nordgerm. vom Westgerm. zu trennen. Was das Westgerm. anlangt, wissen wir ja, dass hier ein urgerm. *ǣ* der Stammsilbe (vgl. got. *faihu* lat. *pecu*) entweder als *ǣ* oder als *ɛ* erscheint, je nachdem ein *ā*, *ō*, *ē* oder ein *ī*, *ū* der Endsilbe vorliegt; letzterer Vorgang (d.h. urgerm. *ǣ*>*ɛ* vor einem *ī* oder einem *ū* der Endsilbe) ist sicher zum Teile (d.h. der *i*-Umlaut von *ǣ*) als gemeingermanisch, zum Teile aber auch als eine westgerm. Neuerung (d.h. der *u*-Umlaut von *ǣ*>*ɛ*) anzusehen. Da nun die Spaltung des urgerm. *u* in *u/o* sicher eine gemeinwestgerm.—nordgerm. Neuerung ist und auf den gleichen Bedingungen beruht, wie die Spaltung des urgerm. *e* in *e/i* im Westgerm., so erfolgt fast notwendigerweise hieraus, dass die Spaltung des urgerm. *e* in *e/i* gleichfalls dem Nordgerm. eigen ist, und dass hier, ebenso wie bei der Spaltung des urgerm. *u* in *u/o*, das Nordgerm. dem Westgerm. parallel läuft. Für das Nord.—und Westgerm. ist es weiter ganz belanglos, ob *ɛ* oder *ǣ* der ältere Stammvokal ist.

Wenden wir uns nun an das Wort urgerm. *\*fēhu* (= got. *faihu*), so sehen wir, dass nach der oben erklärten Regel der nord.—und westgerm. Vokalharmonie urgerm. *\*fēhu* im Nord.—und Westgerm. lautgerecht zu *\*fīhu* geworden sein muss. Gerade wann der *u*-Umlaut von *ǣ*>*ɛ* im Nordgerm. endgültig zum Durchbruch gelangt ist, lässt sich natürlich nicht genau bestimmen; dass aber dieser Vorgang schon in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit begonnen hatte, ersieht man aus der Sprache der Runeninschriften, vgl. z.B. *giwu* (Brakteat von Overhornbæk, ums Jahr 500) und *giðu* (Brakteat aus Seeland, 6. Jht.) = ahd. *gibu*, as. *giðu* (gegen *geban:geðan* Inf.). Eine Form *\*fēhu* (woraus nach der herkömmlichen Ansicht aisl. *fēu*>*fē* ent-

wickelt ist) lässt sich weder mit der runischen Form *giðu* noch mit dem westgerm. *giðu* vereinigen, und schon aus diesem Grunde wäre eine Form *\*fēhu* statt *\*fīhu* als die urnord. Grundform zu verwerfen.

Andererseits lässt sich die aisl. Form *fēu* (>*fē*), ebenso wie die westgerm. Form (ahd.-as.) *fēhu* (neben *fīhu*) ganz gut als nachträgliche Entwicklung erklären, indem hier das *ē* wohl schon in urnord.—urwestgerm. Zeit aus dem Gen. in den Nom. eingedrungen war. Das sieht man am klarsten beim Nordgerm., indem hier der Nom. *fēu:fē* denselben Stammvokal enthält, wie der Gen. *fē-ar* (später im Aisl. zu *fjár* geworden). Im Westgerm.<sup>3</sup> (ahd.-as.) dagegen ist die alte Endung der *-u*-Stämme im Gen. *fehēs* schon durch die Endung der *-a*-Stämme ersetzt; aber das *e* der Wurzelsilbe stammt wohl noch aus der alten Genitivform *\*feho* [*s*]=urnord. *\*fēh-ōR*, got. *fath-aus*. Westgerm. *fēhu* steht also mit nordgerm. *fēu* (*fē*) auf einer Stufe, indem hier das gegen das *-u* der Endung lautlich verstossende *e* der Wurzelsilbe im Nom. aus dem Gen. stammt, wo dieses *e* mit dem ursprünglichen *ō* der Endung in lautlichem Einklang steht.

Nun, gerade wie im Westgerm. die Formen *fīhu* und *fēhu* neben einander bestanden haben, so werden wohl auch im Nordgerm. die Formen *fīu* und *fēu* einst neben einander bestanden haben, und das Zeugnis hierfür gewährt meiner Ansicht nach die von Bugge aus dem *Codex Leidensis* angeführte runische Form *fīu* (*fīu* geschrieben). Es liegt also überhaupt kein Grund vor, mit Bugge die runische Form *fīu* als *fēu* aufzufassen; im Gegenteil spricht alles dafür, dass der Schreiber des *Codex Leidensis* bei der Transliteration des Runennamens 'Vieh' das jüngere Runenzeichen | ganz richtig mit lateinischem *i* wiedergegeben hat.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Hermann Collitz, "Segimer oder: Germanische Namen in Keltischem Gewande," *J. E. Germ. Phil.*, VI, S. 286-287, 1907.

<sup>4</sup> Weiter ist die Form *fīu* wohl als *fī-u* (d.h. zweisilbig und mit langem *i* durch Ersatzdehnung nach Ausfall des *-h-* hervorgerufen) und nicht als *fīū* aufzufassen. Zwar wurde in der jüngeren nordischen Runenreihe das Zeichen | auch für *j* ( ), sowohl als für *i* und für *e*, benutzt, aber der Übergang von *ī+u* in *jū* lässt sich sonst nirgendwo in den anord. Runenschriften mit Sicherheit nachweisen (vgl. *liubu*, Opedal, 7. Jhrt., aber aisl. *ljúfr*); erst nach dieser Zeit ist wohl der Hiatus *i+u* dem Wandel in *jū* unterworfen worden.

Für meine Auffassung spricht ja in erster Linie die Tatsache, dass dabei das Nordgerman. nicht vom Westgerm. getrennt wird. Dass im Westgerman. die Form *fihu* älter ist als die Form *fehu*, lehrt die Tatsache, das z.B. Otfrid in seinem Evangelienbuche (868) regelmässig die Form *fihu* schreibt, während doch später bei Notker (+1022) gegen Ende der ahd. Epoche nur die Form *fehu* mit *e* der Stammsilbe vorliegt. Im As. liegt neben dem regelmässigen *fehu*, *fē* nur einmal (*Heliand*, C., 1669) die Form *fihu* vor. Das As. liegt also hier dem Nordgerman. am nächsten, d.h. wenn wir (und wie ich glaube mit Recht) annehmen dürfen, dass die runische Form *fiu* nicht für *fēu* steht; vgl. as. *fehu*, *fē*, (einmal) *fihu* mit anord. *fēu*, *fē*, (einmal) *fiu*. Angesichts des ahd. *fihu* denkt wohl niemand daran, das nur einmal vorliegende *fihu* des As. in *fehu* zu verändern, und es wäre ebenso willkürlich und unberechtigt, das nur einmal vorliegende *fiu* des Anord. in *fēu* zu verändern, denn es kann ja keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass mit Rücksicht auf das Verhältnis zwischen dem Stammvokal und dem Vokal der Endsilbe das Nordgerman., ebenso wie das As., auf einer Stufe mit dem Ahd. steht.

Schliesslich möchte ich noch eine Bemerkung über die Frage nach der lautlichen Entwicklung von aisl. *fé* hinzufügen. Ich glaube nämlich nicht, dass Heusler Recht hat, wenn er behauptet (*Aisl. Elementarb.*<sup>2</sup>, §§221, 102), aisl. *fé* sei aus urnord. *\*fēh* < *\*fēhu* entwickelt, denn wenn das *-u* der Endsilbe frühzeitiger als das intervokalische *-h-* weggefallen wäre, so wäre weder die Form *fēu* des *Abeced. Nordm.* noch die Form *fiu* des *Codex Leidensis* erklärlich. Dagegen ist wohl Bugge<sup>5</sup> im Recht, der das *-u* in *fē-u* gegenüber dem Fehlen desselben bei den mask.-fem. *u*-Stämmen (vgl. *lōgr* statt *\*lōgur*) dadurch erklärt, dass ein *u* im Auslaut später als vor *R* weggefallen sei.

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<sup>5</sup> Vgl. *Bidrag til den ældste skaldedigtningens historie*, S. 22: "Blandt de Runenavne . . . findes *fiu*, . . . , men ved Siden deraf *laucr* = oldnorsk *lōgr*. Altsaa blev *u* foran *R* synkoperet tidligere end i Udlyd."

## SHAKESPEARE AND ELIZABETHAN PSYCHOLOGY

"If we call Shakespeare one of the greatest poets," says Goethe, "we mean that few have perceived the world as accurately as he, that few who have expressed their inner contemplation of it have given the reader deeper insight into its meaning and consciousness."<sup>1</sup> If with Goethe we are persuaded that Shakespeare had a philosophy of life, that his works are "permeated by a definite and effective idea," we must remember that it is somewhat dangerous to assume that a great objective artist—and especially a great dramatist—has a definite attitude towards certain problems of life: we are not on altogether safe ground when we attempt to set down what for Shakespeare were the causes of success or of failure. Generalizations of this sort are the more open to attack because it is the fashion to deny a philosophy of life to Shakespeare but to assert it for dramatists like Ibsen and Shaw, not merely because the latter are less objective, more free to speak through their characters, but more especially because their views are apparently at odds with the conventional notions of their time, and hence, seen in glaring relief, are thought to constitute in some way the utterances of original genius. We need often to be reminded that for an artist who deals expressly with life the possession of a philosophy of life "is simply to be profoundly impressed by certain truths." "These truths," adds Mr. Brownell, "need not be recondite, but they must be deeply felt. They need be in no degree original. The writer's originality will have abundant scope in their expression."<sup>2</sup> If, for example, we find in the plays of Shakespeare certain persistent ethical ideas expressed in the language of contemporary psychology, we might be tempted to assume that the study of Shakespeare's use of this current language will repay study, even though it reveal a philosophy of life which is quite conventional. We know that Ibsen throughout his dramas holds by certain convictions regarding the relation of the intellect to will, and that for him

<sup>1</sup> *Goethe's Literary Essays*, a selection in English arranged by J. E. Spingarn, New York, 1921, p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> W. C. Brownell, *American Prose Masters*, New York, 1923, p. 302.

there is an ideal of self-realization.<sup>3</sup> Suppose now that we were to find that Shakespeare causes his characters to talk about intellect and will, and about appetite, passion, and imagination; and suppose also that we were to find in him instead of the ideal of self-realization the notion of self-knowledge; perhaps there would be material here for a Shakespearean philosophy far reaching in its implications for the study of the delineation of character.

There have been many great critics besides Goethe, of course, who have been impressed by this persistence in Shakespeare of certain philosophical ideas: Coleridge, for instance, insists that "the character of Hamlet may be traced to Shakespeare's deep and accurate science in mental philosophy. . . . In order to understand him, it is essential that we should reflect on the constitution of our own minds."<sup>4</sup> But in reflecting upon the constitution of our own minds we must be careful that we neither objectify our own peculiar mental states nor analyze more typical states in language which to Shakespeare could hardly have been intelligible. Without questioning the value of new systems of thought as they are brought to bear in the solution of ethical problems in which a dramatist of the English Renaissance might have been interested, it is often advisable to test a passage of brilliant criticism such as the following from Coleridge—perhaps the finest bit of criticism of *Hamlet* which we possess—by asking to what extent Shakespeare himself would have been able to accept the distinctions which the modern interpreter has made:

In Hamlet he seems to have wished to exemplify the moral necessity of a due balance between our attention to the objects of our senses, and our meditation on the workings of our minds,—an *equilibrium* between the real and the imaginary worlds. In Hamlet this balance is disturbed: his thoughts and the images of his fancy, are far more vivid than his actual perceptions, and his very perceptions, instantly passing through the *medium* of his contemplations, acquire, as they pass, a form and a colour not naturally their own. Hence we see a great, an almost enormous, intellectual activity, and a proportionate aversion to real action, consequent upon it, with all its symptoms and accompanying qualities.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Dowden, *Henrik Ibsen*, in *Essays—Modern and Elizabethan*, London, 1910.

<sup>4</sup> Coleridge's *Essays and Lectures on Shakespeare*, Everyman ed., London, 1911, p. 136.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 136-7.

In the presence of criticism such as this, what the scholar bent upon understanding Shakespeare must ask is to what extent such analysis has taken us into the mind of the poet, not to what extent a brilliant critic has suggested that the Hamlet story may be the vehicle for the presentation of new theories of life. Take this, for instance, from a still more modern thinker as he pretends to interpret *Hamlet* in the light of his own researches into the constitution of the human mind:

What is it, then, that restrains him in the accomplishment of the task which his father's ghost has set before him? Here the explanation offers itself that it is the peculiar nature of this task. Hamlet can do everything but take vengeance upon the man who has put his father out of the way, and has taken his father's place with his mother—upon the man who shows him the realisation of his repressed childhood wishes. The loathing which ought to drive him to revenge is thus replaced in him by self-reproaches, by conscientious scruples, which represent to him that he himself is no better than the murderer whom he is to punish. I have thus translated into consciousness what had to remain unconscious in the mind of the hero.<sup>6</sup>

We must thank Professor Freud for his discovery if he has also translated into his own favorite terminology what was conscious in the mind of the dramatist who created this masterly subject for psychoanalysis; we must try to ascertain, among other things, whether Shakespeare looked upon self-restraint as a virtue or a vice, to what extent the passions were good forces in the heart of man, and whether in the moral man, the will should make concessions to these emotional states, or resolutely set its face against them. But we are not primarily interested in confirming or rejecting any specific piece of interpretation: it will be more valuable to attempt to put ourselves in position to judge all such interpretations in the light of the knowledge current in Shakespeare's day—to know definitely what views our dramatist might have held, assuming that he did not have prophetic power that might enable him to anticipate the results of modern philosophical investigations.

Fortunately there was a great body of literature in his day now accessible to us wherein we find thought about ethical problems expressed in the conventional language of the old faculty-psychology which the Renaissance inherited from the

<sup>6</sup> Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, translated by A. A. Brill, London, 1915, p. 225, footnote.

Middle Ages and thus indirectly from Aristotle. And some of these books, we may add, Shakespeare may well have known. There was Charron's *De la Sagesse*, in contemporary translation,<sup>7</sup> Huarte's *De Ingenios*, also accessible in English,<sup>8</sup> Florio's Montaigne, the works of Bacon and Hooker, the Morality with its constant personification of mental powers and moral qualities, Davies' *Nosce te ipsum*, and a later imitation, Phineas Fletcher's *Purple Island*. About these and a great many more Edward Dowden has written interestingly in a work which deserves to be better known.<sup>9</sup> We shall leave to him the description of some of these psychological systems, and to others the determination of Shakespeare's indebtedness; and we shall be content to describe only such parts of these views as have a direct bearing upon moral problems.

In the first place, we find a certain love of the trilogy—also inherited from the Middle Ages, from psychologists like Augustine and Thomas Aquinas—a desire to find three souls or three cells of the brain, as they had found the mystical three in religious thought; so they talked about liver, heart, and brain as the three seats of all mental processes; and of three corresponding souls, vegetative, animal, and rational; and, again, of body, soul, and spirit (or, more precisely, spirits); and of the three ventricles of the brain, one in the front for imagination, one in the middle for reason, and one in the back for memory. Just as all of these are mediaeval distinctions, so also is their insistence that knowledge begins in contact with matter: ideas take their rise in sensations, and these sensations are essentially matters of physiological functioning later to be reported to the higher part of man, the noblest soul resident in the head. The two lower souls, of the liver and the heart, are the seats of our instincts, emotions, appetites, our impulses to act. These all had to do with self-maintenance, with the preservation and reproduction of life. They had a way, however, of making themselves known to the rational soul through the spirits—the Elizabethan equivalent for the nerves in establishing rela-

<sup>7</sup> Charron, *Of Wisdom*, three bookes, translated by Samson Lennard, London, n.d.

<sup>8</sup> Huarte, *The Examination of Men's Wits*, translated by R. C. Esquire, London, 1616.

<sup>9</sup> *Elizabethan Psychology*, in *op. cit.*

tions between mind and body. Here our first impressions, our instincts, our emotions, our appetites, become material for knowledge. Contact is made through the foremost cell, the imagination, to which the vital spirits bring their reports; and here certain judicial and selective processes take place by which, for instance, different sensations such as of color and sound emanating from the same object may be compared. In the central cell ideas are evolved; and in the last cell these ideas—as opposed to impressions—are stored up.

All of these powers the Elizabethan thought of as pertaining either to knowledge or to action:

The knowledge which respecteth the Faculties of the Mind of man is of two kinds; the one respecting his Understanding and Reason, and the other his Will, Appetite and Affection; whereof the former produceth Position or Decree, the later Action or Execution.<sup>10</sup>

Although the higher soul has the capacity through the power of the will for directing action, we may say that knowledge was generally thought of as a matter of the rational soul, while action was essentially a concern of the lower. In other words, reason to induce right action must work through the lower powers; this for Elizabethan ethics is a vital fact. Upon this subject hear Sir John Davies:

But though the apprehensive power doe pause,  
The motive vertue then begins to move;  
Which in the heart below doth passions cause,  
Joy, grieve, and feare, and hope, and hate, and love.

These passions have a free commanding might,  
And divers actions in our life doe breed;  
For, all acts done without true Reason's light,  
Doe from the passion of the Sense proceed.

But sith the braine doth lodge the powers of Sense,  
How makes it in the heart those passion's spring?<sup>11</sup>

One sees plainly that Shakespeare was interested in a matter of popular psychology when he asked:

Tell me where is fancy bred,  
Or in the heart or in the head?

<sup>10</sup> *Of the Advancement of Learning*, in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, 15 vols., ed. by Spedding, Ellis, and Heath, London, 1857, Vol. 3, p. 382.

<sup>11</sup> *Complete Poems of Sir John Davies*, ed. by A. B. Grosart, London, 1876, 1. 73.

He might have answered, In both; in the heart, in so far as love is one of the passions; but in the head in so far as through the spirits of sense it is conveyed to the imagination.

But let us turn to Davies' characterization of the powers of intellect:

The Wit, the pupill of the Soule's cleare eye,  
And in man's world, the onely shining starre;  
Lookes in the mirror of the Fantasie,  
Where all the gatherings of the Senses are.

From thence this power the shapes of things abstracts,  
And them within her passive part receives;  
Which are enlightned by that part which acts,  
And so the formes of single things perceives.<sup>12</sup>

When this power, Davies continues, moves from ground to ground, she is reason; when she has found the truth and is fixed, she is understanding; "when her assent she lightly doth encline To either part," she is opinion. Such is his analysis of the comprehensive and often misleading term, "wit."

And as this wit should goodnesse truely know,  
We have a Will, which that true good should chuse;  
Though Will doe oft (when wit false forms doth show)  
Take ill for good, and good for ill refuse.

. . . . .

Will is the prince, and Wit the counsellor,  
Which doth for common good in Counsell sit;  
And when Wit is resolv'd, Will lends her power  
To execute what is advis'd by Wit.

Wit is the mind's chiefe judge, which doth controule  
Of Fancie's Court the judgements, false and vain;  
Will holds the royall septer of the soule  
And on the passions of the heart doth raigne.<sup>13</sup>

So that we see that there is a close relation between head and heart, between wit and the passions, which, coming to the brain, take the form of spirits of sense. The passions and those instincts by which we live, move, and have our being have their

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, 1. 75-76.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, 1. 78; see also Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1890, 1. 166.

seat in the heart, but make their way to the brain where they are capable of being directed and controlled by intellect. According to this dualistic system, appetite and will are essentially different: the object of appetite, says Hooker, "is whatsoever sensible good may be wished for; the object of Will is that good which Reason doth lead us to seek."<sup>14</sup> The affections, such as joy, grief, fear, and anger, are forms of appetite not altogether in our power; but acts of will are within our power. "Appetite is the Will's solicitor, and the Will is Appetite's controller."<sup>15</sup>

In our description of the physiological connection between heart and head by means of the spirits of sense, mention was made of the Fantasy, what was known as the apprehensive power, resident in the foremost ventricle of the brain. Since it is the porter of the brain, standing upon the threshold to receive on behalf of the intellect the reports and desires of the lower nature, it has no unimportant rôle in moral conduct. "It is true," writes Bacon, "that Imagination is an agent or *nuncius* in both provinces, both the judicial and the ministerial —[i.e. both in knowledge and in action]. For Sense sendeth over to Imagination before Reason have judged: and Reason sendeth over to Imagination before the Decree can be acted; for Imagination ever precedeth Voluntary Motion."<sup>16</sup> Of all the intellectual powers it is least rational, most closely connected with the passions, affections, and appetites, that is, with the powers resident in the liver and the heart, and thus most liable to error. "The mind while we are in this present life," writes Hooker, "worketh nothing without continual recourse unto imagination, the only storehouse of wit, and peculiar chair of memory. On this anvil it ceaseth not day and night to strike by means whereof as the pulse declareth how the heart doth work so the very thoughts and cogitations of man's mind, be they good or bad, do nowhere sooner bewray themselves than through the crevices of the wall wherewith nature has compassed the cells and closets of fancy."<sup>17</sup> Puttenham has a similar notion:

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, 1. 167; see also Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 418.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, 1. 167.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 382.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, 2. 58.

For as the evil disposition of the braine hinders the sound judgment and discourse of man with busie and disordered phantasies, for which cause the Greeks call him phantastikos, so is that part, being well affected, not only nothing disorderly or confused with any monstrous imaginations, but . . . well proportioned and so passing clear . . . . Even so is the phantastical part of man (if it be not disordered) a representer of the best, most comely, and beautiful images or appearances of things to the soul, and according to their very truth. If otherwise, then doth it breed chimeres and monsters in man's imaginations, and not only in his imaginations but also in all his ordinary actions and life which ensues.<sup>18</sup>

This is the typical attitude: one finds it in Montaigne, in Huarte, in Charron, in the literature of demonology. One may safely say that in Shakespeare's day mental disease as connected with immoral states implied disordered imagination. In the opposition between reason and will, reason and passion, appetite and will, imagination is usually involved.

We can perhaps better understand now why Bacon should have defined the aim of rhetoric as "to apply reason to imagination for the better moving of the will."<sup>19</sup> It is in this significant discussion that we are told that the end of morality is "to procure the affections to obey reason and not to invade it." "If the affections in themselves," he says, "were pliant and obedient to reason, it were true there should be no great use of persuasions and insinuations to the will, more than of naked propositions and proofs; but in regard of the continual mutinies and seditions of the affections, . . . reason would become captive and servile, if Eloquence of Persuasions did not practise and win the Imagination from the Affection's part, and contract a confederacy between the Reason and Imagination against the Affections."<sup>20</sup>

Practically every moralist of the day would have subscribed to this ideal of right conduct: an ideal which insists upon the

<sup>18</sup> *Of Poets and Poesy*, in Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*. 2 vols., Oxford, 1904, 2. 19.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 409.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 410. See also p. 409: "For we see Reason is disturbed in the administration thereof by three means; by Illaqueation or Sophism, which pertains to Logic; by Imagination or Impression, which pertains to Rhetoric; and by Passion or Affection, which pertains to Morality. And as in negotiation with others men are wrought by cunning, by importunity, and by vehemency, so in this negotiation within ourselves men are undermined by Inconsequences, solicited and importuned by Impressions or Observ. tions, and transported by Passions."

regulation of will by reason through the proper restraint of appetite, affection, and imagination. And this ideal is achieved in part through enlisting imagination upon the side of our rational powers. It is a simple program not differing essentially from the views of Augustine or of the mystic, Richard of St. Victor, author of an interesting mediaeval allegory of the mind. It goes back to Aristotle, but to the *Psychology* rather than to the *Ethics*.

It is, moreover, an ideal, not of self-realization, as in Ibsen, or of self-assertion, but of self-knowledge. "He that should doe his business," writes Montaigne, "might perceive that his first lesson is to know what he is, and what is convenient for him."<sup>21</sup> Bacon has a similar idea: "So then the first article of this knowledge is to set down sound and true distributions and descriptions of the several characters and tempers of men's natures and dispositions."<sup>22</sup> The analysis which follows of the peculiarities of minds ought to prove interesting to the student of Elizabethan dramatic types, their tragic flaws and comic idiosyncrasies. We choose a sentence here and there: "There are minds which are proportioned to great matters, and others to small. . . . Some minds are proportioned to that which may be dispatched at once . . . ; others to that which begins afar off. . . . A man shall find in the traditions of astrology some pretty and apt divisions of men's natures, according to the predominance of the planets: lovers of quiet, lovers of actions, . . . Another article of this knowledge is the inquiry touching the affections; for as in the medicining of the body it is in order first to know the divers complexions and constitutions, secondly the diseases, and lastly the cures; so in the medicining of the mind, after knowledge of the divers characters of men's natures, it followeth in order to know the diseases and infirmities of the mind, which are no other than the perturbations and distempers of the affections. . . . The mind . . . would be temperate and stayed, if the affections did not put it into tumult and perturbation."

A study of the delineation of character in the more conscious dramatic artists of Elizabeth's day in the light of such a passage will repay study. It is Bacon himself who counsels it:

<sup>21</sup> *The Essays of Montaigne done into English by John Florio*, 3 vols., London, 1892, 1.22.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 434.

But the poets and writers of histories are the best doctors of this knowledge; where we may find painted forth with great life, how affections are kindled and incited; and how pacified and refrained; and how again contained from act and further degree.<sup>23</sup>

If we take Bacon's advice we should be especially alert when the conscious art of the dramatist is revealed through a nice use of terms such as we have been examining. Take this, for instance, from Jonson: it is Kitley's description of jealousy in *Every Man in His Humor*:

A new disease! I know not, new or old,  
But it may well be call'd poor mortals' plague;  
For, like a pestilence, it doth infect  
The houses of the brain. First it begins  
Solely to work upon the phantasy,  
Filling her seat with such pestiferous air  
As soon corrupts the judgment; and from thence  
Sends like contagion to the memory:  
Still each to other giving the infection,  
Which as a subtle vapour spreads itself  
Confusedly through every sensitive part,  
Till not a thought or motion of the mind  
Be free from the black poison of suspect.<sup>24</sup>

This is throughout an accurate description in psychological terms of a moral state—but perhaps we expect such language from Jonson, the dramatist whose learning seemed to put him in position to question Shakespeare's learning. Let us turn, then, to a dramatist who has no such reputation for scholarship: we quote from Marston's *Scourge of Villainy*:

But now affection, will, concupiscence,  
Have got o'er reason chief preeminence.  
'Tis so: else how should such vile baseness taint  
As force it be made to nature's paint?  
Methinks the spirit's Pegase, Fantasy,  
Should hoise the soul from such base slavery.<sup>25</sup>

The student who finds such explicit utterances might be tempted to inquire further concerning the use of this language of psychology to describe the moral states of dramatic characters.

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 438.

<sup>24</sup> 2. 3. 64 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Marston, *Scourge of Villainy*, Satire 8.

In Shakespeare we find this language even more frequently. Of approximately one hundred and fifty passages, many of course represent only popular usage; but there are many more wherein the distinctions are so nice and the speaker and the occasion so important that one is tempted to believe that in the use of this language Shakespeare is throwing light upon the meaning of the dramatic action. Before we examine some of these passages, it is important to notice that the significant utterances are to be found almost wholly in the later plays. The allusions in the very early comedies are few and unimportant. There are practically none in the historical plays—not one to a play. In the period of the Middle Comedies Shakespeare's use of this language becomes much more frequent and significant: in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, and *Twelfth Night* there are no less than thirty or forty passages, many of no small importance for the understanding of the plays. In the great tragedies the allusions are most frequent, and often, as we shall see, the interpretation of a single passage wherein this faculty-psychology is employed becomes vital for the understanding of the play. And it is not only in *Hamlet* and *Othello* that we find this element,—plays where we might expect it; it is also in *Troilus and Cressida* and in a comedy contemporary with *Othello*, *Measure for Measure*. Generally where a grave problem of conduct is involved Shakespeare is likely to use this language, and usually to make the spectator more conscious of the nature of the moral problem involved. But let us add that this is not to make of the dramatist a didactic poet; we are only attempting to show that he was a great artist thinking about life, expressing his thought objectively through a most natural medium.

Let us begin with *Troilus and Cressida*. In the council of the Greeks in the first act, Ulysses addresses the leader thus:

Agamemnon,  
Thou great commander, nerve and bone of Greece,  
Heart of our numbers, soul and only spirit,  
In whom the tempers and the minds of all  
Should be shut up.<sup>28</sup>

So comprehensive is this characterization in terms of psychology that there was evidently in the mind of the dramatist

<sup>28</sup> 1. 3. 54-58.

the notion that the political state is analogous to the little state of man, the microcosm: it thus may suggest that famous passage at the beginning of *Coriolanus*: there Menenius represents the belly, the Roman Senate, as speaking thus to the mutinous members, the rebellious citizens:

I am the store-house and the shop  
Of the whole body: but, if you do remember,  
I send it through the rivers of your blood,  
Even to the court, the heart, to the seat o' the brain;  
And, through the cranks and offices of man,  
The strongest nerves and small inferior veins  
From me receive that natural competency  
Whereby they live.<sup>27</sup>

But without pressing this comparison let us continue to study the speech of Ulysses: he points out that the ills of the Greeks are the result of their lack of respect for degrees of superiority:

Take but the degree away, untune that string,  
And, hark! what discord follows.

He first refers to the resultant chaos in the cosmos; the waters would lift their bosoms higher than the shores. In the moral world might would make right, and justice would lose its name. He continues:

Then everything includes [i.e. would include] itself in power,  
Power into will, will into appetite;  
And appetite, a universal wolf,  
So doubly seconded with will and power,  
Must make perforce a universal prey,  
And last eat up herself. Great Agamemnon,  
This chaos, when degree is suffocate,  
Follows the choking.<sup>28</sup>

We now see the reason for the comprehensive characterization of Agamemnon at the outset: Failure to recognize his political supremacy will result in chaos similar to that when the lower powers of the state of man lord it over the higher. Here Agamemnon is thought of as the soul; in *Coriolanus* the Senate was the belly. One suspects that Shakespeare is working with an idea.

<sup>27</sup> 1. 1. 134-141.

<sup>28</sup> 1. 3. 119-126.

In the second act, which concerns the Trojans as the first concerned the Greeks, there is a similar council in which Helenus and Troilus somewhat unceremoniously bandy the word "reason." Over that dialogue we shall not pause save to point out that Shakespeare employs dramatic irony when he causes Troilus to conclude:

reason and respect  
Make livers pale, and lustihood deject.<sup>29</sup>

Hector, the Ulysses of this council, is trying to induce the Trojans to give up Helen:

H. Brother, she is not worth what she doth cost  
The holding.

T. What is aught but as 'tis valu'd?

H. But value dwells not in particular will;  
It holds his estimate and dignity  
As well wherein 'tis precious of itself  
As in the prizer. 'Tis mad idolatry  
To make the service greater than the god;  
And the will dotes that is inclinable  
To what infectiously itself affects,  
Without some image of the affected merit.<sup>30</sup>

Troilus is made to take up this very language in developing an analogy by which he trusts to win the argument:

I take to-day a wife, and my election  
Is led on by the conduct of my will;  
My will enkindled by mine eyes and ears,  
Two traded pilots 'twixt the dangerous shores  
Of will and judgment. How may I avoid  
Although my will distaste what it elected,  
The wife I chose?<sup>31</sup>

By such an analogy Troilus urges his claim that the Trojans, once having determined to keep Helen, should refuse to give her up. It is obviously bad argument serving to unite the two themes of the play, the bad choice of Troilus, and the bad choice of the Trojans in defending the rape of Helen; and it is also on Shakespeare's part deliberately bad psychology. Eyes and ears are not pilots between the shores of will and judgment. "The

<sup>29</sup> 2. 2. 49-50.

<sup>30</sup> 2. 2. 51-60.

<sup>31</sup> 2. 2. 61-67.

will of man," says a sound lover in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, "is by his reason sway'd, And reason says you are the worthier maid."<sup>32</sup> This is the usual view. One suspects that the dramatist is showing no little conscious art when he causes Troilus to talk like this: even in a council Troilus declares the causes of his own failure.

Soon thereafter Cassandra enters, and Hector turns to his impetuous brother with these words:

Now, youthful Troilus, do not these high strains  
Of divination in our sister work  
Some touches of remorse? or is your blood  
So madly hot that no discourse of reason,  
Nor fear of bad success in a bad cause,  
Can qualify the same?<sup>33</sup>

Troilus and Paris are obdurate; and Hector, the champion of reason, continues:

Paris and Troilus, you have both said well;  
And on the cause and question now in hand  
Have glaz'd but superficially; not much  
Unlike young men, whom Aristotle thought  
Unfit to hear moral philosophy.

Enough had already been said about the fact that both Bacon and Shakespeare have here made the same mistake; we should be mainly interested in the occasion for the mistake.

The reasons you allege do more conduce  
To the hot passion of distemper'd blood  
Than to make up a free determination  
'Twixt right and wrong; for pleasure and revenge  
Have ears more deaf than adders to the voice  
Of any true decision. Nature craves  
All dues be render'd to their owners; now,  
What nearer debt in all humanity  
Than wife is to the husband? if this law  
Of nature be corrupted through affection,  
And that great minds, of partial indulgence  
To their benumbed wills, resist the same;  
There is a law in each well-order'd nation  
To curb those raging appetites.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> 2. 2. 115-116.

<sup>33</sup> 2. 2. 113-118.

<sup>34</sup> 2. 2. 163-181.

Hector is another great exponent of law and order both in the state and in the microcosm. He is a kind of chorus pointing out the moral significance of the action in this language of psychology: if affection gets the better of the will, there is a law at work which tends to curb the unruly appetite.

Although the situations in the two camps are not the same, it is obvious that the moral problems are comparable, and the final word is uttered by the wise counsellor in language which is also comparable. We may also add, if the implications are not dangerous, that these two scenes are excellent illustrations of what Bacon meant by saying that the chief function of rhetoric was to win the imagination from the affection's part and effect a union with the reason. Ulysses and Hector are both good rhetoricians; but Hector as the exponent of reason among the Trojans finds the claims of imagination and the affections too strong: he cannot win imagination from the affection's part.

It is not only in attempts at rhetorical persuasion that Ulysses shows familiarity with this vocabulary of psychology: it enters just as naturally into his analysis of the faults of Achilles:

Possess'd he is with greatness,  
And speaks not to himself but with a pride  
That quarrels at self-breath: imagin'd worth  
Holds in his blood such swoln and hot discourse,  
That 'twixt his mental and his active parts  
Kingdom'd Achilles in commotion rages  
And batters down himself.<sup>35</sup>

Here again is implied the idea of the microcosm; and there is also the valid Renaissance distinction between the faculties of knowledge and those of action. It is one of those acute analyses of character which shows the dramatist alive to the moral problems of his characters; it is a characterization which holds good, we shall find, for more than one tragic hero.

Having considered a close relation in a single play between psychology and ethics, we shall now turn to the great tragedies; and since they are practically contemporaneous, we shall deal freely with chronology and pass freely from one to another, that we may perhaps derive an impression of a unity of moral purpose. We are not asserting that Shakespeare was attempting

<sup>35</sup> 2. 3. 169-175.

to embody a moral in successive plays, as Stevenson and Hawthorne did in successive stories; we are only trying to see whether he was still concerned with certain very vital facts about life which seemed to impress him in *Troilus and Cressida*, and whether he continued to express them as he expressed them there.

Let us begin with the words of that shrewd judge of character, Iago:

Our bodies [he tells Roderigo] are our gardens, to the which our wills are gardeners; so that if we plant nettles or sow lettuce . . . the power and corrigible authority of this lies in our wills. If the balance of our lives had not one scale of reason to poise another of sensuality, the blood and baseness of our natures would conduct us to most preposterous conclusions; but we have reason to cool our raging motions, our carnal stings, our unbitted lusts, whereof I take this that you call love to be a sect or scion.<sup>36</sup>

This is such significant psychology and has such a bearing upon the action that it may at first seem strange that it is wasted upon Roderigo. Compare this sentiment, for instance, with Othello's insistence that his love is not lust, appetite:

Let her have your voices.  
Vouch with me, heaven, I therefore beg it not  
To please the palate of my appetite,  
Nor to comply with heat, . . .  
. . . No, when light-wing'd toys  
Of feather'd Cupid seel with wanton dulness  
My speculative and offic'd instruments,  
That my disports corrupt and taint my business,  
Let housewives make a skillet of my helm.<sup>37</sup>

But Othello does not know himself as Iago knows him: master of one passion, he is not therefore master of all. Aroused by the brawl in which Cassio is involved, he shows a fatal shortcoming of which he is in part aware:

Now, by heaven,  
My blood begins my safer guides to rule,  
And passion, having my best judgment collid,  
Assays to lead the way. If I once stir,  
Or do but lift this arm, the best of you  
Shall sink in my rebuke.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> 1. 3. 322 ff.

<sup>37</sup> 1. 3. 261-273.

<sup>38</sup> 2. 3. 202-206.

It is this anger, which Othello thinks that he has under his control, which with jealousy is to result in catastrophe; it is a mistake, I think, to regard Othello as the victim of one passion alone.

Like certain other Shakespearean heroes, Othello admires the man who can control his passions; and it is, of course, Iago who is the object of this admiration: he alone has the heart which passion cannot rule.<sup>39</sup> We have the most subtle dramatic irony in the retort of this villain with the heart that passion cannot rule:

who has a breast so pure  
But some uncleanly apprehensions  
Keep leets and law-days, and in session sit  
With meditations lawful?<sup>40</sup>

Of course Iago refers to the possibility of sin in Desdemona; but he also has Othello in mind: in a breast as pure as his, apprehensions, i.e. imaginations, may be planted which shall prove his downfall. Iago would effect a union of passion and imagination against the reason. While he is a good rhetorician, his victim is a poor one; in consequence Iago is soon able to say:

The Moor already changes with my poison:  
Dangerous conceits are in their natures poisons,  
Which at the first are scarce found to distaste,  
But with a little act upon the blood,  
Burn like the mines of sulphur.<sup>41</sup>

Not long thereafter, having gained his end, and having survived that dangerous assertion by Othello of the rights of reason, the demand for ocular proof of Desdemona's guilt, Iago, sure of his victim, is free to utter the taunt:

I see, sir, you are eaten up with passion.<sup>42</sup>

Then come those terrible acts of jealousy and anger which draw from Lodovico the exclamation:

Is this the noble nature  
Whom passion could not shake?<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> 3. 3. 123-4.

<sup>40</sup> 3. 3. 138-141.

<sup>41</sup> 3. 3. 326-330.

<sup>42</sup> 3. 3. 392.

<sup>43</sup> 4. 1. 267-8.

It is hardly necessary, however, to point out that *Othello* is a tragedy of passion; but it is necessary to point out that Shakespeare thought of it as involving this alliance between passion and imagination against the claims of reason.

We cannot yet be sure, however, that this notion was in the mind of the dramatist. Let us turn to *Macbeth*. Here we shall not be interested primarily in the passion, ambition, as it directs the course of the rising action; but rather in the course of another passion, fear, as, working in conjunction with the imagination, it determines the natures of the falling action and precipitates the catastrophe. Comparatively early in the play we hear Macbeth say:

Present fears  
Are less than horrible imaginings;  
My thought, whose murder yet is but fantastical,  
Shakes so my single state of man that function  
Is smother'd in surmise, and nothing is  
But what is not.<sup>44</sup>

Some may be reminded of a famous passage from another play:

Between the acting of a dreadful thing  
And the first motion, all the interim is  
Like a phantasma, or a hideous dream:  
The genius and the mortal instruments  
Are then in council; and the state of man,  
Like to a little kingdom, suffers then  
The nature of an insurrection.<sup>45</sup>

As in *Troilus and Cressida* we have in both of these passages the notion of the microcosm, the "single state of man," the "state of man, Like to a little kingdom"; and in both we have this other familiar idea that the imagination in anticipation of an important act, a murder, effects in this microcosm a serious disturbance, in the language of the body politic, an insurrection. Evidently Shakespeare thinks that Macbeth and Brutus have something in common.

But before considering *Julius Caesar* let us take another passage in *Macbeth*:

<sup>44</sup> 1. 3. 137-142.

<sup>45</sup> *Julius Caesar*, 2. 1. 63-69

Art thou not, fatal vision, sensible  
 To feeling as to sight? or art thou but  
 A dagger of the mind, a false creation,  
 Proceeding from the heat-oppressed brain?

. . . . .  
 Mine eyes are made the fools o' the other senses,

. . . . .  
 It is the bloody business which informs  
 Thus to mine eyes.<sup>45a</sup>

And here *Macbeth* suggests not so much *Julius Caesar* as another play wherein we are interested in the reality of visions; and we may add that Shakespeare shows familiarity with the current explanations of hallucination. *Macbeth*, it may be noted, like Brutus,—and Hamlet—is a good psychologist in that he knows what should be the relation of passion, fantasy, and the will.

There is more in *Macbeth* which might prove significant, but we must turn to that passage which was quoted from *Julius Caesar* to determine its possible bearing upon the interpretation of the play. Compare Brutus' characterization of his own state with his tribute to Caesar:

And, to speak truth of Caesar,  
 I have not known when his affections sway'd  
 More than his reason.<sup>46</sup>

Again one may recall another famous passage from a more famous play, another famous tribute to a friend, which contains the line: "Give me that man that is not passion's slave." Brutus, like Ulysses and Hector, like Othello and Hamlet, admires the man in whom reason is supreme. One may not at first enjoy the suggestion that Brutus, quite unlike Caesar, is a man whose affections sway more than his reason, in whom there is this tragic confederacy of passion and imagination against reason. Hear him as he denotes his mental state before the overtures of Cassius:

Vexed I am  
 Of late with passions of some difference,  
 Conceptions only proper to myself,  
 Which give some soil perhaps to my behaviours <sup>47</sup>

<sup>45a</sup> 2. 1. 36-49.

<sup>46</sup> 2. 1. 19-21.

<sup>47</sup> 1. 2. 39-42.

The address to the sleeping Lucius from which we have already quoted offers additional testimony:

Enjoy the honey-heavy dew of slumber:  
Thou hast no figures nor no fantasies,  
Which busy care draws in the brains of men;  
Therefore thou sleep'st so sound.<sup>48</sup>

One might also examine the scene in which Portia enumerates to her husband the signs which he has given of disordered imagination. But perhaps enough has already been said to make one aware that there are in these tragedies certain persistent beliefs of the dramatist which are not only illustrated by comparable acts and mental states of the chief characters but are described in the language which Shakespeare would find most convenient and fitting for the description of faulty moral states—the language of faculty-psychology. It is a language the study of which should bring one closer to an appreciation of the underlying unity of the great tragedies, and should allow one from the study of characters of such admirable diversity as Macbeth, Brutus, and Othello, Antony, Romeo, and Lear, to make interesting generalizations.

In the first place, these heroes, with practically no exception, lack an equilibrium: there is from the outset a war of the soul. Just as we may say that the protagonist of a Greek drama possesses a tragic hamartia in the sense that he has failed to realize the ethical ideal of the golden mean, so these heroes have a tragic shortcoming in the sense that they have not found the proper balance of head and heart. In this respect it is pertinent to compare them with characters with whom they stand in obvious contrast: Brutus with Cassius, Antony with Augustus, Othello with Iago, Lear and Gloucester with Edmund. Often, of course, the character who affords artistic relief may be guilty of another vicious although not tragic extreme; but these men on the whole have themselves well in hand. Shylock, by the way, is not a tragic character, not because he submits to his penalty but because he has a nature too well-balanced. In this respect among the non-tragic characters Hotspur comes much closer to tragic greatness, and it would have been easier for Shakespeare to have made him the protagonist of a tragedy than to have made Shylock go down to glorious defeat.

<sup>48</sup> 2. 1. 230-233.

Still another way of becoming aware of this vital lack of equilibrium in these men is to compare them with characters such as Prince Hal, and Prospero, and the Theseus of *Midsummer Night's Dream*. We are not suggesting that these are interesting dramatic characters: they have not enough of human frailty to beget sympathy either tragic or comic; but they may help us to understand the problems of the more dramatic agents. Take, for example, the great speech of Theseus about the imagination at the beginning of the fifth act,—a speech which, persistently quoted apart from its setting, has probably given occasion for more erroneous notions concerning Shakespeare's actual belief than anything outside of the speeches of Polonius. It is the unimaginative man's view of poetry:

I never may believe  
 These antique fables, nor these fairy toys.  
 Lovers and madmen have such seething brains,  
 Such shaping fantasies, that apprehend  
 More than cool reason ever comprehends.  
 The lunatic, the lover, and the poet,  
 Are of imagination all compact:  
 One sees more devils than vast hell can hold,  
 That is, the madman; the lover, all as frantic,  
 See Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt:  
 The poet's eye, in fine frenzy rolling,  
 Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven,  
 And, as imagination bodies forth  
 The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen  
 Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing  
 A local habitation and a name.<sup>49</sup>

Observe that we have again the language of psychology, with its contrast, for instance, between imagination, the power of apprehension, and reason, the power of comprehension, the one warm, the other cold. Of Hotspur Shakespeare had written a few years before:

He apprehends a world of figures here,  
 But not the form of what he should attend.<sup>50</sup>

Perhaps Shakespeare thought of him as like the lunatic, the lover, and the poet; and even with his banter of Kate, his

<sup>49</sup> *Midsummer Night's Dream*, 5. 1. 2ff.

<sup>50</sup> *1 Henry IV*, 1. 3. 209-210.

contempt for poetry, and his scorn of certain forms of madness, as something of all three himself. It would be interesting to determine how many of the great tragic characters conform to this description by the prosaic, untragic man, of the violently imaginative: some of them, like the poet, give to airy nothing a local habitation and a name; some have that form of lunacy which causes them to see devils and still others, like Mark Antony, see Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt. Lear on the heath, Macbeth at the banquet, Romeo singing the praises of Rosaline, and Hamlet in his mother's room, are all brothers of this poet whom many think that Shakespeare is idealizing. The love of all of these men—it is quite unlike that of Theseus or of the wooing of Katherine in *Henry V*: it is usually ecstatic, akin to madness. These men have verily "eaten on the insane root That takes the reason prisoner,"<sup>61</sup> and the expedition of their violent love does in a very real sense, outrun the pauser, reason.<sup>62</sup> They have passed those salad days when they were green in judgment, cold in blood.<sup>63</sup> If we like that view which praises the poet for his overbalance of imagination, then we must also praise these great tragic heroes for a similar excess. In this respect these characters conform to the romantic type which the advocate of classical restraint does not admire. But if we accept this ideal of restraint, we shall be much closer to the thought of Shakespeare's time. Most of the philosophical writers of the day, including the authorities on demonology, were afraid of imagination: they would have said that the great characters of Shakespearean tragedy erred through excess of imagination. There is in them the desire to give to the unsubstantial figment of the mind a local habitation and a name, to realize ideals without regard for those very practical considerations to which a Theseus or a Hal would have been alive. Thus Romeo, standing on sudden haste, does not realize his ideal of perfect love; Macbeth cannot have both high honor and contentment; Brutus cannot have his ideal state. It is easy to complete the list, to see how these men, had they been content to adapt their dreams to actual conditions, might have been most happy; but in the Elizabethan view as in ours imagination

<sup>61</sup> *Macbeth*, 1. 3. 84.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 2. 3. 111.

<sup>63</sup> *A. and C.*, 1. 5. 73.

is too closely connected with the affections and the will, too vividly pictures the fulfilled desire, to allow inner peace; there is, as Coleridge pointed out, a conflict between the real and the imaginary worlds—and not alone in *Hamlet*. And often this conflict takes the shape<sup>4</sup> which it assumes in a sombre comedy such as *A Winter's Tale*, where Florizel, threatened with the loss of the right of succession, will not forswear the object of his fancy:

F. From my succession wipe me, father: I  
Am heir to my affection.

C. Be advis'd.

F. I am; and by my fancy: if my reason  
Will thereto be obedient, I have reason;  
If not, my senses, better pleas'd with madness,  
Do bid it welcome.<sup>44</sup>

This, of course, is a perversion of the ethical ideal as we have seen it expressed in terms of psychology. It is the temper of the great tragic figures in some of their moods: this young man could have been another Romeo; when he grew a little older, he might like Antony have dallied away an empire; and in his old age he would have enjoyed madness with Lear. And had these characters not come into collision with conditions which involved catastrophe, they might have said with Leontes:

No settled senses of the world can match  
The pleasure of that madness.<sup>45</sup>

It is hardly necessary to add that there is with this excess of imagination also a superabundance of passion, and that this violent imagination is dependent upon the excess of passion. Romeo's "I stand on sudden haste," finds expression in plays as different as *Julius Caesar*, *Othello*, and *Macbeth*. It is well, however, to notice the admirable diversity of types of passions in these plays: it is interesting to compare Shakespeare's great gallery with an enumeration of the passions such as one finds in Charron: ambition, covetousness, carnal love, hope, despair, fear, choler, hatred, envy, jealousy, revenge, cruelty, heaviness of heart. I do not mean to suggest that a great dramatist selected his protagonists as a mediaeval allegorist named his

<sup>44</sup> 4. 3. 487.

<sup>45</sup> 5. 3. 72.

characters; but it is in point to suggest that the comprehensiveness of Shakespeare's tragic types shows a more than ordinary interest in the variety of human passions.

This excess of passion and imagination in these men and women involves also another limitation: an incapacity for reasoning, that the Greek denoted by the term "*dianoia*." This is not to say that Shakespeare's heroes are generally mental weaklings; but it is true that the power of apprehension is out of all proportion to the power of comprehension so that it often interferes with normal processes of reason: the reasoning is often too highly colored to be sound. One recalls Macbeth's faulty inference regarding the fulfilment of the third prophecy, Brutus' willingness that Antony speak, in contrast to the better judgment of Cassius, and again the reasoning which causes the conspirators to precipitate battle at Phillippi, Hotspur's bad logic on a similar occasion, Lear's mad scheme for the partition of his kingdom, and his inability to appraise the speeches of his daughters at their true worth, Othello's faulty inferences throughout, and Romeo's general incapacity for reasoning, his pathetic genius for wrong inference. These men are not strong thinkers, and hence men like Cassius, Iago, and Edmund can easily persuade them to tragic courses. And these strong-minded antagonists in turn—among whom we may include the Lady Macbeth of the first two acts—we may call skilful rhetoricians with bad ends. Unlike their victims they have strong powers of reason, but little imagination and passion. Edmund's guilty love for the daughters of Lear may be compared in this respect with the intense imagination and passion of Shakespeare's great lovers; just as Edmund's cool view of a mother's wrong doing is to be compared with Hamlet's, or Iago's dispassionate contemplation of Emilia's possible faithlessness is to be compared with Othello's jealousy.

In still another way these antagonists are quite unlike the great protagonists: these bad men of strong intellect know themselves and they know others, and hence they are able to use their victims for their own ends. Othello, on the contrary, is proud of his self-restraint, and Lear is fond of calling others proud. Of course, there are in these heroes as in other representative groups varying degrees of self-knowledge; but generally we find them unable, even when they most desire, to find

the true cause of their downfall. "Can'st thou not minister to a mind diseased," asks Macbeth of the physician; it is the finest dramatic irony. And these men, conscious of a war of the soul, yet baffled in their attempt fully to understand themselves, tend to blame external conditions, the situation in which they are placed. They are in part right, but only in part. Edmund's comment upon his father's explanation of suffering has a wide applicability: "This is the excellent foppery of the world, that, when we are sick in fortune,—often the surfeit of our own behaviour—we make guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon, and the stars."<sup>66</sup> One remembers Romeo with his desire to "shake the yoke of inauspicious stars From this world-wearied flesh,"<sup>67</sup> and yet a greater hero with his cry, "The time is out of joint."

And now, perhaps, we are in a position to talk about *Hamlet*, for we have come to a point, I trust, where we may regard that play, not as a unique document, but one of a number of tragedies which have much in common. It may not seem preposterous to assert that its substance is like the substance of the other great tragedies: the moral problem of its hero is essentially the moral problem of Othello and Antony, Macbeth and Lear. He is also the passionate man, whose imagination working in conjunction with his affections, keeps him from being an ideal prince, and sends him to a catastrophe which his intellectual powers were unable to forestall. There is here also the fatal tendency for passion and imagination to sway the will from reason's course.

These assertions are likely to surprise many, for they are familiar with a criticism which makes of *Hamlet* a unique document in the spiritual biography of its author. They have come to believe that *Hamlet* is the tragedy of the man of reflective temperament, whose intellect inhibits action. And even where this other aspect of Hamlet's character is recognized, it may be noted only by way of paradox.<sup>68</sup> I know of no explanation which begins with the fact of the existence of a wrong state of heart, a basic lack of equilibrium. And sometimes we are asked to think of this man as having a nature so delicate that it shrinks

<sup>66</sup> *Lear* 1. 2. c. 129 ff.

<sup>67</sup> 5. 3. 111.

<sup>68</sup> See for example Dowden's introduction to *Hamlet* in the Oxford ed. of Shak espeare. 3 vols., 1912.

from revenge. Together with views like this let us lay aside all of those theories which spring from a morbid habit of introspection, and reveal too often man's love of and need for a scapegoat—those views which often assume the dramatist's rare prophetic power of anticipating the results of psych-analysis; and let us assume merely that a play contemporary with *Lear* and *Othello*, if it uses this language which we have been studying, may use it for similar ends.

We shall begin with a speech of Hamlet:

So, oft it chances in particular men,  
That for some vicious mole of nature in them,  
As, in their birth—wherein they are not guilty,  
Since nature cannot choose his origin—  
By the o'ergrowth of some complexion,  
Oft breaking down the pales and forts of reason,  
Or by some habit that too much o'er-leavens  
The form of plausible manners; that these men,  
Carrying, I say, the stamp of one defect,  
Being nature's livery, or fortune's star,  
Their virtues else . . . .  
Shall in the general censure take corruption  
From that particular fault.<sup>59</sup>

Of course Hamlet is thinking of his uncle's sensuality; but this may be again the finest irony, and the dramatist may also be thinking of other great tragic heroes. If we wish to see whether such a dramatic utterance has universality, put it beside the generalization of a modern critic writing about Shakespearean protagonists:

In almost all we observe a marked one-sidedness, a predisposition in some particular direction; a total incapacity, in certain circumstances, of resisting the force which draws in this direction . . . . In the circumstances where we see the hero placed, his tragic trait, which is also his greatness, is fatal to him.<sup>60</sup>

If, however, we are not certain that the dramatist intended irony, it is at least interesting that Hamlet was returning a criticism which he had just received: Claudius had just accused his nephew of a similar one-sidedness:

<sup>59</sup> 1. 4. 23-35.

<sup>60</sup> A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy*. Second ed., London, 1915, pp. 20-21.

to persever  
 In obstinate condolment, is a course  
 Of impious stubbornness; 'tis unmanly grief:  
 It shows a will most incorrect to heaven,  
 A heart unfortified, a mind impatient,  
 An understanding simple and unschooled.<sup>¶1</sup>

It is the fashion to discount such evidence; but, if we carefully study Hamlet's mental state before the injunction of the Ghost, I think that we will conclude with Claudius that Hamlet is in an unhealthy state which this language not inaptly describes. But this characterization by Claudius is inadequate because the grossness of his nature makes him unable to appreciate the true cause of

This something-settled matter in his heart,  
 Whereon his brains still beating puts him thus  
 From fashion of himself.<sup>¶2</sup>

Claudius assumes that the sorrow is for a father's death, and perhaps for the loss of a throne, and he cannot understand that Hamlet is brooding over his mother's sin. And here the Freudians may find some satisfaction, for in Hamlet as in Othello and in Lear the thought about sex is a part of the obsession; it is this unhealthy state of passion which turns an admirable lover into one wantonly cruel, and causes him wrongly to infer the weakness of all women from the weakness of his mother, and thus to abuse his mother and to heap the cruelest insults upon Ophelia. Ample warrant there was for the counsel of the Ghost:

Taint not thy mind, nor let thy soul contrive  
 Against thy mother aught.<sup>¶3</sup>

This father knew the fatal shortcoming of the son; knew how easily a healthy instinct could become the source of unhealthy passion. Notice that we have here not two injunctions but one: the command not to let the soul contrive against the mother is merely making explicit the counsel not to taint the mind. Consider this injunction in the light of the injunction of revenge, and we are warranted, I believe, in saying that the Ghost knew—and Shakespeare knew—that the deterrent to revenge was a state of passion and imagination.

<sup>¶1</sup> 1. 2. 92-97.

<sup>¶2</sup> 3. 1. 176-178.

<sup>¶3</sup> 1. 5. 85-86.

Let us study this state of mind in a scene which for wanton cruelty is comparable to Othello's insulting of Desdemona,—I mean the scene with Gertrude before the killing of Polonius:

Ha! have you eyes?  
 You cannot call it love, for at your age  
 The hey-day in the blood is tame, it's humble,  
 And waits upon the judgment; and what judgment  
 Would step from this to this? Sense, sure, you have,  
 Else could you not have motion; but sure, that sense  
 Is apoplex'd; for madness would not err,  
 Nor sense to ecstasy was ne'er so thrall'd  
 But it reserv'd some quantity of choice,  
 To serve in such a difference.<sup>64</sup>

In thus mercilessly characterizing his mother's fault, notice that Hamlet falls into this language of psychology. In his nice use of terms he is the best psychologist of all of Shakespeare's characters, and the one most fond of this language, as we shall see. We do not wonder at the Queen's exclamation:

Oh, speak to me no more;  
 Thou turn'st mine eyes into my very soul.<sup>65</sup>

This is all very well: to induce in another keen self-scrutiny which has the proper effect, for I think that we must conclude that Gertrude thereafter is not so completely under the influence of passion. But Hamlet's intellect which enables him thus to analyze his mother's sinful state is so colored by emotion that he cannot long maintain restraint and be content to turn the eyes of a mother into her soul; he must speak daggers to relieve his heart, and like daggers they pierce her heart. "No more, sweet Hamlet," she pleads; but there is more—language of unrestrained cruelty in which the hero unpacks his heart, and it continues until the Ghost intervenes. Hamlet, regaining self-control, is aware of his shortcoming: he is lapsed in time and passion.<sup>66</sup> The Queen is also aware of this tragic quality:

O gentle son!  
 Upon the heat and flame of thy distemper  
 Sprinkle cool patience.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>64</sup> 3. 4. 67-76.

<sup>65</sup> 3. 4. 94-95.

<sup>66</sup> 3. 4. 107.

<sup>67</sup> 3. 4. 121-123.

We are reminded of the wild cry of Lear when he, too, is close upon madness: "Keep me in temper; I would not be mad!"<sup>66</sup> and again:

But, for true need,—  
You heavens, give me that patience, patience I need!<sup>67</sup>

A comparative study such as is here suggested should help us to determine how close Hamlet is to actual madness—and how far simulated madness enables him to find necessary emotional relief. We are not here questioning the reality of the Ghost when we suggest that its appearance is at the moment of the hero's greatest liability to hallucination: the Ghost comes to Hamlet just as actual madness comes to Lear. The Queen is well-informed when she comments:

This<sup>r</sup> bodiless creation ecstasy  
Is very cunning in.

Hamlet is equally well-versed in the subject when he insists that he has not all of the recognized symptoms of madness: he could, if necessary, undergo the well-known memory test. Hamlet is rightly anxious that his mother shall not identify the antic disposition with actual madness; but he fails to realize that it is this capacity of allowing the rights of intellect to assert themselves, a temporary reestablishing of a sort of equilibrium, which saves him from the fate of Lear. It is this capacity, I believe, which makes the play disconcerting; we cannot understand how a hero capable of keen powers of analysis, often of the motives of others, and sometimes of his own, can be the victim of his lower nature, can be at times so completely the unintellectual man. But I think that we shall see, if we follow the method of study here suggested, that the equilibrium is maintained only at short intervals—that essentially from the very beginning the mind is out of tune. In his saner moments—I use the adjective deliberately—he knows this, and he therefore abases himself before a friend superior only in his capacity for maintaining this mental poise:

Since my dear soul was mistress of her choice  
And could of men distinguish, her election

<sup>66</sup> 1. 5. 46.

<sup>67</sup> 2. 4. 270.

Hath seal'd thee for herself; for thou hast been  
 As one, in suffering all, that suffers nothing,  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . bless'd are those  
 Whose blood and judgment are so well co-mingled  
 That they are not a pipe for fortune's finger  
 To sound what stop she please. Give me that man  
 That is not passion's slave, and I will wear him  
 In my heart's core, ay, in my heart of heart,  
 As I do thee.<sup>70</sup>

We miss the pathos of this if we fail to see here one of those great moments of keen self-criticism. Horatio is not a tragic figure because he is not, like Hamlet, passion's slave.

Having thus attempted to characterize Hamlet's state of mind before the injunction to revenge his father's murder, we may try to determine the effect upon a mind so predisposed of a command which he regarded as a moral duty. Let us assume that there was no delicacy of soul to cause the hero to shrink from the performance of the deed; and let us also assume that the external obstacles were not insuperable. Imagine the hero at the time of the appearance of the Ghost in a high state of passion, brooding because he believed his mother sensual—perhaps guilty of incest—and try to calculate the effect of the revelations—not the injunction—of the Ghost: a mind thus under the spell of a terrible emotion would easily draw the inference that his mother might also be a party to the murder. It is the revelation of the Ghost, and Hamlet's faulty inferences, rather than the injunction itself, which fosters this passionate state and thus inhibits the desired action. Analyze the state of mind a moment after the revelation:

Remember thee!  
 Ay, thou poor ghost, while memory holds a seat  
 In this distracted globe. . . .  
 . . . . .  
 And thy commandment all alone shall live  
 Within the book and volume of my brain  
 Unmix'd with baser matter: yes, by heaven  
 O most pernicious woman!<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> 3. 2. 63 ff.

<sup>71</sup> 1. 5. 95 ff: the italics are mine.

This is not a healthy indignation: it is rather a dangerous fostering of the passions which causes him, as he accepts the duty of revenge, to be contemplating first of all revenge upon his mother for his own wounded affections. Hence the scene with his mother, already discussed, gives him more satisfaction, is for him more truly revenge, than the killing of Claudius upon his knees.

But it is often said that Hamlet is a man who is suffering from melancholy—from the predominance of black bile—and that we thus have to do with a man of reflective temperament not well fitted for action. To this we might point out first of all that melancholy, as a state of the passions, would not for the Elizabethan necessarily inhibit action. It is also apparent that Hamlet's state is not one of melancholy alone, any more than Othello's is one of jealousy alone. In Hamlet incentives to action may be found in certain concomitant affections. But it is untrue to say that Hamlet is not a man of action: true, he does not perform one act until it is too late; but he does indulge in so many others that the play is essentially one of action and of comparatively rapid action, Coleridge to the contrary. Certainly no few acts issue from Hamlet's passion: he assumes the antic disposition,—no small task for a man of reflective temperament—abuses his mother and Ophelia, makes fools of Polonius, Rosencrantz, and Guildenstern, plans a play and coaches the players, kills Polonius, outwits his former school-mates, escapes from pirates, jumps into a grave to grapple with Laertes, and finally sends two more men to death. Hamlet's passion issues in action—but not in the one action which is the moral duty which intellect demands: Hamlet insists upon making his revenge a matter of the heart.

Watch this passion at work in the soliloquy concerning the player-king:

What would he do  
Had he the motive and the cue for passion  
That I have? He would drown the stage with tears,  
And cleave the general ear with horrid speech,  
Make mad the guilty and appal the free,  
Confound the ignorant, and amaze indeed  
The very faculties of eyes and ears.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>72</sup> 2. 2. 565-571.

This is precisely what Hamlet does: he finds more satisfaction in making mad the guilty and appalling the free than in executing justice and reigning as king. Instead of bringing his will under the control of his reason that he may perform his moral duty, he brings it, rather, under his passions and imagination.

For *Hamlet*, as Coleridge long ago pointed out, is also the tragedy of a man who is highly imaginative,—although not precisely as Coleridge would have us believe. Let us turn back for a moment to the first mention of the Ghost and recall that Horatio and his companions do not agree concerning its reality; "Horatio says 'tis but our fantasy." Horatio is finally convinced. Hamlet, however, does not need to be convinced; it is only later, when he wishes an excuse, that he doubts the Ghost. Now I know that it is easy to find another explanation for Hamlet's acceptance of the reality of the appearance; but it is also interesting that this ready acceptance would argue for the Elizabethan the imaginative excitability of our hero: paradoxical though it may be, Hamlet's failure to suggest the possibility of hallucination points to the imaginative state of the patient. Horatio is evidently impressed by this as he watches Hamlet as he follows the beckoning Ghost: "He waxes desperate with imagination."

But this may not seem convincing; let us see whether we find other evidences. Take the scene in the graveyard:

Alas! poor Yorick . . . he hath borne me on his back a thousand times; and now, how abhorred in my imagination it is! my gorge rises at it."<sup>7</sup>

Thus the power works until he asks, "Why may not imagination trace the noble dust of Alexander, till he find it stopping a bung-hole?" Horatio's rebuke, "'Twere to consider too curiously, to consider so," has no effect, and the imagination continues to work, quietly indeed, but colored by the hero's sombre view of life, until the funeral train enters. Notice the transformation of this imagination under the incitement of passion as he leaps into the grave:

'Swounds, show me what thou'lt do:  
Woo't weep? woo't fight? woo't feast? woo't tear thyself?  
.  
.  
.  
Be buried quick with her, and so will I:

<sup>7</sup> 5. 1. c. 200.

And, if thou prate of mountains, let them throw  
 Millions of acres on us, till our ground,  
 Singeing his pate against the burning zone,  
 Make Ossa like a wart!<sup>74</sup>

The play-scene and the scene of the killing of Polonius are also examples, I think, of a powerful imagination working under the stimulus of passion. Or take the soliloquy, "To be or not to be," where the deterrent to suicide is not, as some think, moral scruple, but the vivid imagination of the penalty of those guilty of self-slaughter:

the dread of something after death,  
 The undiscover'd country from whose bourn  
 No traveller returns, puzzles the will.  
 . . . . .  
 And thus the native hue of resolution  
 Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought.<sup>75</sup>

Surely not thought in the sense of the operations of the intellect!

But Hamlet's imagination works in still another way: far from enabling him to do his duty, it causes him to anticipate a revenge upon the guilty pair which shall be in some way comparable to the mental anguish which he has suffered; revenge is thus, as one of the passions, a satisfaction of a vivid imagination. It is not enough to reform a mother; he must speak daggers to her. It is not enough to kill Claudius; he must take him at the moment when the deed will give the greatest satisfaction: in sending that guilty soul to hell he must be able to picture torments which will satisfy his own soul for a shattered ideal of womanhood and motherhood.

And we might go on to insist that Hamlet, like these other heroes, shows this same disposition towards faulty inference, and consequently wrong conduct. His attitude toward his mother, his generalization concerning the weakness of all women, including Ophelia, his suggestion that Claudius is behind the arras, and, of course, much of the excuse-hunting of the soliloquies, is of this nature. But Hamlet is also at times strong in intellect; and this we must account for by the fact that in this play as in no other Shakespeare has combined in a single character the mental capacities of both protagonist and antagonist. In a sense Hamlet is his own Iago.

<sup>74</sup> 5. 1. 281-290.

<sup>75</sup> 3. 1. 78 ff.

All that we wish to insist upon, however, is that in *Hamlet* as in the other great tragedies the downfall is brought about by the subjection of the will to the lower souls, to passion, appetite, and imagination working in conjunction with these. Hamlet is in this wrong state before the appearance of the Ghost; and the revelations only foster the disease. His few intervals of mental poise serve to make this suffering more acute, because he, more than the other heroes, has as a normal man the capacity for recognizing the nature of his tragic flaw. Hence it is that we are carried back to that characterization in *Troilus and Cressida* of Achilles:

'twixt his mental and his active parts  
Kingdom'd Achilles in commotion rages  
And batters down himself.

Or we may like to recall the words of Brutus:

Between the acting of a dreadful thing  
And the first motion, all the interim is  
Like a phantasma, or a hideous dream;  
The genius and the mortal instruments  
Are then in council; and the state of man,  
Like to a little kingdom, suffers then  
The nature of an insurrection.

*Hamlet* portrays such an insurrection within the microcosmos,—a struggle the more engrossing since the intellectual equipment of the hero enables us to see the nature of the conflict because he is able to describe it. Yet it is this very superiority of the tragedy which makes it for many the least tragic: for them it becomes an engaging problem rather than a play profoundly stimulating the emotions. In writing thus about it our aim has been to substitute for these highly entertaining solutions of a puzzle a kind of interpretation which will enable us to see the dramatist thinking profoundly about life as he thought about it in *Othello* and *Lear*, and touching an old story with the universalizing power of his imagination. Hamlet should become the object of our pity, for in him we see perhaps more clearly than in the other plays the great struggle in the little state of man between the qualities of head and those of the heart. In the *Tempest* we have no such struggle,—no tragedy, for there in terms of allegory the right relation is established; but that is another story.

MURRAY W. BUNDY

*The University of Illinois*

## BRIEFE RUDOLF HILDEBRANDS

(Zum 100. Geburtstage des Forschers)

*Herausgegeben und erläutert von Helmut Wocke*

### II. Briefe Rudolf Hildebrands an de Vries

Die Briefe an den niederländischen Sprachforscher (1820-1892), die sich im Nachlass R. Hildebrands befinden, sind —von einer Postkarte abgesehen—sämtlich im folgenden abgedruckt. Die Schreiben von de Vries haben sich leider nur teilweise erhalten; Georg Berlit hatte sich aus ihnen bereits Auszüge gemacht.

#### 1.

*Hochgeehrter Herr,*

Sie haben auf eine beiläufige Anfrage hin, die aus dritter Hand an Sie kam, sich so freundlich und eingehend mit der vorgelegten Frage in meinem Interesse beschäftigt, dass ich dazu nicht schweigen darf und ausser dem schönsten Dank meinerseits Ihnen noch nähere Erklärung über die Frage schuldig bin.

Das deutsche Krawall bedeutet Lärm, Geschrei, hauptsächlich wie sie bei einem Strassenauflauf, bei einer kleinen Emeute entstehen, und diesen Auflauf selbst, strassenkrawall, arbeiterkrawall, brotkrawall u.dgl. Nun ist das merkwürdige Wort in älteren Wörterbüchern vor etwa 1840 *nirgends* zu finden und ist doch jetzt in allgemeinem Gebrauch, auch unterm Volke. Da gibt nun Weigands Deutsches Wörterbuch (1857) an, es sei in den Unruhen des Jahres 1830 um den mittlern Rhein aufgekommen, eben als kleine Strassenrevolte; Weigand meint, es sei von einem 'dunklen Sprachgefühl' neu gebildet. Das ist aber wenig wahrscheinlich, es klingt vielmehr mit seinem undeutschen Ton auf der Endsilbe wie romanisch, und trefflich stimmt dazu die Nebenform von frz. charivari, die in lat. Urkunden des 14. 15. Jahrhunderts vorkommt, *charavallium*, auch *charivalli*, dass an einem Ursprung von dort kaum zu zweifeln ist.<sup>1</sup> Da ist nun weiter wahrscheinlich, dass das Wort nicht erst im 19. Jahrh. bei uns

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. DWb V 2125f.—Weigands Deutsches Wb. in 5. Aufl. (Giessen 1909), bearbeitet von K.v. Bahder, H. Hirt und K. Kant, nimmt französische Herkunft an. Nach Hermann Paul, Deutsches Wb. (3. Aufl. Halle 1921) wird Krawall 'kaum mit Recht' zu frz. charivari in Beziehung gesetzt. Kluges Etym. Wb. (9. Aufl. Berlin und Leipzig 1921) bemerkt: 'seit den Aufständen von 1830 in Mitteldeutschland (Hanau?) aufgenommenes Wort, für das frühere Zeugnisse fehlen,' und verweist auf Vilmar, Hess. Idiot. S. 224, der dafür mundartliche Aussprache von bayr. grebell-Lärm (zu rebellen Lärm machen) annimmt. Karl Bergmann, Deutsches Wb. mit bes. Berücksichtigung der Mundarten und der Fremdwörter (Leipzig 1923, 3. Ausgabe des Etym. Wb. von P. F. Fuchs) sagt: 'das Wort kam erst in den 30er Jahren des 19. Jahrh. von Hanau aus auf.'

eingeführt ward, sondern sich seit dem Mittelalter an und um den Rhein unbeachtet erhalten habe, ja man möchte vermuten, dass es, bei der weitgreifenden Gemeinschaft des Rheinlandes im weitesten Sinne, in Sitte und Sprache auch am Niederrhein seit Jahrhunderten heimisch sein müsste und demnach auch der niederländischen oder belgischen oder wallonischen Volksrede nicht fremd, natürlich je nach den Lautgesetzen der verschiedenen Mundarten gestaltet. Diese Betrachtung wars, die mich zu der Anfrage nach seinem Dasein in den Niederlanden führte.<sup>1</sup> Übrigens erfuhr ich zufällig von einem Schweden, dass es seit 1846 auch ins Schwedische übergegangen ist, in Folge der politischen Bewegungen jener Tage.

Es sollte mich freuen, geehrter Herr und College in germanischer Lexicographie, wenn ich Ihnen meinerseits auch einmal mit einem Dienst gefällig zu sein Gelegenheit fände.

Leipzig, 28. Juni 1863.

DR. H. R. HILDEBRAND,

Gymnasiallehrer und Mitarbeiter an Grimms Wörterbuch.

<sup>1</sup> DWb V 2126: 'dem nl. ist es fremd.'

2.

*Hochgeehrter Herr Professor,*

als ich ende juli vorigen Jahres von einer ferienreise nach hause zurückkehrte, wurde ich aufs angenehmste überrascht durch einen zurückgelassenen freundlichen gruss von Ihnen, begleitet von einem exemplar der probe des niederländischen wörterbuchs;<sup>1</sup> wie leid that es mir, nicht um acht tage früher zurückgekommen zu sein, da ich so des vergnügens verlustig gieng, Ihre persönliche bekanntschaft gemacht zu haben. Und Sie hatten meiner so freundlich gedacht, nach einer flüchtigen literarischen berührung durch dritte hand; empfangen Sie jetzt endlich meinen wärmsten dank dafür und die versicherung, dass ich mich Ihnen auf immer dafür verbunden fühle. Dass ich erst jetzt, nach fast drei vierteljahren, dazu komme Ihnen zu danken, begreife ich eigentlich selbst nicht mehr recht, ich habe auch oft genug darüber gewissensbisse empfunden. Aber in der Zeit, wo ich Ihnen wahrscheinlich gedankt haben würde, fiel in dem für uns Leipziger und für mich besonders ereignisvollen jahre Grimms tod<sup>2</sup> ein, der in meinem persönlichen dasein gewissermassen alles umkehrte. denn es wurde nun plötzlich ernst damit, ich kann wol sagen, bitterer ernst für mich, dass mir nun, und vor der hand wenigstens allein, die sorge für fortführung des deutschen wörterbuchs anheim fiel, und sie lastete anfangs auf mir centnerschwer. denn unser unternehmen ist ja leider ganz anders gestellt als das Ihre, es ist ein privatunternehmen, auf das capital eines privatmanns gebaut und den bedingungen des buchhändlerischen geschäftsbetriebs unterworfen. So hab ich denn die ungeheure arbeit vornehmen müssen als nebenarbeit, in der mussezeit zu vollbringen, die mir ein lehramt übrig lässt; und meine mitarbeiter, deren schon mehrere gewonnen sind, haben dieselbe stellung zu der arbeit, einige noch ungünstiger als ich. Kürzlich kaufte ich antiquarisch Ihren lekenspieghel,<sup>3</sup> dessen treffliches glossar mir höchst will-

<sup>1</sup> Proeve van Middelnederlandsche Taal Zuivering.

<sup>2</sup> 20. September 1863.

<sup>3</sup> Ausgabe von Boendales 'Lekenspieghel' (Leiden 1844-48, vier Bände).

kommen ist, zumal ich ein anderes mnl. hilfsmittel fast gar nicht habe (den Kilian<sup>4</sup> hab ich zum glück, Antw. 1598), und da las ich mit eigenthümlichem interesse Ihre erklärung am ende der ersten hälfte des glossars in betreff Ihrer freien zeit, und dachte an die günstige stellung, die Sie wol jetzt haben; ach Sie glauben nicht, wie ich Sie beneide.

Ihr wörterbuch<sup>5</sup> ist wol nun im druck begriffen? niemand kann es mit mehr sehn sucht erwarten als ich, wenigstens in Deutschland nicht; und dazu die frohe aussicht zugleich auf ein mnl. wörterbuch,<sup>6</sup> auf das Sie schon verweisen, denn erschienen ist meines wissens noch nichts davon? soll es auch bald kommen? und bearbeiten Sie es auch? ich würde mich glücklich schätzen, es bald benutzen und citieren zu können. Das nd. wörterbuch von Kosegarten<sup>7</sup> ist leider mit dem tode des herausgebers ganz ins stocken geraten, für mich und meine mitarbeiter ein wahres unglück, zumal da man in Norddeutschland hier und da etwas eifersüchtig ist wegen zurücksetzung des nd. durch J. Grimm im wb., die sich wirklich auch nicht ablängnen lässt; ich meinerseits bin bestrebt dem niederdeutschen möglichst sein volles recht widerfahren zu lassen, zumal es so reichhaltig ist und so oft auch fürs hd. erst die rechte aufklärung gibt. Sie wissen wol, dass uns in Schweden ein trefflicher mitarbeiter auf dem gebiete germanischer lexicographie aufgestanden ist? falls Sies etwa noch nicht kennen sollten, kann ich Ihnen das Ordbok öfver Svenska allmogespråket von J. E. Rietz, seit 1862 in Lund erscheinend,<sup>8</sup> aufs angelegentlichste empfehlen; mir hat es schon mehrmals unschätzbare dienste geleistet. Dazu ist ganz unerwartet der verfasser in germanischer philologie, ja auch in vergleichender sprachwissenschaft so wol beschlagen, als wäre er bei Grimm und Bopp in die schule gegangen; indess ich sage Ihnen vermutlich nur, was Sie selbst schon wissen.

Sie fordern im vorwort zu Ihrer proeve zu mittheilung von bedenken und wünschen auf, die beim leser etwa auftauchen; es wird ihnen zu hause daran nicht gefehlt haben. hat Ihnen Grimm noch etwas der art zukommen lassen?

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. über ihn z. B. Rudolph von Raumer, Geschichte der germanischen Philologie, vorzugsweise in Deutschland (München 1870) S. 90. Den Kilianus zählt R. Hildebrand im Lit. Centralblatt vom 17. 6. 1865, Sp. 662 zu den Vätern der wissenschaftlichen deutschen Lexicographen.'

<sup>5</sup> 'Woordenboek der nederlandsche Taal', anfangs zusammen mit L. A. te Winkel. Die erste Lieferung erschien 1864. Über die gemeinsame Arbeit mit te Winkel schreibt de Vries am 30. VII. 64 an R. Hildebrand: 'Glücklich arbeiten wir zusammen so freundschaftlich und einheitlich, dass Sie in dem Wörterbuch wol keine Spuren verschiedener Herkunft antreffen werden, obwohl jeder Artikel von uns beiden durchgearbeitet ist und sich in jedem die Wissenschaft zweier Verfasser wie durchdringt und vervollständigt.'

<sup>6</sup> Middelnerlandsch Woordenboek. Von dem Werke erschienen 1864 und 1865 nur 2 Lieferungen. Vgl. Hildebrands Urteil über die beiden Wörterbücher im Quellenverzeichn is zum 5. Bande des DWb. S. XVIII und im Lit. Centralblatt vom 17. VI. 65, Sp. 661-664.

<sup>7</sup> F. G. L. Kosegarten, Wb. der nd Sprache älterer u. neuerer Zeit. Greifswald 1856 ff. (nur 2 Lieferungen umfassend) Vgl. das Quellenverzeichnis zum 5. Bande des Dw. S. XXX.

<sup>8</sup> Angeführt im Quellenverzeichnis zum 3. Bande des DWb. S. VI.

es wäre mir interessant das zu wissen. Wenn ich Ihnen mittheilen darf, was mir etwa von wünschen auftaucht, wenn ich als ausländer das recht dazu in anspruch nehmen darf, so wäre es nur die theilung derseite in zwei statt drei spalten, bloss aus dem grunde weil es unmöglich ist zu der mittleren spalte sich nachträge zu machen, was doch so viele, auch laien, gern thun; und dann die abwechslung der cursivschrift mit der antiqua wie wir sie habän, während bei Ihnen die cursivschrift wechselnd sowol für die besprochenen wörter und redensarten als auch für Ihre erklärang angewandt wird. ich sehe wol, dass auch in Ihrem verfahren ein princip herrscht, aber das auge beim suchen dürfte doch bei diesem wechsel leichter irre geführt werden, wenn sichs um rasches finden und raschen überblick handelt. Entschuldigen Sie meine freiheit. Nochmals herzlichsten dank für Ihr freundliches entgegenkommen, ich drücke Ihnen im geiste die hand als kollegen in deutscher wörterbücherei,

Ihr ergebenster,

Leipzig, 25. märz 1864.

R. HILDEBRAND.

3.

Arnstadt am Thüringer Walde,

9. August 1864

*Hochgeehrter herr professor,*

mein lieber college im deutschen gesamtwörterbuch,

Nachdem ich in der that unsicher zu werden anfieng, ob Sie über Ihren schweren verpflichtungen nicht etwa mein vergessen hätten, überraschten Sie mich plötzlich mit Ihrer lieben zusendung vom 30 juli in der angenehmsten weise; ich wusste nicht was mir lieber war, Ihr herzlicher und freundlicher brief oder die mitgeschickten ersten bogen Ihrer beiden grossen arbeiten. es hat mir einen glücklichen tag gemacht. Ich selbst war eben auch im begriff, die erste lieferung von meiner arbeit<sup>1</sup> fertig zu machen oder was genauer gesagt an meinem theil eben fertig geworden, um zur erholung von den wehen des sauren ersten stücks arbeit nach Thüringen zu gehen—da muss ich erfahren, dass Sie unverhoffter weise von dem fernen Holland aus *auch* in Thüringen erholung suchen und eben fortgehen als ich komme; denn am 31. juli erhielt ich Ihre

<sup>1</sup> Am. 4. Dezember 1864 schreibt de Vries an R. Hildebrand: 'Die erste Probe Ihrer lexikalischen Tätigkeit habe ich mit der grössten Freude kennen gelernt. In Reichtum und Mannigfaltigkeit steht sie der Grimm'schen Arbeit nicht im Mindesten nach; in logischer Anordnung und übersichtlicher Klarheit übertrifft sie dieselbe bedeutend. Diese war eben die schwache Seite unseres unsterblichen Lehrers: er war weit mehr Dichter als philosophischer Denker und seine Begriffsbestimmungen und deren logische Zergliederung liessen vieles zu wünschen übrig, und seine inhaltvolle Darstellung war nicht selten unklar und ermüdend. Eben dadurch hat er vielleicht den praktischen Zweck des Wb. nicht so völlig erreicht, wie man es von einem Grimm erhofft hätte. Ihr einleuchtendes Streben, eben in diesen beiden Hinsichten den rechtmässigen Anforderungen besser Genüge zu leisten, wird gewiss allgemeine Anerkennung finden, und jeder Deutsche (sowie jeder Ausländer, der sich mit deutscher Sprache beschäftigt) wird Ihnen gewiss die eifrige Fortsetzung des berühmten Meisterwerkes zu einer unvergänglichen Ehre anrechnen.'

sendung und am 1. august gieng ich zunächst nach Weimar zu meinem freunde Dr. Reinhold Köhler,<sup>1</sup> der da bibliothekar ist, und an demselben tage noch nach Arnstadt, wo ich meinen aufenthalt nahm, da ich hier viele verwandte und freunde habe. Also um ein paar tage nur war es zu thun, so hätte ich die freude haben können Sie persönlich kennen zu lernen und Sie auf vaterländischem boden zu begrüßen und Ihnen als führer und begleiter in meinem lieben Thüringer Walde zu dienen! es hat mir lange nichts so leid gethan, als dieses unverhoffte zusammentreffen, das nur *beinahe* zu stande kam. ich gehe ende dieser woche nach Leipzig zurück zu neuer saurer arbeit an meinem zweiten hefte.

Nun aber, was eigentlich das erste hätte sein müssen, meinen schönsten dank für die bogen Ihrer arbeit; ich habe mit wahrem behagen darin studiert und wünschte nur, ich könnte für meine eigne arbeit bald gebrauch davon machen und Sie citieren. Gott sei Dank dass die wichtige niederl. sprache endlich zu einer umfassenden und wissenschaftlichen verzeichnung kommt; wenn erst der niederdeutschen und der englischen sprache dasselbe glück widerführe, und wenn die *dialekte* erst über unser grosses germanistisches sprachreich genügend verzeichnet und gesichert wären, *dann* wäre es eine lust, *dann* erst begönne die rechte arbeit; aber wir müssen vor der hand thun was wir können, und ich danke Ihnen für das zusprechen von mut in Ihrem briefe, er geht einem wol manchmal verloren. Von meiner arbeit kann ich Ihnen leider nicht heute gleich ein exemplar mitschicken; ich konnte nicht warten, bis die druckerei und buchbinderei alle geschäfte abgewickelt hatten; so kommt denn die lieferung erst dieser tage zur versendung, aber Sie sollen sie haben so bald ich nach Leipzig zurückkomme. Ich bitte dann so viel Sie von zeit dafür erübrigen können, quantumcumque erit, um Ihr rundes nettes urtheil über mein verfahren und was Sie etwa daran anders wünschten. Ein übelstand ist mir schon klar; ich habe nämlich, um für den übermässig anschwellenden stoff platz zu schaffen und mein K nicht zum schrecken des Verlegers zu sehr aus dem masse der andern bände herauswachsen zu lassen, bei der durcharbeit zum drucke von meinen eignen worten, dem cursivtexte, alles irgend entbehrliche weggeputzt und mich einer solchen kürze befeissigt, dass das was ich sagen will, oft nicht gesehen werden wird von dem, der solchen compendiumstils nicht gewohnt ist.

Ich wollte schliessen, um pflichtgemäss spazieren zu gehen; da sehe ich doch noch einige unverschiebliche punkte zu erwähnen! Sagen Sie doch ja

<sup>1</sup> Geb. 1830 in Weimar, gest. ebendort 1892. Zur Literatur über R. Köhler vgl. Ludwig Fränkel in Max Kochs Zeitschrift f. vergl. Literaturgesch. N. F. IX (1896) S. 251, Anm. 2.-Ferner: 'Zum 24. Juni 1890 begrüßen Reinhold Köhler vier Grazer Freunde (Gustav Meyer, Anton E. Schönbach, Hugo Schuchardt, Bernhard Seuffert), Privatdruck; P. S.-(Paul Schlenther), Ein Nutritor Spiritus, zum 60. Geburtstage Reinhold Köhlers, Vossische Ztg. vom 29. 6. 1890; H. Jacobi, Zum Begräbnis des Herrn Oberbibliothekars Dr. R. K. (Grabrede des Geistlichen); Erich Schmidt in der Allgemeinen Deutschen Biographie; Werner Deetjen in der Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde NF 13 (1921) S. 10, in dem Aufsatz über die Landesbibliothek in Weimar; ebendort S. 39 veröffentlicht Deetjen ein an R. Köhler gerichtetes Blatt von Hebbels Hand.

Ihrem mitarbeiter herrn Dr. te Winkel gleichfalls meinen schuldigen gruss und dank; von seiner zeitschrift<sup>3</sup> muss ich zu meiner schande bekennen nichts zu wissen, und Köhler in Weimar, der doch viel unter die hände bekommt, wusste auch nichts davon. Ich beneide Sie um das zusammenarbeiten zweier, das Ihnen vergönnt ist; ich habe mir das immer innigst gewünscht, aber es wird mir wol versagt bleiben. Ferner bewundere ich Ihre mehr als 3000 einschreiber, da wir Hochdeutsche für den Grimm nicht mehr als etwa 4000 haben, es ist nicht eben zu unserer ehre; von anfang an waren es ziemlich 5000, aber es sollten 20000 sein! Das ausscheiden des nicht erhaltenen sprachstoffs aus dem mnl. wb. kann ich Ihnen bei der doppelten arbeit nicht verargen; aber es sind doch *so viele* noch lebende wörter, bei denen in alter zeit andere begriffe sich einmischen, und *eben die* bilden die eigentliche schwierigkeit für das *rechte* verständnis des altdeutschen? Endlich gleich noch im namen unsrer hd. philologie den wärmsten dank an Sie für die ehrenrettung, die Sie ihr in der einleitung zu Ihrem mnl. lekenspiegel haben zu theil werden lassen; wir sind Ihnen dafür zu bleibendem dank verbunden.

Mit herzlichem und freundschaftlichem grusse,

Ihr

R. HILDEBRAND.

Gegengrüsse von Hirzel,<sup>4</sup> auch von Köhlers seite soll ich Sie grüssen; wir mitarbeiter an Grimms wb. (Lucae in Halle, Bech in Zeitz, Köhler<sup>5</sup>) werden wol im herbst wieder eine zusammenkunft haben, da werde ich Ihre bogen vorlegen. Gehen Sie etwa zu unsrer philologenversammlung nach Hannover?

<sup>3</sup> De Taalgids.

<sup>4</sup> dem bekannten Leipziger Verleger.

<sup>5</sup> Die Mitarbeit der drei Gelehrten am DWb. schien damals gesichert.

4.

Leipzig, 13. aug. 1865.

*Verehrter freund und college,*

Ich hatte mir bestimmt vorgenommen, Ihnen auf Ihren brief, der mir wieder solche freude machte, noch nach Prinsenhage in Ihre sommerfrische (wie man das in Baiern nennt)<sup>1</sup> zu antworten; aber trotzdem dass ich bis heute vier Wochen ferien hatte, bin ich nicht dazu gekommen - vor *kennen, kerben, Karl* u.s.w., die meinen ganzen ferientag von früh bis abend verzehrt haben, die nötige erholung abgerechnet und einen kurzen ausflug nach Eisenach, Inselsberg u.dgl. Ich weiss nicht, je weiter ich komme, desto mehr zeit brauch ich zu so einem bogen wörterbuch; ich sehe immer mehr schwierigkeiten und unbeantwortete oder noch gar nicht aufgeworfene fragen auftauchen. auch will ich nicht verschweigen, dass mir eine genauere einsicht in Ihre arbeit in dem und

<sup>1</sup> Ein hübscher Beitrag zur Geschichte dieses Wortes, über das z. B. *DWB* 10 I 1526 f., *Kluges* Etym. Wb. (9 Aufl. 1921) S. 426 und *Kretschmers* Wortgeographie der hd. Umgangssprache (Göttingen 1918), S. 44 u. 599 unterrichten. Zu Kretschmers Werk vgl. Wocke in Ilbergs Neuen Jahrbüchern 22. Jahrg. (1919), S. 300-302 u. Karl Euling in den Göttingischen gelehrten Anzeigen 1923, S. 22-37.

jenem puncte das gewissen geschärft hat. kurz mein wille Ihnen noch in Ihre ferienstimmung hinein zu schreiben, wo briefe sich so gut lesen, ist blosser wille geblieben. Ich denke, wir heben künftig mit gegenseitiger entschuldigung wegen spätens antwortens gegenseitig auf.

Ich danke Ihnen für Ihren herzlichen glückwunsch zu der unerhörten begünstigung, die mir von meiner vaterstadt unerwartet und ganz ohne mein zuthun zu theil geworden ist;<sup>2</sup> es war eine wirkliche hülfe für mich, ich hätte das frühere verhältnis nicht auf die länge ausgehalten, zumal ich eine schwere angegriffenheit der nerven aus meinen hypochondrischen jünglingsjahren her noch an mir hängen habe. Interessant war mir, dass Sie in Holland davon gehört haben, ich möchte schon wissen wie? Ich habe nun wöchentlich noch acht stunden am gymnasium zu geben, und dabei wenig correcturen; so vorläufig auf drei jahre, sind die um, so wird gott weiter helfen.

Aber Sie, lieber freund, könnten ja wol auch eine solche erleichterung brauchen! das verhältnis ist ja ganz dasselbe, und die nationale theilnahme am buche ist ja bei Ihnen noch eine ganz andere als bei uns! Sollte man Sie nicht Ihrer sonstigen verpflichtungen ganz oder theilweis auf zeit entbinden können? Ich denke mir, es wird sich bei Ihnen auf die länge unumgänglich nötig machen, und ich wünsche es Ihnen von Herzen. Auch für meinen collegen Weigand<sup>3</sup> ist ein ähnlicher schritt im werke, wie er für mich gethan worden ist. Er kommt gegenwärtig *sehr* langsam vorwärts, in nunmehr 1 3/4 jahren hat er nicht mehr als 10 bogen fertig gebracht; er ist aber auch zugleich direktor einer realschule, professor an der universität und stadtgeistlicher!

Ihre zweiten lieferungen habe ich richtig erhalten, die erste, die durch buchhändlergelegenheit kam, zwar etwas spät; aber schicken Sie mir sie ja trotzdem immer durch buchhändler. Sie können glauben, dass ich beim eingehen Ihrer gaben alles andere auf ein weilchen (so lange es der setzer erlaubte) liegen liess, um darin zu studieren. Das nl. interessiert mich in folge Ihrer arbeit ausserordentlich, und gar zu gern möcht ich mir auch von der nnl. literatur einige kenntnis verschaffen, wenn ich nur zeit hätte; freilich, *wenn ich zeit* hätte, wäre die mnl. für meine nächsten interessen noch nötiger. Mein lob Ihrer arbeit lassen Sie mich nicht wiederholen; ich hätte freilich in meiner anzeige<sup>4</sup> manches gern noch eingehender und deutlicher sagen mögen, als wink für den und jenen meiner collegen in der altdeutschen philologie hier zu lande, namentlich für unser mhd. wörterbuch—aber ich musste fürchten zu deutlich zu werden. Ich bewundere aufs neue die genauigkeit, sauberheit, klarheit und liebevolle wärme zugleich, mit der alles, kleines und grosses, gleichmässig behandelt ist, und beneide Sie aufs neue um die übersichtlichere äussere einrichtung, den gebrauch der halb fetten schrift, halb fetter zahlen beim numerieren u. dgl. Und doch empfand ich an dem zweiten nnl. hefte anderseits auch

<sup>2</sup> Im einzelnen vgl. die Beilage zu Georg *Berlits* Erinnerungsbild 'Rudolph Hildebrand,' *Ilbergs Neue Jahrbücher*, Jahrgang 1894, S. 581 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Geb. 1804, gest. 1878. Einen Nachruf brachten u.a. die *Kölnische Ztg.* vom 17. Juli, sowie die *Augsburger Allg. Ztg.* vom 4. Juli 1878; letztere unter 'Verschiedenes. Giessen, 1. Juli.' Vgl. auch *O. Bindewald*, Zur Erinnerung an W. (Giessen 1879).

<sup>4</sup> im lit. Centralblatt vom 17. Juni 1865 (Nr. 25) Sp. 661-664.

den unterschied unserer behandlungsweise von der Ihrigen recht deutlich, namentlich in bezug auf Ihre genauigkeit im eingehen auf das einzelne und bei der erklärang der wörter. Ich fragte mich ernstlich und aufs gewissen, ob ich Ihrer art nicht fortan völlig beitreten sollte und müsste oder wie weit ich ihr beitreten könnte, ja ob nicht gar Ihre art die einzige wirklich wissenschaftliche wäre? diess umsomehr, als auch mein college Weigand mehr in Ihrer art verfährt. Aber ich habe mich nach reiflicher und möglichst selbstloser erwägung doch entschieden, in der hauptsache nichts zu ändern. Die frage ist zu weit-schichtig um sie hier erschöpfend zu erörtern; aber worauf ich zuletzt als cardo rei zu kommen glaubte, lassen Sie mich doch aussprechen: die frage ob man nicht dinge, die beim lesen einem andern notwendig von selbst einfallen oder beikommen müssen, unausgesprochen lassen darf, und wieviel das sei; ja ob nicht das, was man selbst sagt, beim leser *wirksamer* wird und ihn zum weiter-lesen mehr *anweist*, wenn man ihn *mit* denken macht, ihn gleichsam zum stillen mitarbeiter macht. Ich beantworte mir die Frage ganz entschieden mit *ja*, und glaube dass dessen, was man dem leser zu finden überlassen kann, mehr ist als es auf den ersten blick erscheint. Ich sage daher vieles, was nicht notwendig zur sache gehört, bloss andeutend, bin aber vielleicht darin hie und da zu weit gegangen, aus der sorge vor dem anschwellen des werkes. Ich rechne jetzt, *unter uns gesagt* (sagen Sies ja nicht weiter) für unser wörterbuch auf wenigstens 14-15 bände, während es nach dem urspr. plane 4-6 sein sollten—aber ich glaube, bei Ihnen werden es noch mehr. Ich fürchte, ich werde Ihnen lästig und thue Ihnen wol gar weh, dass ich Ihnen mit diesem puncte wieder in den ohren liege; aber ich habe dabei wahrlich nur den einen wunsch, dass Sie selbst rascher und lustiger vorwärts kommen möchten, unaufgehalten durch verschwendete bemühung. Lassen Sie mich, da ich einmal doch so weit gegangen bin, weiter als ich wollte, ein beispiel geben. Der artikel *aanroesten* wäre nach meiner meinung völlig klar in folg. fassung:

*Aanroesten*, zich door roesten vasthechten aan stiets anders: De grendel was aangeroest en niet te bewegen.

Meine gründe: <sup>1</sup> dass es mit *zijn* und nicht mit *hebben* sein praet. bildet, hat der leser, der etwa darüber ungewiss ist, unter *roesten* zu suchen, oder: das *beispiel* selbst gibt darüber auskunft. <sup>2</sup> die bildung des praet. und part. ist unter roesten nachzusuchen; denn dort *nachsehen* muss der leser ohnediess auf jeden fall, der hauptsache wegen, der *bedcutung* wegen! (das beispiel sagt es aber auch völlig klar für einen leser, der nicht gedankenlos list), <sup>3</sup> dass es aus *roesten* und *aan* entstanden ist, sagt sich jeder Niederländer von selber, *es liegt ihm in d.n ohren*, und ich dächte, mancher sollte es fast übelnehmen, dass er in den schein kommt, als müsste er sich das erst noch sagen lassen. Lassen Sie meinethwegen einen *Engländer* oder *Franzosen* darüber kommen, auch der ist binnen vier wochen so weit, dass er das selber merkt. <sup>4</sup> dass *aan* da in dem sinne von *aanhechting* gebraucht ist, sagt deutlich die erklärang 'zich . . . vasthechten.' <sup>5</sup> dass das iets anders 'nit genoemd, maar als bekend ondersteld wordt, 'ist dem leser, der das beispiel liest und dem die sache *damit* sofort anschaulich vor augen steht, von selbst völlig klar, zumal wenns ihm schon ein paar mal gesagt ist.

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Quellenverzeichnis zum 5. Bande des DWb S. XLIX f.

Aber ich bitte hoch und theuer um entschuldigung für meine zudringliche ratgeberei—es ist mir aus der feder gekommen ich weiss nicht wie, es lag mir noch zu frisch im sinne von meiner eigenen erwägung her ob ichs auch so machen sollte.

Eine wahre fundgrube für meine nächsten interessen ist Ihr mnl. wörterbuch; es wimmelt von belehrung, was gäbe ich drum, wenn gerade das erst fertig vorläge. Ich freue mich, dass Sie meiner ansicht wegen der zuziehung des entsprechenden mhd. u. a. sprachstoffes einigermaßen beigetreten sind; in der that, das einzelne wort erhält durch aufzeigen des grossen zusammenhanges, in dem es steht, einen höheren wert, wie beim botaniker eine einzelne pflanze erst durch aufzeigung ihrer verwandtschaft ins rechte licht gerückt wird—und die gemeinsamkeit oder abweichung der verwandten sprachen und völker hat ja einen so überaus hohen sittengeschichtlichen und nationalen wert. Im 2. hefte hätte ich z. b. bei *alselpe* verglichen gesehen das mhd. entsprechende *selpe* für so helfe. Ben. 1, 681a, bei *allent* spalte 169 das nordd. *allens* (in Berlin) für *alles*, bei *atemale* hd. *alzumal*, *al over al* = hd. *allüberall*, im nnl. hd. *anmarsch* und *in anmarsch sein*. Merkwürdig ist *anter*; auch bei uns kommt entweder zusammengezogen vor in *entwær entwær* (Grimm 3, 647 leider nur 2 beispiele, es gibt viel mehr); es muss doch wol *antér* betont gewesen sein?

Aufgefallen ist mir, dass wörter bei Kilianen stehen, die Sie weder im mnl. noch im nnl. haben? z. b. *aennemighcapable*, *docilis*, *aenknagen* *arrodere*; schliessen Sie die sprache des 16. jahrh. grundsätzlich aus?

Ihre anfrage wegen des niederrh. dialects kann ich leider nicht zu Ihrer befriedigung beantworten. Ein einigermaßen vollständiges wörterbuch dafür gibt es leider nicht, weder für alte noch neue zeit, die mundart ist so zu sagen halb verwaist gelassen. Ich will Ihnen sagen, woher ich nehme was ich davon bringe. Für das ältere nrh. hat Pfeiffer in Wien einigermaßen gesorgt, indem er seinen auszügen aus *der selen troist* ein wb. beigab, das das ganze werk ausgebeutet hat; beides steht unter dem titel beiträge zur kenntnis der kölnischen mundart im 15. jahrh. in Frommanns monatsschrift 'die deutschen mundarten' Nürnberg 1854 ff., im 1. 2. und 3. bande, freilich höchst unbequem zerrissen; eine besondere ausgabe gibt es zwar, sie ist aber wol nur an freunde vertheilt worden, ich habe sie noch nicht gesehen. Pfeiffers glossar bietet aber verhältnismässig viel und würde Ihnen gute dienste thun; auch hat er manche andre quellen, wie den Peuthonista, oft zugezogen. Reichlichere auszüge aus der Kölner ausgabe der Gemma gemmarum v. j. 1507 bietet L. Diefenbach in seinem Glossarium latino-germanicum mediae et infimae aetatis (auch Supplementum lexi . . . conditi . . . a Du Cange) Frankf. 1857; ebenda ist auch *sehr viel* aus *mittelrhein.* vocabb. des 15. jh., und sonst mancherlei, das buch ist eine wahre unerschöpfliche fundgrube. Ausserdem bieten einige nrh. Schriftwerke auskunft, die man sich freilich meist mühsam suchen muss; z. b.: des stadtsecret. Christ. *Wierstraet* reimchronik der stadt Neuss zur zeit der belagerung durch Karl den Kühnen, nach dem originaldruck von 1497 herausg. v. Dr. E. v. Groote, Köln 1855<sup>6</sup>; daran ist ein leidliches wörterbuch. Derselbe Groote gab 1834 in Cöln heraus: des meisters *Zodefrü Hagen* reimchronik der stadt Cöln aus dem 13. jh., mit einem leidlichen, aber unvollständigen wörterbuch,<sup>6</sup> und

<sup>6</sup> Ebendort S. XXIV.

1860 in Cöln: die pilgerfahrt des ritters *Arnold von Harff* i.d.j. 1496-1499, mit schlechtem wb.,<sup>7</sup> das buch ist aber sprachlich und sachlich höchst gehaltvoll. Sonst wäre aus nrh. urkunden werken viel zu schöpfen, z.b. in Laconblets archiv für geschichte des Niederrheins,<sup>8</sup> in Ennens urkundenbuch der stadt Köln, in Höfers auswahl der ältesten urkunden deutscher sprache (Hamburg 1835<sup>9</sup>), wo besonders viel nrh. urkunden gedruckt sind, leider mit fehlern.

Noch eine wichtige Quelle für das nrh. hab ich vergessen: Karl Meinet, herausg. von Ad. v. Keller, Stuttgart 1858 (XLV. band der publicationen des liter. vereins zu Stuttgart); dazu K. Bartsch, über Karlmeinet, Nürnberg. 1861; darin s. 263-353 ein wörterbuch, das die wichtigsten wörter aufzählt und bespricht.

Für die heutige nrh. mundart habe ich leider nur ein idioticon für Aachen: Die Aachener mundart, idioticon u.s.w. von J. Müller und W. Weitz, Aachen u.Lpz. 1836;<sup>10</sup> das buch ist aber gut, vergleicht auch fleissig das nl., wozu die mundart viel gelegenheit gibt. Die Aachener mundart ist auch behandelt von Rovenhagen, an essay on the dialect of Aix-la-Chapelle. Aachen 1860. Für die von Cleve gibt es ein programm von Geerling, Wesel 1841, ich habe beides nicht. Vieles aus nrh. mundarten der gegenwart bringt auch Frommanns oben citierte monatschrift, in 6 bänden, mit ausführlichen registern, die das aufsuchen erleichtern.

Ihre auseinandersetzung wegen der germanismen war mir sehr interessant, denn so kannte ich das verhältnis allerdings nicht. Was die sache betrifft, so muss ich Ihnen natürlich vollständig recht geben und punct für punct Ihre ausführung unterschreiben. Allein—ich muss doch auch mit einem *aber* kommen: Ihre ausführung trifft eigentlich meine erinnerungen nicht. Es kann mir nicht beikommen, Ihre sorgfältigste wachsamkeit gegen germanismen, die durch trägheit von schriftstellern oder übersetzern sich einschleichen wollen, auch nur einen augenblick schel ansehen zu wollen. Aber ich sprach ja nur von älteren, schon eingebürgerten germanismen, wie ja wol *aanbetreffen* z.b. einer ist, und von dem übergehen des 'duitsch' in der erklärung von *aalduitsch*.<sup>11</sup> Hab ich da so

<sup>7</sup> Ebendort S. XXIV.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. Quellenverzeichnis zum 1. Bande des DWb S. LXXIX.

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. Quellenverzeichnis zum 5. Bande des DWb S. XXVI.

<sup>10</sup> Angeführt im Quellenverzeichnis zum 2. Bande des DWb S. VII.

<sup>11</sup> Rudolph Hildebrand in der Anzeige im Lit. Centralblatt vom 17. 6. 1865 Sp. 664: 'Entlehnt ist jedoch z.B. *aentreffen*, und es muss auffallen, dass das der Verfasser nicht ausspricht, während er Sp. 49 bei *aen eeds stat* (hd. *an eides statt*) den "germanisme" wenigstens als möglich zugibt. Auch in dem neuniederländischen Wörterbuche zeigt sich öfter Scheu vor "Germanismen" und vor dem Eingestehen derselben (z.B. bei *aanbetreffen*) . . . ' Und vorher Sp. 662: 'Doch eins kann der deutsche Referent nicht verschweigen: Sp. 22 wird *Aal-duitsch*, das bei einem Dichter des 16. Jahr. vorkommt, erklärt mit *geheel of echt Nederlandsch*, ganz oder echt niederländisch; wie das aber dazu kommt *aalduitsch* zu heissen davon kein Wörtchen der Erklärung, so genau sonst alles erklärt wird. Aber nichts als ganz oder echt *Deutsch* meint doch jener Dichter ihm und seiner Zeit ging noch das Niederländerthum im grossen ganzen Deutschthum auf . . . '

ganz unrecht? beweisen Sie mir, dass ich unrecht habe, und ich gebe es zu. Vor allen dingen aber lassen Sie das nicht etwa einen misklang zwischen uns werden; ich habe solche freude über meinen verkehr mit Ihnen, dass ich das schmerzlich empfinden würde.

Meine mitgeschickte kleine arbeit, die dem wörterbuch abgestohlen werden musste in aller eile, mögen Sie freundlich aufnehmen. Von den beiden andern exemplaren bitte ich Sie, Ihrem herrn collegen Dr. te Winkel das eine zu übermitteln mit meinem schönsten grusse, das andere der bibliothek der Maatschappij der Nederl. Letterk., deren Mitglied zu sein ich die Ehre habe, falls sie solche kleinigkeiten brauchen kann; andernfalls machen Sie davon welchen Gebrauch Sie wollen. Es thut mir leid, dass ich der hochgeehrten gesellschaft nicht ein exemplar meiner wörterbucharbeit widmen kann; aber ich erhalte selbst zu wenig exemplare, viel weniger als ich gehofft hatte. Ich darf Sie wol bitten, der hochverehrlichen gesellschaft dieses mein bedauern nebst meinem ergebensten grusse gelegentlich auszusprechen. Sollten sich auch fälle, wie der: *Hartmuodes helde-Hartmuot* (und stne helde) nicht auch mnl. finden? ich möchte vermuten, dass die ausdrucksweise auch mnl., altfranz. u.s.w., ja schon alt-sächsisch und ags. war.

Auf Kilian noch einmal zu kommen, mir ist seit einiger zeit der verdacht aufgestiegen, das er oft formen mit anführe, die nicht nl. sondern nd. sind? z.b. neben *kaerle* auch *keerle*, *kerle*, *kerel*, *sind* die nl.? Ich könnte mir wol denken, dass er, zumal bei der damaligen auffassung von 'duytisch,' aus einer art gewissenhaftigkeit und aus freude an der verwandtschaft des nd. auch die nd. formen als *nebenformen* mit aufgeführt hätte. und sollte er nicht bei seiner arbeit nd. wbb. zugezogen haben, z.b. des Chrytaeus<sup>12</sup> nomencl. saxonicus? Dieser tage fand ich etwas, was mich darauf brachte. Luther in seinem merkwürdigen deutschen namenbüchlein<sup>13</sup> ('de nominibus propriis Germanorum' etc., zuerst 1537) erklärt das nd. *kerle* als 'vir procerae staturae et grandis corporis,' und wörtlich so auch Kilian *kaerle*; sollte das zufall sein?—Noch eins zum schluss: Sie geben mir *zwei* wörterbücher, ich kann Ihnen nur *eins* geben—sollten wir da nicht gleichheit herstellen, dass Sie mich eins von Ihren beiden selbst kaufen liessen? Ich fühle mich etwas beschämt durch die ungleichheit, und bitte Sie das zu erwägen. Aber dieser vorschlag, wie alles in meinem brieфе was Ihnen etwa misfallen sollte, ist rein herzlich und freundschaftlich gemeint von

Ihrem Sie hochachtenden collegen,

R. HILDEBRAND.

Gut glück und frischen mut zum 3. nnl. hefte! lassen Sie doch Ihren collegen möglichst viel dran thun? Noch eins: ist nicht Halmas nl.-franz. wb (1729)<sup>14</sup> ein recht gutes buch? ich habe es neulich gekauft und es gefällt mir sehr. könnten Sie mir nicht andre wbb. empfehlen?

<sup>12</sup> Über ihn (1543-1598) z.B. v. *Raumer*, Gesch. d. germ. Philologie S. 245.

<sup>13</sup> Gegen die bis auf Konrad Gessner zurückreichende Ansicht, Luther sei der Verfasser des in Wittenberg gedruckten Namenbüchleins, spricht sich Friedrich Kluge, Von Luther bis Lessing (Leipzig. 5. Aufl. 1918), S. 178 aus.

<sup>14</sup> Fr. Halma, woordenboek der nederduitsche en fransche taalen, 2. Ausg. Amst. u. Utrecht 1729 wird aufgeführt im Quellenverzeichnis zum B. Bande des DWb S. XXIV.

Der brief hat nun doch noch acht tage liegen bleiben müssen, weil ich nicht wieder ohne mein bild kommen wollte, und das ist nicht eher fertig geworden. Aber immer noch ein P.S.: Ihre hollandismen in Ihrem hochdeutsch sind *so* gering, manchmal seiten lang so ganz abwesend, dass ich es nur bewundern kann, wie Sie zu einem so weit reinen und vortrefflichen hochdeutsch gekommen sind. Es *muss* ja Ihnen weit mehr erschwert sein, das isiomatische des heutigen nhd zu treffen, als z.b. einem Franzosen. Ich wünschte, ich könnte Ihnen einmal nur ein drittel so gut nl. schreiben; unter ein paar jahren aber sicher nicht.

Aber noch ein P.S.: *könnten* Sie *nicht* ende sept. auf ein paar tage nach Heidelberg kommen zu unsrer philologenversammlung? ich komme sicher und möchte gar zu gern Sie persönlich kennen lernen. Auch würden Sie da eine anzahl germanisten versammelt finden und könnten auf 3-4 *recht* schöne und fruchtbringende tage sicher rechnen. Ich möchte gar zu gern unsre und die nl. germanisten einander persönlich näher treten sehen, mit deshalb *weil* eben viele von uns an Ihre mitarbeit gar nicht denken. der versammlungsort wird nicht bald wider Ihnen so nahe sein wie diesmal.

## 5.

Leipzig, 15. sept. 1868.

*Lieber freund und college,*

Ich freute mich herzlich, Ihre handschrift endlich wiederzusehen, und schenkte Ihnen gern die lange wörterbuchsmässige entschuldigung wegen nichtschreibens. Besonders aber freute ich mich auf die aussicht, Sie nun doch bald persönlich kennen zu lernen. Aber leider weiss ich noch nicht, ob ich meinerseits das nötige dazu werde thun können.

Die versammlung in Würzburg findet statt vom 30. sept.-3. oct., eine anmeldung dazu ist nicht durchaus nötig, wol aber nicht unnützlich; zu richten ist sie an den vorsitzenden der versammlung, prof. Urlichs in Würzburg. Ein programm oder gedruckte einladung oder dgl. habe ich auch noch nicht erhalten, wird aber wie ich höre nun doch noch in diesen tagen versendet.

Ich für meine Person hatte eigentlich diesmal einmal fehlen wollen, aus mehreren gründen; Ihr kommen freilich stimmte mich um, ich beschloss hin zu gehen. Allein ich bin plötzlich etwas unwohl geworden durch erkältung, das nimmt die spannkraft und entschlusskraft weg, und da machen sich dann die andern gründe, namentlich der geldgrund auch geltend—kurz ich kann leider gar nicht sicher zusagen, dass ich zu Ihrer begrüßung hinunter an den Main in das schöne Würzburg komme. Aber—ich komme am ende doch noch. Käme ich aber nicht, wäre es Ihnen möglich einen abstecher nach Leipzig zu machen? Sie kennen wol auch Weimar und Halle noch nicht? da würden Sie überall den freundschaftlichsten anhalt finden.

In hoffnung auf wiedersehen so oder so (das wieder-ist mir so entwischt, wunderlich ) grüsst Sie herzlich und freundschaftlich

Ihr

R. HILDEBRAND.

## 6.

Leipzig, 12. Dec. 1868.

*Lieber Freund und College,*

Freund Flügel bietet mir die Gelegenheit an, Ihnen ein Lebenszeichen zukommen zu lassen, und das darf ich nicht versäumen, wenn meines Geschreibsels auch nicht viel werden kann. Ich will Ihnen nur sagen, dass ich mit innerstem Behagen an die Tage von Würzburg denke, und dass gerade Sie einer der Knotenpunkte sind, um den sich diess Würzburger Behagen bei mir gesammelt hat—entschuldigen Sie das knotige Bild, es kam mir in der Eile, es passt aber auch trefflich. Das Compliment vom lustigen Lexicographen, das mir dabei in die Feder kommt, hab ich Ihnen doch schon dort in der Harmonie gemacht, als wir sechs Lexicographen uns da wie zusammengeschneit fanden, die letzten Zehn vom vierten Regiment, die zuletzt das Schlachtfeld räumten—ich möchte daraus die stolze Moral ziehen:

Die Lexicographie ist die Königin der Philologie

Ja aber zu meinem Complimente zurück. Ich habe Ihnen damals nicht gesagt, welchen Hintergrund dasselbe hatte. Ich hatte mir Sie als überarbeitet, als leidend, als tief ernst gedacht, und freute mich nun innig, in Ihnen ein so höch tragend herze zu finden, und habe mir Sie darum zum Beispiel genommen.

Übrigens war mir post festum klar, dass wir noch *viel* mehr mit einander zu reden und klar zu machen gehabt hätten, als wirklich geschehen ist. Das thut mir leid und lässt sich brieflich doch nicht so thun. Nun Sie kommen am Ende auch nach Kiel?

Ich muss aber schliessen. Also nur noch Weniges. Mein achtes Heft wird Ihnen nächstens zugehen. Mich hat man übrigens hier nun zum Professor an der Universität gemacht (extraord.), für deutsche Literatur. Denken Sie, wie glücklich mich das macht. Und wir zwei sind nun *doppelte* Collegen. So drücke ich Ihnen mit beiden Händen Ihre beiden Hände und grüsse Sie mit doppelt herzlicher Freundschaft,

Ihr

RUD. HILDEBRAND.

## 7.

Leipzig, 18. Sept. 1870.

*Lieber College und Freund,*

Ich wurde angenehm überrascht durch Ihr Bildchen mitten in den schweren Gedanken, die einen jetzt zum grösseren Theile beherrschen, und kann nicht säumen, Ihnen dafür meinen besten Dank auszusprechen. Sie sehen übrigens da auch mehr ernst und nachdenklich aus als Sie mir von den schönen Tagen in Würzburg her vor der Seele stehen. Sind es Vaterlandssorgen, sind es Wörterbuchsorgen, die Ihre Stirn gespannt erscheinen lassen? oder beides zusammen? Ach ich kenne ja auch beide gar zu gut, obwol mir beide jetzt mehr in die Vergangenheit zurücktreten. Was haben wir seit 1866—und vorher nicht minder—für innere und äussere Vaterlandssorgen gehabt—und nun, Dank der Keckheit, Frechheit und Thorheit der Franzosen, löst sich das alles auf einmal in den hoffnungsvollsten Zustand auf, den man sich nur jemals in Jugendjahren hat träumen können! Freilich kostets Blut und Thränen und wieder Blut und Thränen, und unser Herz und unsere Augen weinen mit—für den blossen

Kriegsruhm, die kahle abstracte gloire hat der Germane kein Herz wie der Franzose, das wissen Sie auch—aber aus all dem Familienschmerz, der durch ganz Deutschland schneidet, blüht doch fürs grosse Ganze eine neue Zeit empor, dass man noch einmal jung sein, noch einmal zu leben mit anfangen möchte mit unserer begeisterten Jugend. Sie wünschen mir Glück zu unseren Siegen! Ich drücke Ihnen die Hand dafür im Geiste und möchte Ihnen gern gleich klar machen, wie ungemein mich das gefreut hat und alle meine Bekannten, denen ich das freudig mitgetheilt habe. Mir wars im Gegentheil, als könnten und würden Sie in Holland bedenklich werden bei unseren Siegen und Frankreichs vernichtenden Niederlagen, als sollte Ihnen da eine ferne Besorgnis um Ihre eigene Selbstständigkeit aufsteigen. Aber dass eine solche Besorgnis ganz und völlig unnötig wäre, könnten Sie sich in ganz Deutschland versichern lassen. Eine grössere Annäherung Deutschlands und der Niederlande hoffe ich allerdings auch mit als einen Segen von dem gebrochenen 'prestige' Frankreichs (ein widerliches Wort, dieses prestige, praestigiax, Blendwerk, Schwindel!), aber nur eine vertrauensvolle, beiderseits freiwillige in alter germanischer Treue! Wir als Hauptzweig des germanischen Stamms sind stolz auf die Fülle und Grösse eigenen germanischen Lebens, die sich da unten in den Niederungen aus eigener und doch germanischer Kraft entwickelt hat.

Sie haben ja übrigens auch eine hohe Vaterlandsfreude von unserem Kriege gehabt, die einmütige grosse Begeisterung für die Sicherung der Niederlande, von der man nach der Kriegserklärung las, ich habe mich in Ihrer Seele mit gefreut darüber.

Also frisch vorwärts in eine neue schönere Zukunft des Germanenthums! Zur Philologenversammlung im nächsten Jahre sehen wir uns vielleicht in Leipzig?

Nochmals dankend, auch für die mancherlei kleinen, immer belehrenden und geistvollen Zusendungen, die ich Ihnen verdanke, grüsse ich Sie freundschaftlichst

Ihr

R. HILDEBRAND.

8.

Leipzig, 10. Jan. 75.

*Mein lieber Freund und College,*

Wie freute ich mich nach so langer Pause wieder einmal etwas von Ihrer Hand zu lesen, und welche Freude wäre mirs, Ihrer lieben Aufforderung und Einladung Statt geben zu können. Aber leider hat mich des Schicksals Hand mit einem Schlage getroffen, der mir eine solche Reise und Freudenfest jetzt unmöglich macht: das ausgehende Jahr hat mir meine theure, unentbehrliche Gattin geraubt, ich bin im tiefsten erschüttert,<sup>1</sup> meine Gesundheit mit. Feiern Sie also Ihr Ehrenfest mit Stolz und Freude, es erinnert ja zugleich an die glänzendste Zeit Ihres Vaterlandes, ich werde in Gedanken bei Ihnen sein. Gott schütze Sie, lieber Freund,

In treuer Anhänglichkeit,  
Ihr

R. HILDEBRAND.

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. R. Hildebrand, Gedanken über Gott, die Welt und das Ich (Jena 1910) S. 287 f.

## 9.

Teplitz, 16. Aug. 1877.

*Verehrter, lieber Freund und Arbeitsgenosse,*

Unser Briefwechsel, der mir einst so viel Freude machte, ist seit Jahren ins Stocken gerathen; unser geistiger Verkehr aber gewiss nicht, sicherlich nicht meinerseits, auch über die Zusendung der Hefte hinaus fühle ich mich mit Ihnen in dauerndem engen Verkehr, und während mich die unendliche Wörterbuchsarbeit immer mehr faul im Briefschreiben macht, würde ich Ihnen doch wenigstens jährlich einmal schreiben, wenn ich meiner Neigung folgte; am liebsten aber wäre ich jährlich wenigstens einmal mit Ihnen selber zusammen, so lieb werthvoll ist mir der zweimalige unmittelbare Umgang mit Ihnen gewesen, den ich mir zum dritten Male bei Gelegenheit Ihrer Jubelfeier leider versagen musste.

Nun schreibe ich Ihnen aus Böhmen, wo ich für meinen Rheumatismus in den Heilquellen von Teplitz Besserung suche und 3-4 Wochen verweilen werde. Aber diesmal nicht in Sachen des Wörterbuchs und der Sprache, doch aber in Sachen der Literatur und Kunst, oder genauer in Sachen eines Freundes als rühmlichen Vertreters derselben. Es ist *Richard Türschmann*, Ihnen gewiss dem Namen nach nicht mehr unbekannt, zumal er vorigen Winter in Köln aufgetreten ist. Er ist einer der bedeutendsten Vertreter der darstellenden dramatischen Kunst in Deutschland, ja in seiner eigenthümlichen neuen Art der Darstellung der bedeutendste oder einzig. Das kann und darf oder muss ich sagen, trotzdem dass er zugleich mein Freund ist im vollsten und schönsten Sinne des Wortes. Er bringt nämlich Meisterwerke von Goethe, Sophokles, Shakespeare (in deutscher Übersetzung) *ganz* und doch *allein* zur Darstellung, d.h. nicht vorlesend, sondern frei *sprechend*, fürs Gehör und den inneren Sinn, aber in einer Vollendung, wie es die Bühne so innerlich wirksam gar nicht vermag auch bei der verhältnissig besten Rollenbesetzung.

Was ich aber mit ihm bei Ihnen will, lieber Freund? Nun, er gedenkt bei Ihnen in Holland aufzutreten nächsten Winter, und ich habe ihm versprochen, ihn dafür zunächst bei Ihnen einzuführen und anzufragen, ob Sie geneigt wären, sich seiner anzunehmen, dass er bei seinem Erscheinen in Ihrem Vaterlande nicht ohne einen freundlichen Anhalt ist. Er bedarf eines solchen Anhalts um so mehr, als er an einer eigenthümlichen Kurzsichtigkeit leidet—aber denken Sie sich darum nicht etwa einen leidenden Mann, vielmehr habe ich noch kaum jemand kennen gelernt der in seinem ganzen Thun und Denken so sehr den Eindruck der Urkraft macht, wie wir das nennen (ich weiss nicht ob Sie orkracht haben), einer Kraft und Lebensfrische und Wahrheit, die er auch seinen Gestalten einhaucht in erstaunlicher Weise, und in einer Mannigfaltigkeit, dass er auch den Frauenseelen vollkommen gerecht wird; es ist z.B. eine Seelenlust, sein Gretchen, seine Iphigenie sprechen zu hören, denn man glaubt sie wirklich zu hören, und bei geschlossenen Augen auch zu sehen.

Er wirkt in dieser Weise seit 6 Jahren in Deutschland, ist schon in allen grösseren Städten aufgetreten, auch vor Fürsten, wie vor dem König und der Königin von Sachsen, vor der Königin Elisabeth von Preussen (Königin-Witwe), ausserdem in den gewähltesten Kreisen der Wissenschaft und Kunst, hat vielfach den höchsten Dank geerntet, wie ihn nur das durch die edelste Dichtkunst tief erregte Gemüth ihrem lebensvollen Darsteller aussprechen kann, so dass z.B. sein Zimmer voll ist von Lorbeerkränzen aus verschiedenen Städten. Wie

er nun schon einmal Russland bereist hat, gedenkt er denn auch Ihr Vaterland zu besuchen, wo ja wohl ausser den Deutschen dort auch Manchem Ihrer Landsleute seine ganz einzige Leistung willkommen sein wird. Ich höre zwar, dass schon ein Nachahmer von ihm, Namens Linde, bei Ihnen gewesen ist und lebhaften Anklang gefunden habe; ich weiss zwar nichts von dem Werthe seiner Leistungen, aber gewiss muss er sich zu Türschmann verhalten wie die Copie zum Original, wie das Nachbild zum Urbilde.

Türschmann ist auf ganz eigene Weise zu der Form gekommen, wie er jetzt seine Kunst ausübt. Er war unter meinen Schülern, als ich noch Gymnasiallehrer war an der hiesigen (d.h. nicht etwa in Teplitz) Thomasschule, war schon damals zu erkennen als ein darstellendes Kunsttalent von höchster Begabung, widmete sich dann auf der Universität dem Studium von Kunst und Literatur, um sich auf *wissenschaftlichem* Wege zum Schauspieler vorzubereiten, was so wenige thun. Aber es war auf der Bühne auf die Länge seines Bleibens nicht, weil er mit seinen strengeren, ja strengsten Anforderungen an die Kunst immer mehr in Widerspruch gerieth mit der Weise, wie sie auf den Bühnen meistens geübt wird, zumal in unserer Zeit, die mit ihrem Geschmack sich immer mehr von den hochgesteckten Zielen der ewigen Meister ab und den oberflächlichen Erfolgen des Augenblicks zuwendet. So brach er mit der Bühne und verfiel darauf, die Meisterstücke, die auf der Bühne unter viele Kräfte verschiedener Begabung vertheilt, also gleichsam zerstückt zur Erscheinung kommen müssen, ganz allein aus *einer* ungetheilten Kraft und Auffassung heraus zur Darstellung zu bringen.

Wie das möglich ist, muss man hören, um es zu begreifen. Ich habe aber z.B. von Faust sagen hören und habe es auch selbst gesagt: Ich mag nun den Faust auf der Bühne gar nicht (oder: so bald nicht) wieder sehen, nachdem ich ihn von Türschmann gehört. Die grosse Wirkung liegt mit an der unbedingten Innerlichkeit, die durch solche Vorführung gewonnen wird, während unsere Modebühne durch immer weiteres Ausbilden der äusseren Ausstattung den Sinn von der Innerlichkeit, aus der doch das Kunstwerk geboren ward, immer weiter abzieht.

Darf ich also, lieber Freund, meinen Türschmann Ihrer freundlichen Aufnahme empfehlen, wenn er im October bei Ihnen vorspricht? Er dachte ausser Leiden auch Amsterdam und Rotterdam zu besuchen. Vielleicht wüssten Sie ihm auch Rathschläge zu geben in dieser oder anderen Beziehungen, oder sie *mir* mitzuteilen, dass ich sie früher schon Türschmann zur Kenntnis bringe? Vielleicht wären Sie auch geneigt, ihn in den dortigen Blättern einigermassen vorläufig einzuführen? Aber über alles das erwarte ich zunächst Ihre freundliche Antwort, und erlaube mir nur noch, Türschmann durch Beischluss seines Bildes sich bei Ihnen selbst einführen zu lassen.

Mit freundschaftlichem Gruss,  
Ihr

RUD. HILDEBRAND.

P.S. Ich bleibe für jetzt wenigstens noch 14 Tage hier in Teplitz (Adr.: im Reichsapfel), weiss freilich auch nicht, wo dieser Brief Sie treffen wird, vielleicht auch in einem Bade. Auf jeden Fall freue ich mich darauf, bald Ihre Handschrift einmal zu sehen, die mir allein schon so angenehm ist. Auch von Ihrem Wohlergehen werde ich da wohl hören.—Das meine bessert sich langsam, wie ich die Schläge überwinde, die mich betroffen haben.

## 10.

Leipzig, 11. Oct. 1877.

*Lieber Freund,*

Ich hätte Ihnen längst geantwortet auf Ihre beiden Briefe, so freuten sie mich, wenn ich nicht leider wieder krank wäre; ich bin aus Teplitz krank zurückgekommen, wo mich eine Erkältung schwer traf und in wunderbarer Weise tief krank machte. Doch erhole ich mich nun allmählich, bin aber noch recht schwach, daher ich mich auch heute kurz fassen muss.

Vor allem meinen herzlichsten, wärmsten Dank für die Freundlichkeit und Bereitwilligkeit, die Sie meinem lieben *Türschmann* entgegenbringen. Ich habe ihm Ihre Winke, wie er am besten auftreten sollte, übermittelt. Nun hoffe ich und zweife nicht, dass Sie auch an dem merkwürdigen und trefflichen Manne Ihre Freude haben werden.

Ihre Freude über die Erfüllung Ihrer Wünsche in Betreff der Universitätsfrage theile ich vollkommen und mit tiefstem frohem Nachfühlen der Bedeutung, welche die neue Einrichtung für Ihre nationalen Wünsche und Bestrebungen hat. Ich war freudig bewegt von Ihrem zweiten Briefe, als ginge mich selber an.

In Angelegenheit Ihres Sohnes hab ich mich wegen der rheinischen Gymnasien erkundigt. Bonn wird Ihnen zu katholisch sein. Aber empfehlenswert ist *Frankfurt*; das städtische Gymnasium dort hat eine Reihe trefflicher Lehrkräfte, und gerade auch das Latein ist vorzüglich vertreten, z.B. durch den Tertius Riese, besonders durch den Director Tycho Mommsen (Bruder von Theodor Mommsen), der auch, wie Sie es wünschen, Kostschüler in sein Haus aufnimmt. Am Gymnasium wirkt auch Theo. Creizenach, im Fach deutscher Literatur vorzüglich bewandert, aber auch durch encyclopädische Bildung überhaupt ausgezeichnet. Ach, Sie kennen ihn ja von Würzburg her, wo er den Vorsitz der Verhandlungen führte. Ich will, falls Sie es wünschen, weitere Vermittlung gern übernehmen.

Das Ihnen fehlende Heft von G will ich Ihnen besorgen, sobald ich wieder ausgehe.

Mit besten Grüßen und freundschaftlichster Gesinnung,

Ihr

R. HILDEBRAND.

## 11.

Leipzig, 31. Oct. 1878.

*Lieber Freund und Streitgenosse,*

Sie haben da eben einen Siegestag gefeiert, der Sie einmal fühlen liess, wie Sie in langem Ringen nun doch auch einen Siegespreis erlangt haben, der Sie zu weiterem Streiten ermuthigen wird. Ich fühle das lebhaft mit Ihnen, in Ihrer Seele, als Freund wie als Streitgenosse selber. Wohl hatte man mirs, freundlich genug, aus Leiden gemeldet im Lauf dieses Sommers, und ich habe auch in der Zerstreuung der Ferien, die ich zum Theil im Thüringer Walde verbracht habe, oft genug daran gedacht, schliesslich aber doch leider den Tag verpasst. Aber besser so, als gar nicht, sobald Sie mir nur glauben, dass es auch so aus freundschaftlichem Herzen kommt. Und das können Sie, und so hoffe ich auf freundliche Aufnahme meines Glückwunsches, obschon er post festum kommt.

Möge Ihnen der Himmel Kraft und Lust verleihen, frisch und noch recht lange weiter zu schaffen an dem grossen Werke Ihres Lebens—ich meine nicht bloss das Wörterbuch (obschon ich damit recht gerne das mnl. Wb. meinen möchte, wenn ich dürfte), sondern Ihr ganzes Streben, im Vaterlande eine geistige Wiedergeburt der Nation aus ihren Wurzeln heraus zu bewerkstelligen oder zu befördern, wie ich, wie wir es hier in Deutschland thun.

Also Glück zu für das Weitere, unser Stern ist doch im Steigen, wenn wir auch selber uns an das allmähliche Niedergehen unsres persönlichen Sterns gewöhnen müssen.

In alter Freundschaft  
Ihr

R. HILDEBRAND.

12.

Leipzig, 3. Nov. 1880.

*Verehrter lieber Freund und College,*

Ich bin Ihnen ohnehin einen Brief schuldig, schon lange. Nun, in Gedanken bin ich gar oft um Sie, bei Ihnen. Hatte ich doch kürzlich ein Jahr lang oder länger einen jungen Landsmann von Ihnen in der Nähe, den nunmehrigen Doctor Lipsiensis Kollewijs, der auch bei Ihnen gehört hatte und mit Dankbarkeit an Ihnen hieng. Mir ist er recht werth geworden, ich wünschte mir recht bald wieder einen solchen Holländer in meinem privatissimum.

Dass mein lieber Türschmann damals nicht nach Leiden kam, wo er an Ihnen einen so liebenswürdigen Anhalt gefunden haben würde, hat mir sehr leid gethan; er hatte aber in Rotterdam so geringen Anklang gefunden, dass er auf die beabsichtigte Fahrt oder Kunstfahrt durch die Niederlande überhaupt verzichtete.

Ich schreibe aber heute eigentlich als Bittender, in Wörterbuchsnot, die mich auch in Ihre Vorzeit tiefer hineinführt, als mir meine hülfsmittel möglich machen. Es handelt sich um *geiler* und *geilen*.<sup>1</sup> Was Oudemans<sup>2</sup> bietet unter ghylare, ghijler, ghile, ghylen, ist mir sehr willkommen, reizt aber mein Verlangen nach mehr und nach Deutlicherem, das ich vielleicht von Ihnen bekommen kann, ohne dass ich Ihnen *Mühe* machte, was ich durchaus nicht möchte.

Ich finde Spuren solcher *religiöser Gaunerei* von falschen Predigern auch bei uns im 13. 14. Jh. (im Renner), wissen Sie vielleicht Genaueres darüber? Bei uns erscheinen die *geiler*, *giler* auch als *heuchlerische*, *gaunerische Bettler* (und *gilen*, so betteln), kommt das nicht bei Ihnen auch vor? Oder haben Sie etwa auch ein *masc. gijl* Betrug, Spott? Zum Glück bin ich bei der Gelegenheit auch über *Te Winkel's* treffliches Buch über Maerlant<sup>3</sup> gekommen, *endlich*

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. jetzt DWb IV 1 II 2594 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A. C. Oudemans, bijdrage tot een middel-enoudnederlandsch woordenboek, mit vele glossaria en endere bronnen byeengezameld. Arnheim 1870 ff. ist angeführt im Quellenverzeichnis zum 5. Bande des DWb S. XXXVII.

<sup>3</sup> Jan te Winkel: 'Maerlant's werken, beschouwd als spiegel van de dertiende eeuw Leiden 1877 (2. Aufl. Gent 1892). Te Winkel hatte 1875 (Leiden) Maerlants 'Roman van Torec' herausgegeben.

er hatte mirs ja zugeschickt, und ich hab ihm nicht einmal dafür gedankt, leide aber darüber an Gewissensbissen. Nicht wahr, er ist jetzt in *Groningen* sodass ihn mein Brief dort träfe? Ich finde in dem Buch so viel Anregung und Lehre, dass ich ihm herzlich dafür dankbar bin.

Bei dem geiler empfand ich aufs neue den Verlust, den wir erleiden dass Ihr mnl. woordenboek so bald ins Stocken gerathen ist Ich wage es kaum, nach der Fortsetzung zu fragen, um Ihnen nicht Schmerz aufzuwecken. Aber der Verlust trifft auch unsere Wissenschaft, man bekümmert sich unter unsern Philologen viel zu wenig um Ihre Literatur und Sprache, das ist mir durch meine Berührung mit Kollewijn wieder recht nahe getreten, auch in Bezug auf mich.

Mit herzlichsten Grüßen und Dank im voraus,  
in alter herzlicher Gesinnung,

Ihr

R. HILDEBRAND.

### 13. (Postkarte)

Leipzig, 31. Dec. 80.

Herzlichen Dank, verehrter, lieber Freund, für das Büchlein in 3. Auflage, das Ihnen gewiss Freude macht und mir auch Dienste thut, noch mehr für den erneuten Ausdruck Ihrer freundschaftl. Gesinnung, die mir so werth ist. Auch die andern Nachrichten<sup>1</sup> haben mich lebhaft gefreut, z.B. über unsern trefflichen Kollewijn, besonders dass Ihr mnl. Wb. nun doch noch wieder in Gang kommt, wenn auch nicht ganz von Ihnen. Glauben Sie, *unsrer* Philologie fehlt es empfindlich, das sehe ich schon am Oudemans, über dessen Unwerth ich mich durchaus nicht täusche; ich halte mich *nur* an den von ihm zus. getragenen Stoff, aber wie wichtig ist mir schon der so oft! Also gut Glück zu dem Werke, wie zu der wiederholten Rettung Ihres grossen nl. Wb.: könnten Sie sich nur kürzer fassen, wissen Sie noch meinen handgreiflichen Vorschlag dazu? es mag nun schon 10 Jahre her sein. Und könnte man nur endlich etwas *binden* lassen! Aber vor allem die besten Wünsche zum neuen Jahr u.s.w. für Sie und Ihre tapferen Bestrebungen von

Ihrem treuen

R. H.

Ihre freundschaftl. Angaben über mnl. gylre haben mir trefflich gedient, ich habe den Art. noch einmal ganz umgearbeitet, es ist aber auch nun Klarheit gewonnen, aber ein saures Stück Arbeit!

<sup>1</sup> Am 10. Nov. 1880 hatte de Vries an R. Hildebrand u.a. geschrieben: 'Mit dem grössten und ungetheilten Vergnügen habe ich Ihr lehrreiches Buch "Vom deutschen Sprachunterricht" mehr als einmal gelesen. Das war mir wie aus dem Herzen geschrieben. Es gab ja Seiten, die ich fast in gleicher Weise öfters in meinen Vorlesungen ausgesprochen hatte. Freilich ist eine derartige Sympathie ganz begreiflich bei ähnlicher Richtung in sprachlichen Studien und in lebendigem Sprachgefühl . . . Anbei sende ich Ihnen über *geilen* und *geiler* die verlangten Notizen. Es wäre mir lieb, wenn Sie darin etwas brauchbares finden dürften . . . Dass mein Mnl. Wb. so bald ins Stocken gerathen, ist mir, wie Sie wissen, ein untillgbarer und immer neuer Seelenschmerz. Ich habe aber dem grösseren Wörterbuch dieses Opfer darbringen müssen. "Ultra posse nemo

## 14. (Postkarte)

Lieber Freund und College, herzlichsten Dank für die freundliche Zusendung Ihrer neuen Zeitschrift, Sie verbinden mich aufs neue durch Ihre freundschaftliche Gesinnung. Ich wünsche der Zeitschrift den besten Fortgang und freue mich darauf, mit den Arbeiten bei Ihnen und Ihren Bestrebungen so in unmittelbarer Beziehung zu stehen. *Ich arbeite an geist* seit Nov.! Sonst schriebe ich auch Brief statt Karte. Ihr geist thut mir gute Dienste. Wissen Sie auch, dass ich seit den Monaten viel Ihrer gedacht habe, dass die wunderbare Transvaal-Angelegenheit spielte? Ich brannte *mit Ihnen* vor Zorn und Ungeduld, und so alles hier bei uns, als wäre es zugleich unsere Angelegenheit, und auch die Freude war bei uns dann allgemein. Nun, das Gute hat ja gesiegt. Ich suchte es immer in Ihrer Seele nachzufühlen. Mit nochmaligem Dank in Treuen

Ihr

R. HILDEBRAND.

Leipzig, 2. Ostertag 1881.

*Kollewijns Arbeit über Gryph. und Vondel* findet bei uns wärmste Anerkennung, was mich recht erfreut, z.B. neulich in der Augsb. Allg. Z. von Ludwig Geiger.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kollewijn, Über den Einfluss des holländischen Dramas auf A. G. (Amersfoort u. Heilb. 1880). Die Besprechung—*nicht* von Geiger—findet sich in der Allg. Zeitung vom 15. März 1881 (Nr. 74, Beilage) unter dem Titel 'Andreas Gryphius und das holländische Drama,' unterzeichnet: 'Ferd. v. Hellwald; Rom, im Januar.'

## 15. (Postkarte)

Leipzig, 17. Juli 1881.

Verehrter und lieber Freund, Ihre Karte aus Leiden überraschte mich aufs angenehmste, und diess soll ein Gruss sein, mit dem ich Sie auf deutschem Boden willkommen heissen will. Möge es Ihnen im schönen Harz recht gefallen und Luft und Land und Leute Stärkung und Freude geben! Ich selbst muss noch bis Anfang August lesen und muss dann ins Bad, leider in anderer Richtung, nach *Lobenstein* (am Fuss des Frankenwaldes an der bair. Granze). *Und doch sähe ich Sie so gern*. Könnten Sie nicht über Leipzig kommen? Ich bin bis am 2. Aug. hier. Auf alle Fälle lassen Sie sich und den Ihren unser deutsches Leben aufs beste gefallen. In Treuen

Ihr

R. HILDEBRAND.

Ich habe eben auch ein Heft fertig, darin ist *geist* die Hauptsache (nebst geiler, woran Sie ja treulich geholfen), das Schwerste was ich in meinem Leben gemacht, ich brauche Erholung recht nötig.

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obligatur." Glücklich wird mein Schüler und Freund, Verdam, jetzt Profr. in Amsterdam, die Aufgabe übernehmen. Wahrscheinlich werde ich dann eine neue und vollständige Bearbeitung des A erscheinen lassen, und das Weitere von V. besorgt werden, dem ich den freien Gebrauch meiner Sammlungen zugesagt habe . . . "

## 16. (Postkarte)

So bleibt mir, lieber Freund, doch nichts übrig als Ihnen auf deutschem Boden noch einen Gruss zum Abschied in den Harz zu schicken. Ich gehe morgen in den Frankenwald nach Lobenstein. Wie gern hätte ich Sie gesehen und gesprochen. Ich freue mich aber, dass es Ihnen im Harz gefallen hat, und erfrischt für weiteres Ringen werden Sie wohl auch sein. Ich hoffe dasselbe vom Frankenwald und kanns auch recht sehr brauchen.

In Treuen

Ihr

R. HILDEBRAND.

Lpz. 5. Aug. 81.

## 17.

Leipzig, 13. Febr. 82.

*Lieber ferner Freund,*

mir so fern, und doch so nahe, durch Gesinnung und Lebensaufgabe und Schicksal—ja, ich und mein Alles nun, meine jüngste Tochter Hedwig, die mir nun das Haus besorgt, ach und eigentlich die Seele auch mit—wir haben Ihr Leid<sup>1</sup> recht herzlich miteempfunden. Es entstand der Gedanke und der Wunsch unter uns, ob Sie uns nicht ein Bildchen von der Verewigten stiften könnten, ich würde es in meinem Freundes-Album neben das Ihre stecken und Sie so im Kreis der Fachgenossen ihr Denkmal hier in Leipzig haben, ich aber würde sie nachträglich so noch kennen lernen, da mir die gewünschte Reise zu Ihnen einmal versagt war. Ich bin augenblicklich wieder einmal recht angegriffen, doch wechselt es auch mit muthigen Stunden.

Herzlichsten Dank auch für die weitere Zusendung Ihrer Zeitschrift den ich Ihnen wol noch nicht ausgesprochen habe. In Betreff der Hefte von Lexer habe ich meinem Verleger Ihr Anliegen kund gegeben, weiss noch nicht ob es besorgt ist, sonst werde ich weitere Sorge dafür tragen. Es freut mich, dass die Rückkehr zur Arbeit Ihnen wieder Lust und Muth gibt, sie ist in der That für alles der beste Trost. Und auch bei Ihnen ist ja auf Ihrem Gebiet jetzt ein so reges Leben, dass es Ihnen eine Freude sein muss. Bei uns ist wahre Überproduction, bei der einem manchmal angst und bange werden möchte, zumalsich dabei die Jugend oft unangenehm breit macht, und dennoch, wenn ich so die langen Jahre zurück blicke, muss ich mir oft Goethes Worte sagen, weil ich sie an mir erfahre: Was man in der Jugend *wünscht*, hat man im Alter *die Fülle*.

Nun, *wir* streben und kämpfen nach Kräften weiter, so lange es uns der lebendige Gott gönnt, die Früchte werden auch uns noch reifen und ihren Samen weiter streuen, auch wenn unser Name einmal vergessen ist.

In alter treuer Gesinnung

Ihr

R. HILDEBRAND.

<sup>1</sup> Tod der Tochter.

## 18.

Leipzig, 18. Juni 82.

*Verehrter, lieber Freund,*

Sie sollten eigentlich heute endlich einen ordentlichen Brief bekommen den ich schon seit Wochen verschoben habe, und doch muss er auch nur kurz werden, weil ich nicht recht wol bin und zum Schreiben gar nicht aufgelegt.

Vor allem meinen, unsern Dank für das liebe Bild Ihrer verewigten Tochter, es war eine allgemeine lebhaftre Freude bei den Meinigen allen, mir aber wars als hätte ich sie lange schon gekannt. Sie blickt so lieb und treu und hold aus ihren anmuthigen Zügen, dass ich Ihren Schmerz nachempfinden zu können meine. Sie soll uns, obschon nur im Bilde, fortan so lieb sein, als hätte sie unserm Kreise lebend angehört.

Dann aber Dank für die Inleiding und meinen Glückwunsch zur Vollendung der ersten Station. Mir ist es ja überaus anziehend, in das Werden und die Geschichte Ihres mühsamen Werkes genauer hinein blicken zu können. Hätte ich mich eingehender aussprechen wollen, als ich die Vorrede zum 5. Bande schrieb, oder wollte ich es jetzt, Sie könnten auch eine schwere lange Litanei zu hören bekommen. Ich tröste mich damit, dass nie in der Welt etwas Grosses zu Stande gekommen ist ohne Mühe und Opfer und harte Prüfungen der dabei Bethetheiligten. Wie oft bin ich muthlos gewesen, ja fast verzweifelt, unterdessen rückt aber doch das Ganze langsam vorwärts. Gar manches, was Sie Ihren Landsleuten da sagen, die einen verkebrten Masstab an das Werk legen, könnte wörtlich ebenso meinen Landsleuten, wenigstens Vielen, darunter auch Gelehrten, ja Fachgenossen gesagt und gepredigt sein. Gerade von fachgenössischer Seite hab ich schon manchen schweren Verdruss niederschlucken und verdauen müssen, doch steht auch viel hohe Freude daneben, und was wir da mit so unsäglichen Mühen und Nöthen gesäet und gepflanzt haben, das wird ja unsern Kindern und Kindeskindern doch seine segensreiche Früchte tragen. Sie erscheinen mir in der Inleiding wie ein kämpfender *Held*, aber wahrhaftig, ich bins auch in mancher Beziehung (was ich wohl gegen Niemand als Sie so äussern könnte).

Merkwürdig berührt mich, eigentlich schmerzlich, was Sie von Ihrem *Zusammenarbeiten* mit Ihren Genossen berichten. Ach, wie sehne ich mich danach, nach einem solchen *συμφιλολογειν* wie Sie es da von Te Winkel rühmen. Im Kleinen, brieflich, hab ichs wohl gehabt mit Weigand,<sup>1</sup> aber im Grossen ist es bei uns ein Ding der Unmöglichkeit, das liegt an unsern Verhältnissen, und wäre doch ein Ding der Nothwendigkeit

Wir kämpfen aber muthig weiter, so lange uns Gott die Kraft gönnt.

Nochmals mit bestem Gruss  
in herzlicher Freundschaft  
Ihr

R. HILDEBRAND.

Wie sehr wünschte ich, dass wir wieder einmal mit einander reden könnten.

<sup>1</sup> Weigands Briefe, die den Zeitraum von 1856-1877 umspannen, befinden sich in Rudolf Hildebrands Nachlass.

#### 19. (Postkarte)

*Lieber, verehrter Freund,*

Schon weil ich seit dem Sommer nicht wieder von Ihnen gehört habe, kann ich den Jahresschluss nicht vorüber lassen, ohne Ihnen ein Lebenszeichen zu geben, natürlich zugleich als Zeichen der Innigkeit, mit der ich immer Ihrer gedenke. Zumal jetzt, wo Sorgen um unser Wörterbuch mich belagern, ganz anders als die Ihrigen, fast das gerade Gegentheil, aber doch auch recht schlimm.

Die vaterländische *Wärme* für unser Werk ist verrauht, wenigstens in den massgebenden und gelehrten Kreisen, die Nüchternheit der Zeit und Unfähigkeit, ins Grosse und Weite zu denken, wird auch da Herr—nun, bei *mir* nicht.<sup>1</sup>

Mit herzlichsten Wünschen zum Neuen Jahr  
Ihr getreuer

RUD. HILDEBRAND.

Lpz. 31/12. 82.

Kann ich nicht durch Sie die Adresse von Dr. Jan te Winkel erhalten (der über Maerlant geschrieben)? ich bin in schwerer Schuld gegen ihn.

<sup>1</sup> Am 3. I. 83 antwortet de Vries: 'Zugleich mit Ihrer Karte erhielt ich ein neues Heft von Heyne (Maszhein); das schien mir ein gutes Zeichen frohen Fortgangs. Dass die vaterländische Wärme für dergleichen Arbeiten in unserer Zeit verrauht, ach! lieber Freund, das erfahre ich täglich mit Ihnen in tiefstem Schmerzgefühl. Die Wissenschaft schreitet ja fort, aber wo ist bei den Jüngeren der Geist, der die Brüder Grimm und ihre Zeitgenossen beseelte? Ihre Klage über die Nüchternheit der Zeit gilt für uns nicht weniger als für Ihre Landsleute. Indessen freue ich mich, dass in Ihnen noch der alte Geist waltet. Bleiben wir dem getreu. Am Ende wird das vaterländische Streben doch einmal siegen! . . '

20. (Postkarte)

Ja, liebster Freund, es ist alles richtig eingegangen und ich fühle mich aufs neu Ihnen zu herzlichstem Dank verpflichtet, wie mir überhaupt diese herzliche Berührung mit Ihrem Niederlande durch Sie von Jahr zu Jahr wertvoller wird. Zu einer persönlichen Begegnung wird es ja wol auch noch einmal kommen, wir hätten so viel mit einander zu reden! Dass man nun von Ihrem Wörterbuch endlich etwas binden lassen kann, hat doch geschäftlich seinen Werth. Ich war *recht* in Anspruch genommen diesen Winter, wusste oft nicht, wo mir der Kopf stand, nicht wissenschaftlich nur, auch durch andere Schwierigkeiten, die Einen schon entmuthigen könnten. Auf alle Fälle besten Dank und treue Gesinnung für jetzt und immer.

Ihr

Leipz. 11. März 1883.

R. HILDEBRAND.

21. (Postkarte)

Zinnowitz an der Ostee, 16. Sept. 1883.

Lieber, verehrter Freund, ich bin diesmal an der Ostee in der Sommerfrische, schon seit einem Monat, und wollte mich lange bei Ihnen mit Gruss anmelden gleichsam als Seenachbar, obschon noch fern genug mich als solcher Ihnen näher fühlend, was mir wohl thut. Und Sie waren am Ende wider im Binnenlande bei uns? Werden wir uns nicht einmal wieder sehen? Vorgestern las ich in einem deutschen Blatte vom Tode Ihres *H. Conscience* nebst einem trefflichen Nachruf, da dachte ich lebhaft an meinen niederländischen Freund und fühlte Ihnen möglichst nach, was das für Sie bedeutet—aber auch für uns, denn der edle Geist hat für das germanische Wesen überhaupt gerungen und gesiegt und gegläntzt, dem doch die Zukunft von Europa gehört. Könnten nur Ihre Landsleute erst die *politische* Furcht vor uns ablegen, wie könnten sich Niederländer und Deutsche lieben und fördern, die geistig doch zusammen gehören. Nun, wir zwei thun das einstweilen, nichtwahr? In treuer Freundesgesinnung

Ihr

RUD. HILDEBRAND.

## 22.

Leipzig, 4. Mai 1884.

*Mein lieber Freund und doppelter Amtsgenoss,*

Recht mit Schuldgefühl trete ich im Geiste vor Sie, dass ich so schreibe auf Ihre mehrfachen liebenswürdigen Zuschriften und Zusendungen. Und doch auch ruhig, denn dass Sie an meiner Anhänglichkeit nicht zweifeln können, dessen bin ich zu sicher, und wie es unser einem beim besten Willen zum Schreiben oft geht, das wissen Sie zu gut aus eigener Erfahrung. Die Zumuthungen an Zeit und Arbeitskraft auch ausser den doppelten laufenden Amtsgeschäften wachsen fast täglich, man *muss* am Ende darum etwas gewissenlos werden, zumal ich immer noch in der Lage bin, mich mitten in diesem Gedränge aus dem Verfall meiner Gesundheit heraus zu arbeiten, was doch zu gelingen scheint, denn immer öfter loben Bekannte mein gutes Aussehen, und ich bin nun seit kurzem ein Sechziger!

Vor allem meinen besten Dank, recht verspätet, für die gelehrte Arbeit des Hrn. Dr. Kalf,<sup>1</sup> auch an diesen selbst, wenn ich bitten darf; merkwürdig, dass er Ihnen eigentlich so nahe treten sollte (ich denke dabei daran, was und wie viel mir mein lieber Schwiegersohn Dr. Schnedermann ist, beiläufig übrigens aus ostfriesischem Blute, Vatersbruder lebt noch in Emden). Ich habe sehr viel in dem Werke gelesen, gleich damals, auch fügte es der Zufall, dass ich es gleich nach dem Empfang vor meinen Hörern erwähnen konnte oder musste, da ich gerade über das Volkslied las, über das Hildebrandslied. Es trägt mir viel Brauchbares zu und so werde ich es mehr benutzen können mit Dank nach Holland hin. Merkwürdig war mir aber doch dabei, wie viel auf diesem Gebiete bei Ihnen noch zu thun und wie viel noch ungethan ist, wie der Verfasser fast schmerzlich klagend ausführt, und gerade diess Gebiet ist für die Wissenschaft wie für Geistes—und Herzensgenuss so überaus reich und lohnend, wie kaum eines wieder. Das Lied überhaupt, vor allem das Volkslied ist für mich ein altes, altes Steckenpferd (nun seit wenigstens 40 Jahren), und ich bin glücklich, nun darüber öffentlich reden und predigen zu können, mit wachsender Theilnahme der Studenten, ich habe gewöhnlich einen grossen Kreis wahrhaft begeisterter Hörer, *singe* auch ohne Anstand selber auf dem Katheder, z.b. eben den Hildebrand, von dem uns die alte Weise aus dem 16. Jahrhundert erhalten ist, ein wahres Prachtstück gesunder Musik, es ist uns auch im Hause eine Art Hauslied geworden. Ohne die Musik kann man ja da Lied gar nicht wirklich erfassen, wie ja Hr. Dr. Kalf auch entschieden ausspricht. Möge er doch ja dem Versprechen treu bleiben, diesen fruchtbaren Boden weiter zu bearbeiten, man merkt es ihm ja an, dass auch ihn die eigenthümliche Liebe zum rechten Liede schon erfasst hat, die so erquickend ins Herz geht und dabei den Geist, ich möchte sagen, reinigt und klärt. Mit welcher hohen Ehre und Bewunderung aber *Böhmes* Buch von ihm behandelt wird, das ist mir auch merkwürdig, obschon begreiflich; es ist bei allem riesenhaften Fleisse und begeisterter Liebe doch leider *philologisch* recht mangelhaft, ja in manchen Punkten geradezu unbrauchbar (ich habe das, als es erschien, in Schnorrs Archiv für Lit. gesch. schonend ausgeführt)<sup>2</sup> was einen freilich bei einem *Musiker*

<sup>1</sup> Het lied in de middeleeuwen (Leiden 1883).

<sup>2</sup> Wiederabgedruckt in den von Georg Berlit herausgegebenen 'Materialien zur Geschichte des deutschen Volkslieds.' Aus Universitätsvorlesungen von Rudolf Hildebrand. 1. Das ältere Volkslied. Leipzig 1900.

nicht Wunder nehmen kann; ich bin mit Böhme selbst gut bekannt, fast befreundet, habe ihm auch Stoff mit geliefert für sein Buch.

Herzlichsten Dank auch für Ihre Zeitschrift, es muss Ihnen doch Freude machen, wie da Ihre Lieblingswissenschaft nun sichtlich an Boden gewinnt im Vaterlande, dem sie ja dient. Dass man bei Ihnen im Ganzen so spät auf diese Studien kommt, hat das nicht *den* Grund, dass Sie *patriotisch* seit dem 16. Jahrh. ungleich befriedigter sein konnten, als wir Deutschen? Bei uns hat die patriotische Sorge und Angst um den Verfall des Vaterlandes die Blicke auf die eigene Vorzeit zurück gewendet und gewiesen, um sich dort Trost für das Elend der Gegenwart zu holen oder auch—von dort aus das fallende Vaterland *neu aufzubauen*. Sie kommen nun nachträglich auch auf diese Spuren, wie die Engländer und Franzosen, wenn auch *ohne* diese Angst und Sorge. Denn wenn Sie, liebster Freund, vor *uns* patriotische Angst haben, so ist mir das auch nach Ihren Ausführungen immer noch gänzlich unbegründet und fast unbegreiflich. Wir haben es einmal bei mir mit Hrn Luzac gründlich behandelt (es war zufällig ein *Schweizer* dabei, der mich aufs entschiedenste unterstützen konnte): Kein Mensch denkt bei uns im Ernste oder *träumt* auch nur von einer Gewalt, die wir den Niederlanden anthun wollten, *gerade so wenig als der Schweiz*. Der *germanische* Geist, zu dem Sie wie die Schweizer doch auch gehören, liebt und *braucht Freiheit* der eigensten Entwicklung, gerade entgegengesetzt dem französischen; schöne freie Mannigfaltigkeit nach aussen bei tief *innerer* Einheit ist das Wesen des germanischen Geistes. Und wenn Sie von so bestimmten anders gearteten Erfahrungen erzählen, so kann ich mir das *nur* erklären als *Neckerei* gegen Ihr Volk, die gerade im Rheinlande sich finden mag; denn ein *gegenseitiges* Necken von Holländern und Deutschen ist ja wohl Jahrhunderte alt am Niederrhein und wirft sich nun wohl auch auf diesen Punkt. Bitte, glauben Sie mir das, wir mirs damals Hr. Luzac wirklich glaubte, mir *und* dem Schweizer. Bismarcks beiläufige Äusserung darüber, die gerade damals bekannt wurde, ist Ihnen gewiss auch zu Ohren gekommen.

In alter Freundschaft und Liebe  
Ihr getreuer

R. HILDEBRAND

Wissen Sie übrigens, dass mich eben jetzt Bismarck mit einem *Orden* bedacht hat "für meine verdienstreiche Tätigkeit am Grimmschen Wörterbuche," wie es in der Zuschrift hiess? Ich war wie aus den Wolken gefallen, so wenig hatte ich ja an so etwas gedacht. Nun freut michs aber und ermuntert mich, denn ich habe öffentlich auch gar manche sehr ungünstige Behandlung meiner Arbeit am Wörterbuch verdauen müssen, und nun—lobt mich das Vaterland dafür.

23. (Postkarte)

Leipzig, 25. Oct. 1885.

*Verehrter lieber Freund und College,*

Den herzlichsten Dank für die übersandte gelehrte Arbeit Ihres Herrn Sohnes, mit der er sich nun die Ehren des philosophischen Doctorhutes der doch wohl auch bei Ihnen zu einer Redensart geworden ist) erobert hat, dazu hoffentlich für sich und für den Vater die Freude am Beginn einer schönen

Laufbahn, was ich Ihnen von Herzen wünsche. Bei uns ist es jetzt für junge Männer nicht leicht, in der Welt anzukommen, da in allen Fächern eine wahre Überfüllung herrscht, und ich habe da auch meine Vatersorgen mit meinen zwei Söhnen, die es doch an Fleiss nicht haben fehlen lassen. Eine *Kleinigkeit* von meiner Feder folgt anbei, es ist nur, dass Sie sehen, wie ich gern mit Gegengaben kommen *möchte* für die reichlichen Gaben, die mir von Ihnen kommen.

In alter Freundschaft

Ihr getreuer

R. HILDEBRAND.

24. (Postkarte)

Leipzig, 19. Mai 1887.

Lieber verehrter Freund, ich bin nicht wenig überrascht, aufs freudigste überrascht durch die Ehre, die mir da von Ihrer Akademie der Wiss. widerfährt;<sup>1</sup> wie freut es mich zugleich, auf diese Weise Ihnen und Ihren lieben Landsleuten geistig und auch äusserlich näher zu kommen. Da Sie, lieber Freund, doch ohne Zweifel den Anstoss dazu gegeben haben, bin ich Ihnen noch besonderen freundschaftlichen Dank schuldig. Ich habe den neuen Ehrennamen gleich noch in das neue Personalverzeichnis unserer Universität eintragen können. Ihre freundlichen Zusendungen<sup>2</sup> habe ich erhalten und danke herzlich. Haben Sie nicht auch von mir etwas erhalten? Die neue Auflage meiner Schrift über den deutschen Sprachunterricht? Ich darf übrigens dem Freunde doch nicht verschweigen, dass ich mit meinem Befinden noch mehr Noth habe als früher. Ihnen die beste Gesundheit wünschend

in alter Gesinnung

Ihr Getr.

R. HILDEBRAND.

<sup>1</sup> Ernennung zum auswärtigen Mitglied der kön. Niederl. Akademie der Wiss. in Amsterdam.

<sup>2</sup> In einem Schreiben von de Vries (21. Mai 86) heisst es u.a.: 'Vom Wb. werden Sie in diesen Tagen die neue Lieferung erhalten haben (von *Gelte* bis *Gemoedelyk*), wie ich die Ihrige (*Gemüt-Genug*) dankbarst erhielt. So haben wir uns denn einmal in *Gemüt* begegnet! Recht kennzeichnend für zwei Lexicographen, bei denen Übereinstimmung des Gemütes treue Freundschaft gewirkt hat. Aber welch ein Unterschied doch wieder in den beiden Worten, wie hat doch jedes Volk seine eigenen Anschauungen und Auffassungen der Begriffe. Eben dieses macht vielleicht die so sehr verschiedene Behandlungsweise der Artikel nothwendig. Jeder von uns hat die eigenthümlichen Bedürfnisse seiner Nation zu berücksichtigen. Im Geiste aber sind und bleiben wir einig, und es würde mich ganz sehr freuen, wenn wir noch einmal über dies Alles uns persönlich zu unterhalten die Gelegenheit hätten . . . '

25. (Postkarte)

Leipzig, 3 Aug. 87.

Mein lieber alter Freund und College—*recht spät* komme ich dazu, auf Ihre angenehme überraschende Karte aus Thüringen zu antworten. Ich war so gejagt von allerlei, dass ich, vollends bei der unerhörten Hitze, nur eben das Nothwendige thun konnte, hab aber viel an Sie gedacht und mit Behagen Sie mir näher gefühlt auf dem Boden meines lieben Thüringen, das mir ja neben

Sachsen eine zweite Heimat ist, Arnstadt meine zweite Vaterstadt (Vater und Frau waren mir aus Arnstadt, habe dort oft viel Schönstes verlebt bis in die Kindheit zurück). *Nun sollte ich Sie in Friedrichroda aufsuchen, freilich!* welche Freude wäre mir das! Aber ich muss doch darauf verzichten. Am Freitag gehen meine Amtsgeschäfte aus, dann muss ich meines Rheum. wegen ins Bad (Wolkenstein im sächsischen Erzgebirge) und etwa 3 Tage Reise zu Ihnen einzuschieben, ist mir leider nicht möglich, zumal ich sehr angegriffen bin. Sie glauben mir wohl, *wie leid mir das thut*. Ich dachte auch daran, Sie nach Leipzig einzuladen auf einen Sprung, das wird Ihnen aber auch nicht passen. Also lassen Sie sichs auf thüringischem Boden recht wohl ergehen—in treuer Frdsch.

Ihr

R. H.

26. (Postkarte)

Leipzig, 30. Dec. 1887.

Liebster Freund, schon lange hatte ich die Absicht Ihnen zu schreiben und komme nun doch erst vor Thorschluss des Jahres dazu, wobei ich denn *die besten Glückwünsche für das neue Jahr* zugleich aussprechen kann. Sie überraschten mich im Juli so angenehm mit der Karte aus Friedrichroda und ich musste auf Ihre Einladung mit einer Absage antworten. Sie glauben nicht, wie sauer mich das angien, auf die Freude zu verzichten, Sie endlich einmal wieder zu sehen. Aber ich war sehr leidend, und es ist jetzt eigentlich nicht besser. Namentlich die Augen sind in einem so angegriffenen Zustande (mit dem ganzen Kopfe), dass es mit dem Lesen und Schreiben aufhören will. Denken Sie, wie mir da zu Muthe ist. Von Arbeit am Wörterbuch ist keine Rede mehr, ich habe ihm meine Augen geopfert. Sie sind hoffentlich in der alten bewundernswerthen Frische, ich helfe mir vielleicht auch noch wieder auf. Auf alle Fälle seien Sie meiner alten treuen Anhänglichkeit versichert—

Ihr

R. HILDEBRAND.

27. (Postkarte)

Leipzig, 25. Dec. 1890.

*Verehrter lieber Freund,*

Etwas spät, aber aufs Herzlichste meine Theilnahme an dem schweren Verlust, der Sie betroffen hat.<sup>1</sup> Ich hatte länger nichts von Ihnen gehört, musste es nun das sein!

Ich war lange im Unsichern gewesen wegen Ihres Wohlergehens, da hatte ich die Freude, dass mir Dr. Kern Grüße von Ihnen brachte, freilich auch zugleich Nachricht von Leiden, die Sie heimsuchten. Ach, Freund, es geht mir in Wahrheit nicht anders. Ich bin, nach vollbrachtem, arbeitsvollem Leben, nun ein von Plagen heimgesuchter alter Mann, bin z.B. durch gichtige Leiden seit zwei Sommern schon vom Katheder ausgeschlossen und kann nur noch zu Hause lesen usw. Trotzdem suche ich meinen Muth möglichst aufrecht zu halten, und es glückt mir auch oft. Auch von Ihnen denke ich nur das, da ich Sie als eine Natur von seltener Lebensfrische kenne.

Auf alle Fälle bleibe ich Ihnen in treuer Freundschaft verbunden.

Ihr ergebener

R. HILDEBRAND.

<sup>1</sup> Tod der Gattin.

Ende

## REVIEWS AND NOTES

### **BRIEFE DER BRÜDER GRIMM VON GÜRTLER—LEITZMANN**, Jenaer Germanistische Forschungen, herausgegeben von A. Leitzman. I.

Wir besitzen Ausgaben der Briefe der Brüder Grimm mit G. F. Bennecke, mit Friedrich Lücke, mit dem Freiherrn von Meusebach, mit Dahlmann und Gervinus, mit nordischen Gelehrten, Briefe Jakobs an H. W. Tydeman, an F. D. Graeter, Briefe zwischen Jakob und Wilhelm aus der Jugendzeit, ferner private und amtliche Beziehungen der Brüder Grimm zu Hessen aus Briefen und Aktenstücken, dazu die beiden Arbeiten von R. Steig, dem Testamentsvollstrecker Hermann Grimms, "Goethe und die Brüder Grimm, Berlin, 1892," und "Brentano und die Brüder Grimm, Berlin 1914." Einen Auszug aus dem Briefwechsel zwischen den Brüdern Grimm und S. Hirzel veröffentlichte Matthias Lexer im Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum Band 16, 220 ff. (1890) und Bd. 17, 238 ff. (1891).

Eine Ergänzung des Briefwechsels der Brüder Grimm mit ihrem Verleger Samuel Hirzel, herausgegeben von Leitzmann, soll in der Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, Band 50, erscheinen. Derselbe Gelehrte ist von der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften mit der Herausgabe des Briefwechsels der Brüder Grimm mit Lachmann beauftragt worden. Zu diesen Werken gesellt sich nun als Ergänzung eine neue Sammlung von bisher unbekannten Briefen der Brüder Grimm, herausgegeben von Gürtler-Leitzmann.

Der Plan des vorliegenden im Verlage der Frommannschen Buchhandlung, Jena, erschienenen Buches ging von dem leider zu früh dahingeschiedenen jüngeren Germanisten Hans Gürtler aus, einem Schüler von Kluge und Baist, Freiburg. Seine Arbeiten über Probleme der Wort und Formengeschichte des Frühneuhochdeutschen, in Kluges Zeitschrift für Wortforschung meistens erschienen, gewährleisteten ihm die Anwartschaft auf eine akademische Laufbahn. Einen Ruf an die katholische Universität in Washington hatte der junge Gelehrte im Jahre 1911 abgelehnt. Dann kam der Krieg. Die letzten anderthalb Jahre des Weltkrieges stand er bei der deutschen Armee in Flandern. Während Gürtler sich auf seine Habilitation an der Universität Köln vorbereitete, traf ihn der Tod Ende Juni 1920.

In den letzten Jahren seines Lebens plante Gürtler eine möglichst vollständige Sammlung der bisher unbekannten zerstreuten Briefe der Brüder Grimm. Seine Sammlungen

hatten bereits reiches Material ergeben, als er durch Konrad Burdach davon erfuhr, dass Leitzmann von der Preussischen Akademie mit der Herausgabe der Hauptmasse der ungedruckten Briefe beauftragt sei, dem Briefwechsel der Brüder mit Lachmann. Die beiden Gelehrten einigten sich nun zu einem gemeinsamen Vorgehen und verabredeten fürs erste, drei Bände herauszugeben.

Der erste Band, der uns hier vorliegt, ist eine Sammlung der bis heute unbekannten Briefe der Brüder Grimm, der zweite sollte einen umfangreichen Auszug aus dem Briefwechsel der Brüder mit ihrem Bruder Ludwig, dem Maler und Radierer, bringen.

Ueber den letzteren ist soeben ein Buch erschienen, die früheren Werke von Kùgelgen und Ludwig Richter ergänzend, von Professor Stoll in Cassel unter dem Titel: Lebenserinnerungen an Ludwig Emil Grimm. In einer Anzeige dieses Buches, das mir bis dahin nicht zu Gesicht gekommen ist, von Louise Faubel in der in Chicago erscheinenden, von Singer begründeten Wochenschrift "Die Neue Zeit" vom. 7. Juni d. J., wird dasselbe sehr gelobt.

Ludwig war der jüngste der Brüder, der im Alter von 44 Jahren diese Aufzeichnungen begann, die ursprünglich nicht für die Oeffentlichkeit bestimmt waren, sondern nur dazu dienen sollten, um in der Tochter und den Enkeln den stark ausgeprägten Familiensinn wach zu halten. Das innige schlichte Familienleben des Brüderpaares wird in diesen Erinnerungen Ludwigs mit der Unmittelbarkeit des künstlerisch geschulten Auges wiedergespiegelt.

Der dritte Band der von Gürtler und Leitzmann geplanten Serie sollte, von Leitzmann angefertigt, ein vollständiges chronologisches Verzeichnis aller erreichbaren Briefe der Brüder Grimm bringen. Es ist sehr zu bedauern, dass der Briefwechsel der Brüder Grimm mit ihrem Lehrer und Freunde von Savigny, für den sie beide, ja die ganze Familie Grimm die allgerösste Verehrung hatten, immer noch von den Erben des letzteren vorenthalten wird. Um so erfreulicher ist es berichten zu können, dass kürzlich von Daffis ein Inventar der Grimmschränke in der preussischen Staatsbibliothek veröffentlicht worden ist, das ich aber leider auch noch nicht habe einsehen können.

Das fertige Manuskript für den ersten Band des von ihnen geplanten Grimmswerkes konnte Leitzmann noch von Gürtler selbst zugesandt werden. Leitzmann hatte nämlich die dornige Aufgabe übernommen für das von ihnen geplante Werk einen Verleger zu suchen zu einer Zeit, wo das deutsche Buchhändlergewerbe mit ungeahnten Schwierigkeiten zu kämpfen hatte. Es gelang Leitzmann den Inselverlag für ihre Publikation zu interessieren. Jedoch mit Rücksicht auf die prekäre Lage der

Buchhändler wurde einstweilen davon Abstand genommen, für das Erscheinen des Buches einen festen Termin festzulegen. Da bot sich gegen alles Erwarten Leitzmann die Gelegenheit, Dank der Grosszügigkeit der Frommannschen Buchhandlung in Jena in dieser schwierigen Zeit eine neue Sammlung von germanistischen Forschungen zu begründen, und der Inselverlag trat von seinem Recht und seiner Verpflichtung zurück.

Den ersten Band dieser Jenaer Germanistischen Forschungen bilden die von Gürtler und Leitzmann herausgegebenen Briefe der Brüder Grimm. Und besser hätten diese Forschungen wahrlich nicht eingeführt werden können. Denn, wie Leitzmann sich in dem Vorwort zu der Sammlung ausdrückt, "mag der unausbleibliche Fortschritt der wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnis und Methode auch manches von den Forschungen der Brüder beseitigt oder sonstwie modifiziert haben, in Einem sollen und werden uns Jakob und Wilhelm Grimm, die Väter der wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnis des germanischen Wesens und Werdens immer vorbildlich sein: in der glühenden persönlichen Hingabe an das Vaterland, in der selbstlosen Andacht zu dem Gegenstand ihrer Arbeit, in der tiefen Ergriffenheit von der heimlichen Gewalt vaterländischer Sprache und Dichtung."

Und was Jakob Grimm in der Selbstanzeige des 1. Bandes des von den Brüdern infolge ihrer Amtsentsetzung geplanten Deutschen Wörterbuchs sagt: "Auch zu euch, ihr ausgewanderten Deutschen über das salzige Meer gelangen wird das Buch und euch wehmütige, liebliche Gedanken an die Heimatsprache eingeben oder befestigen, mit der ihr zugleich unsere und eure Dichter hinüberzieht, wie die englischen und spanischen in Amerika ewig fortleben"—das packt auch uns beim Durchlesen dieser letzten Blütenlese der Briefe der Brüder Grimm.

Leitzmann sah sich genötigt, um den Preis des Buches für seine arm gewordenen Landsleute nicht allzusehr in die Höhe zu schrauben, Gürtlers Manuskript hier und da zu beschneiden. Ganz unbedeutende Briefe hat er schliesslich ganz fallen gelassen und von einer grösseren Anzahl bringt er nur Regesten und Auszüge. Ferner wurden alle Briefe der Brüder an Hirzel zurückgelegt für eine Sonderveröffentlichung in der Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie. Diese Briefe werden die seiner Zeit von Lexer nur mit Rücksicht auf das Deutsche Wörterbuch im Afdat. veröffentlichten Briefe ergänzen.

Das von Leitzmann für diesen ersten Band allein bearbeitete Register der Persönlichkeiten, (und was für eine erlauchte Gesellschaft von Gelehrten aus aller Herren Länder treffen wir hier!) die in den Briefen Erwähnung finden, sowie die chronologische Uebersichtstafel der Briefe machen das Buch besonders wertvoll und befriedigend.

Bei jedem Briefe ist angegeben, wo das Original sich befindet.

Dem Buche von Gürtler und Leitzmann liegen zwei Bilder der Brüder Grimm bei, Reproduktionen von Skizzen von Franz Krüger aus dem Besitz der Berliner Nationalgalerie, Berlin 1883. Sie werden allen willkommen sein, welche nur das Biowsche Doppelbild der Brüder kennen, wie es dem ersten Bande des Grimmschen Deutschen Wörterbuches beigegeben wurde. Jakob Grimm war selbst mit diesem Bilde nicht zufrieden. In einem Briefe an seinen Verleger Hirzel macht Jakob Grimm über dieses Bild die schalkhafte Bemerkung, Wilhelm sitze im Stuhl wie ein Kranker, während er selber das Ansehen eines herangerufenen Hausverwalters habe. Er meint, es wäre mehr nach seinem Sinne gewesen, wenn sie nicht zum ersten Bande gleich, sondern am Schlusse (?) des ganzen Werkes auf zwei Stühlen gerade neben einander sitzend aufgenommen und der Welt vorgestellt wären. Das hätte sich, meint er, ruhiger und natürlicher ausgenommen.

Die Briefe der Brüder Grimm in dieser letzten Sammlung sind alphabetisch geordnet. Zuerst kommen die Briefe Jakobs, dann die seines Bruders Wilhelm. Daran schliessen sich dann Regesten und Auszüge aus Briefen von Jakob und Wilhelm Grimm.

Jakobs Briefwechsel beginnt mit einem Briefe an Bettina von Arnim, geb. Brentano, aus dem Ende des Jahres 1846. Es wird darin Bezug genommen auf einen Brief des Erbgrössherzogs Karl von Weimar an Bettina vom Januar 1846, in welchem die Hilfe der Brüder für das grosse, von ihm angeregte Wartburgwerk, das auch eine Geschichte des Minnesangs enthalten sollte, in Aussicht genommen wird. Zugleich teilt der Herzog in diesem Briefe den Gedanken mit, ob es nicht möglich sein würde, die Brüder nach dem am 19. Dez. 1845 erfolgten Tode des Bibliothekars Riemer für die Weimarer Bibliothek zu gewinnen.

Das erinnert an die Berufung der Brüder Grimm an die Bibliothek und Universität in Göttingen, über die wir durch die kleine Schrift von Frensdorff: Jakob Grimm in Göttingen. Göttingen 1885: so hübsch unterrichtet sind. Man wartet hier nicht erst auf den Tod des alten Bibliothekars, denn man fürchtete, ein Mann von der Bedeutung und der Gelehrsamkeit Grimms möchte inzwischen anderswo hinberufen werden, sondern machte den alten Bibliothekar Reuss zum Oberbibliothekar, Benecke zum 1. Bibliothekar, Jakob Grimm zum 2. Bibliothekar mit dem Auftrage Vorlesungen an der Universität zu halten, und seinen Bruder Wilhelm, von dem er sich unter keinen Umständen trennen wollte, zum Unterbibliothekar. In unserer Briefsammlung von Gürtler-Leitzmann folgen nun sieben Briefe Jakob Grimms an Karl Bartsch, die Bezug nehmen auf die Veröffentlichungen von Bartsch auf dem Gebiete der germanischen wie der romanischen Philologie, und die uns einen

Einblick geben in die erstaunlichen Kenntnisse Jakobs. In dem 5. Briefe gratuliert er Bartsch, der bis dahin am Germanischen Museum in Nürnberg angestellt war, zu seiner Berufung als Professor an die Universität Rostock. "Es war gut," heisst es in diesem Briefe, "dass Sie die geringere Stellung zu Breslau nicht erhielten. Rostock ist eine nicht minder reiche Stadt und wird erwünschten Umgang bieten, man soll in Mecklenburg freilich zu grosse Gastereien halten."

Nun folgen auf 26 Druckseiten 19 Briefe an Friedrich Blume, 1831 Professor in Göttingen, 1833 Oberappellationsgerichtsrat in Lübeck, seit 1843 Professor in Bonn. In diesen Briefen, die von Gelehrsamkeit strotzen wie alle Briefe der Brüder und sich auf alle möglichen wissenschaftlichen Fragen des deutschen Rechts und der deutschen Sprache und Literatur beziehen, erhalten wir ein unendlich rührendes Bild von der Anhänglichkeit der Geschwister in der Grimmschen Familie.

Die Erkrankung der Schwester Lotte, verheiratet an den später als Reaktionär so berühmt und berüchtigt gewordenen Justizminister und Obertribunalrat Hassenpflug, zu der Wilhelms Frau Dortchen mit ihren drei Kindern von Göttingen nach Cassel zum Besuch reist, Lottes Krankheit, ihre Entbindung, darauf die Erkrankung Dortchens infolge von Ueberanstrengung und Nachtwachen, die Reisen der Brüder nach Cassel, als schlimme Nachrichten zu ihnen stossen, Lottes anscheinende Besserung, und endlich ihr jähes Ende werden hier in packender, herzerschütternder Weise geschildert. "Mit ihr," schreibt Jakob an seinen Freund Blume, "stirbt diese Art von Gesicht aus, wenn es nicht in den Kindern ihrer Kinder (die ihr alle nicht gleichen) einmal wieder vorkommt; sie selbst glich der seligen Mutter und auffallend deren Mutter, meiner mütterlichen Grossmutter."

Raummangel verbietet es mir, so gross die Versuchung, eingehender auf die einzelnen Briefe der Brüder einzugehen. Keine Berühmtheit auf dem Gebiete der englischen, nordischen, keltischen, deutschen, romanischen, indischen Philologie fehlt in dieser Sammlung von Briefen der Brüder Grimm. Ausser den Briefen an Blume, sind besonders zahlreich die an Ernst Wilhelm Förstemann (9), John Mitchell Kemble (14), Johann Smidt, Bürgermeister in Bremen (18), und an Julius Zacher (7). Ausserdem erwähne ich unter anderen die Namen von Sulpiz Boisseree, von der Hagen, Karl August Hahn, Hyazinth Holland, August Koberstein, F. Massmann, Otfried Müller, F. Rassmann, K. A. Reimer, Fr. Schlegel, Karl Simrock, F. G. Welcker, J. H. Wytttenbach, Kaspar Zeuss, Georg Benecke, Chr. Bunsen, Gustav Freytag, F. J. Mone, Ferd. Wolf, von der Gabelentz, F. A. Ebert, Th. Mommsen, Prinz Johann von Sachsen, den Uebersetzer von Dantes Göttlicher Komödie. Aus einem Briefe Wilhelm Grimms an den Buchhändler Johann

Georg Zimmer in Heidelberg möchte ich nur das folgende citieren, das ein treffliches Licht wirft auf das ideale Verhältnis, wie es in jener Zeit zwischen Herausgeber und Verleger bestand.

Wilhelm macht Zimmer in dem Briefe darauf aufmerksam, dass das "Museum für altdeutsche Literatur und Kunst von F. H. von der Hagen, Berlin 1809-11, durch dessen Versetzung und aus anderen Gründen eingegangen sei, die Brüder aber geneigt wären ein ähnliches wissenschaftliches Journal, vielleicht unter dem Titel: Altdeutsche Wälder herauszugeben. "Da wir wissen (der Brief ist datiert Kassel, 20. März 1812, also aus Deutschlands trübster Zeit, woraus die Gegenwart Hoffnung schöpfen möge), dass der Buchhandel jetzt schlimme Zeiten hat, ferner da wir einem redlichen Mann gegenüber stehen, so wollten wir fürs erste gar kein Honorar, und Sie trügen bloss die Druckkosten. Wir wollen dann erst eins nehmen, wenn Sie selbst erklären, dass Sie es geben können.

Sollte ein Krieg ausbrechen, so wären erst ruhige Zeiten abzuwarten, wenn er den Buchhandel stören könnte."

Dank gebührt den Herausgebern für die herrliche Sammlung der Briefe der Brüder Grimm, die mit der Jugendgeschichte der germanischen Philologie so enge verbunden sind. Dank gebührt neben den Herausgebern dieser neuen Sammlung von Briefen der Brüder Grimm aber auch dem Verleger, Herrn Walter Biedermann, dass er in dieser für den deutschen Buchhandel so ungeheuer schwierigen Zeit den Mut gehabt hat, dieser neuen Sammlung gelehrter Forschungen seine Unterstützung zu gewähren.

Die deutschen Gelehrten haben alle Ursache auf diese seltene Erscheinung, die aufopfernde Teilnahme der deutschen Buchhändler an den Arbeiten der deutschen gelehrten Welt, stolz zu sein.

Geist und Methode echter Forschung, wie sie sich in den Brüdern Grimm verkörpert, dürfen unter solchen Bedingungen sicher darauf hoffen, den deutschen Universitäten erhalten zu bleiben trotz alledem und alledem, und nun erst recht.

ERNST VOSS

University of Wisconsin  
July 2, 1924

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THE EVOLUTION OF ARTHURIAN ROMANCE FROM  
THE BEGINNINGS DOWN TO THE YEAR 1300.  
By James Douglas Bruce. *Hesperia*, Ergänzungsreihe, vol.  
VIII. Baltimore and Göttingen: 1923.

No American reviewer can help being proud of this monument of American scholarship, this extraordinarily complete survey of Arthurian romance. It is a book long needed, destined long to be useful, the labor of a conscientious and devoted

scholar. I should like to testify on behalf of my wife, Gertrude Schoepperle, and myself to Prof. Bruce's cordial appreciation of younger workers and his readiness to give liberally counsel and assistance. It is fortunate for medieval scholarship that death did not overtake him till he had completed his great work.

The book's merits are obvious. It provides a general review of the origins and growth of the various branches of Arthurian romance, synopses of many of the romances, and an almost exhaustive bibliography; where there is a difference of opinion, we are at least made aware that it exists, and can sift the evidence for ourselves. With regret I must say that the evidence on the extent to which Celtic and oral tradition contributed to Arthurian romance, leads me to different conclusions from those set forth by Bruce.

For the most part the anti-Celtists have confined themselves to a negative criticism, and have been able by use of the argument *ex silentio*—a treacherous weapon—and an exposure of the weaknesses of their opponents to make a powerful impression. But when they have offered positive suggestions, as when Foerster proclaimed the Matron of Ephesus story the germ of *Ivain*, or when Faral suggested that the Italian name Artusius derived from Hartewic rather than Artus, they have been as fantastic as the Celtists at their wildest. I was myself skeptical of Otherworld explanations and Fairy Mistress themes until I began to read a little of the Irish and Welsh romances to find out what they were driving at. Bruce, who knew the intricacies of the great palace of French romance as few have ever done, never seems to have explored its substructure in Gallic, Irish, or Welsh myth. Or at least, it was for him a meaningless and obscure labyrinth. On p. 47 he remarks of the *Mabinogion*: "In reading them one cannot but be reminded of the proverbial saying that 'A Kymro has imagination enough for fifty poets without judgment enough for one.'" It is clear that Welsh story-telling is for him a mild form of lunacy. Matthew Arnold, amateur though he was, divined far more surely the nature of the material. On p. 43 Bruce says of the *Harryings of Hades*: "To the uninitiated such a piece as this would not convey much information"; and seemingly it means nothing to him. Certainly he suspects no connection with Arthurian romance. Scholars to whom Welsh literature is incomprehensible are obviously not the ones best qualified to pronounce on the question of Celtic origins.

Let me briefly set forth the considerations which seem to have led many noted scholars to minimize the Celtic influence. If, as most Celtists maintain, the immediate sources of the romances are Welsh, obviously there is an enormous gulf between the pure Welsh traditions preserved in *Kilhwch*, *Rhonabwy*, *Branwen*, *Math*, etc. and the Arthurian romances.

If Welsh or Irish legend is throughout the source of French Arthurian romance, there ought to be such a correspondence as we find occasionally between *Gawain and the Green Knight* and *Brícríu's Feast*. The fact that such a correspondence is rare proves to the anti-Celtist that only to a small degree does romance rest upon Celtic tradition. The answer is twofold. In the first place, it can be demonstrated, in fact, I hope to demonstrate, that French romance largely derives from stages in the development of Irish and Welsh romance earlier than those that have survived; that the *Mabinogion* and the Irish sagas are cognates, not sources, cousins, not ancestors of the French and English romances. The beheading game in *Gawain and the Green Knight* and in *Perlesvaus*, for instance, has preserved demonstrably primitive traits which have disappeared from the Irish "Champion's Bargain." It was inevitable that the Celtic stories and their French cognates, developing for at least a century or two in different milieus, should have grown apart, and lost their family likeness. In the second place, I am so far with the anti-Celtists that I believe that Breton *conteurs* had far more to do with the shaping of French romance than is recognized by most Celtists. Speaking French themselves, they carried out through at least a hundred years an elaborate process of harmonizing, rationalizing, Christianizing, and adapting to French courtly taste the colorful but pagan and largely incomprehensible stories of their kinsmen across the water. I go so far as to believe that all French romance and its derivatives in England and the Continent have passed through Brittany. The Arthurian materials of Geoffrey of Monmouth, of Giraldus Cambrensis, and of Layamon are Breton: the names prove it. Naturally, they have lost much of their original appearance and do not closely resemble the traditions of the triads or the *Mabinogion*. The argument of the anti-Celtists is exactly on a par with the missing link challenge of the anti-Darwinians. It has never had any more validity. And just as the scientists have met the challenge by producing several missing links, it is now possible for the Celtists to produce at least one.

The Modena sculpture which Bruce discusses in vol. I, 14-7, is based on a Breton *conte*, which by singular good fortune we can assign to the winter of 1096-7 when the Duke of Brittany and several of his chief nobles spent four months at Bari on their way to the First Crusade. The sculptor, as Professor Porter demonstrated, came from Bari and began work at Modena between 1099 and 1106. As I have shown in articles to appear in *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoeppeler Loomis* and in the *Romanic Review*, the sculpture represents one of the Breton versions of the abduction of Guinevere and links it on the one hand to Irish myths of the abduction of Blathnat

and of the slaughter of three lords of the Other World, and on the other to cognate romances of the abduction of Guinevere in *Durmart le Gallois* and the abduction of Gawain by Carado of the Dolorous Tower in the *Prose Lancelot*. The names carved over the Arthurian figures are in almost every case link-forms. Isdernus links Edern to Ider; Artus is already the regular French form for Arthur; Burmaltus links Irish *bachlach* to Brumal, Brulan, Garlan, Brunout, Brumant, and is itself a cognate of Bercilak (the Green Knight)<sup>1</sup> and Bertolais. Winlogée links the Breton name Winlowen (doubtless substituted for the Welsh Gwenhwyvar) to Guinioie. Mardoc links Medrot to Malduc and Maduc. Carrado links a Gware Don to Carado, Caracado, etc. Galvagus links Gwalltavwyn, epithet of Gwrvan, to Galvain. Galvariun links Gwallteyrn, epithet of Gwri, to Galeschin (a manuscript corruption). If some of these derivations seem hazardous, I ask only for a careful reading of the case which I shall present in my article in the *Romanic Review* and my forthcoming book. Yet Bruce could say that these names "suggest an Arthurian romance of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century!"

It will be observed that if my interpretation of the sculpture is correct—and I can point to certain distinguished Arthurian scholars who have accepted it—then Arthurian romance on the Continent was already highly developed by the end of the eleventh century, and it already contained episodes and names which apparently were not reduced to writing till they were incorporated in the so-called late romances, those of the thirteenth century.

Discrediting all signs of a flourishing Arthuriad at the end of the eleventh century, Bruce naturally tends to exaggerate the originality and influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth. (p. 20) The Rev. Acton Griscom, who is preparing a diplomatic edition of the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, informs me that in his opinion Geoffrey's source, the very ancient book in the British language, not only existed but also supplied most of the material. As for the influence of Geoffrey, it was no doubt great in learned circles. But I believe a case could be made out for the contention that the popularity of the oral Arthurian tradition did as much "to boost Geoffrey's sales," as we should say, as he did to give prestige to the romances.

Bruce's discussion of Breton *lais* (pp. 52-66) has been largely influenced by the ingenious but unsound arguments of M. Foulet. At the beginning he admits a living oral tradition, but on p. 62 he agrees with Foulet that Marie's references to an oral source is a meaningless mannerism. But the only reason he sets forth is the fact that the forms she gives to Breton words

<sup>1</sup> *Mainly Anniversary Studies*, 12.

show that she did not know Breton. Granted; but who supposes that the Bretons whose tales are so familiar to Wace and William of Malmesbury spoke in Breton? Of course, they spoke in French. It was this fact that made them the great propagators of Arthurian romance. "Bisclavret" and "Laustic" are forms which, far from showing that Marie depended on written sources, make it pretty clear that she picked up these Breton titles by ear. Equally unconvincing is the exclusion from the category of *lais bretons* of any material which does not fit Bruce's preconceptions. Does not *Sir Orfeo* prove that the Celtic story tellers used material from any source and adapted it to their purposes?<sup>2</sup> What would a Breton jongleur have replied if a professor told him that he could not make a *lai* or tell a *conte* on a certain theme because it did not fit the official definition? When Renard disguises himself as one of these jongleurs, is he burlesquing a phantom, a literary convention, as Bruce would say?<sup>3</sup> Or is he taking off a flesh and blood type, whose smattering of English demonstrates his frequent sojourns in that hospitable country? Only by denying the existence of these singers in the latter half of the twelfth century can one maintain that not only did Marie invent the *lai* in French rhyme but that all other *lais* preserved are a mere warming over of her work.

It is when we come to Chrétien, however, that the Foersterian notion that a few geniuses created Arthurian romance out of insignificant floating motes of Celtic tradition, and that after Chrétien, Wauchier, and Robert de Borron there is nothing but a conscious working over of these written sources, comes out in its absurdity. In the first place, this theory contradicts the statements of Chrétien himself regarding his work. Next, it is impossible to reconcile with the numerous cases produced by Brown, Piquet, Miss Williams, Zenker, etc. where two or more supposed derivatives from Chrétien agree against their source. Bruce tries to explain these all away, but he might better have adopted the explanation, dear to the anti-Darwinians, that God put the evidence there to lead the Celtists into temptation. For the evidence remains. In the next place, Bruce seriously proposes (pp. 113-20) that *Cliges* is a typical product of Chrétien's and that if he is there obviously bringing together scattered materials to make of them a well-considered pattern, he must be doing the same elsewhere. If this well-considered pattern can be detected in the incidents of *Charelle*, for example, I must confess to utter blindness. I can see only an almost hopeless patchwork of conflicting traditions concerning the same central theme, which a generation of *conteurs* has stitched together to furnish entertainment for a long winter's evening.

<sup>2</sup> *American Journal of Philology*, VII, 176 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Roman de Renart*, ed. E. Martin, I, 66 f.

My estimate of Chrétien is far too high to lay the responsibility for such a botch at his door. And I must confess that to me the view of Foerster and Bruce that the German *Lanzelet* is based on the *Charette* (pp. 211-15), or that *Sir Percypelle* is based on the *Conte del Graal*, (pp. 309-12) is utterly incredible. The very names in *Lanzelet* make the supposition impossible. Malduc derives from Medrot through the form Mardoc found on the Modena sculpture, while Falerin is simply Breton Fale-ris, King of Falga, the Irish lord of the Other World. Neither of these names is mentioned in the *Charette*. Yet both obviously spring from authentic and ancient tradition.

In the seemingly endless *Mabinogion* controversy (I, 342-7, II, 59-74), Bruce again adopts the view of Foerster. Far abler scholars than I have developed at length the objections to this view, but the explanation of the name Morgan Tud applied to Morgan le Fay in *Geraint* alone satisfies me that both *Geraint* and *Erec* had a common source in the vast and varied stock of Bretonized *contes*. In my forthcoming book I hope to prove that Morgan le Fay is no other than Welsh Modron, the water goddess Matróna of the Celts. The Bretons substituted the more familiar male name Morgan and added the epithet "Tuth," which as Loth showed<sup>4</sup> means "génie malfaisant, ou bienfaisant." Usually the *conteurs* translated this epithet correctly as "la Fée" and kept clear Morgan's femininity. But the Breton source of *Geraint*, preserving the form "Tud," fell into the hands of a Welshman, who naturally did not connect Morgan with Modron, who was quite sure that Morgan was a man's name, and who accordingly made Morgan Tud a male physician. At any rate Miss Paton showed decisively<sup>5</sup> that *Geraint* cannot be based on *Erec*, for in this passage *Erec* gives no hint of "la Fée" or "Tud." All the arguments of those who believe Chrétien the source of the *Mabinogion* stories are negative. There is not a single positive argument to show that Chrétien, not a Breton *conte*, lies behind the Welsh tales.

The three theories of the Grail,—Celtic, Ritual, and Christian,—all seem to me true, but in inverse degree to that proposed by Bruce (pp. 219-89). If the Grail began as the cup of the last supper, is it not bewildering that in *Peredur*, which represents an early Breton *conte*, the Grail is not a cup and is not Christian? Chrétien, the next in time, gives only a most timorous hint of association with the mass. Furthermore, the objects usually carried in the Grail processions,—a lance, a sword, and a cup or platter, and in *Parzival* and *Diu Crone* a stone,—correspond to the four treasures of the Tuatha De Danann.<sup>6</sup> Bruce's objection that these treasures are not found in MSS. earlier than the

<sup>4</sup> *Revue Celtique*, XIII, 497.

<sup>5</sup> L. Paton, *Studies in the Fairy Mythology*, 263.

<sup>6</sup> *P. M. L. A.*, XXV, 37 f.

seventeenth century is not only mistaken, since Brown has discovered them in a MS. of the 15th century, but it also reveals his unfamiliarity with a commonplace for Irish scholars—the tenacity of tradition. The Byzantine mass, which Bruce believes was the original of the Grail procession, (p. 258) possesses neither sword nor stone. Furthermore, the names of all the Grail heroes and of most of the Grail kings, as I hope to prove elsewhere, are Celtic in origin. Finally, Irish literature provides a fundamental situation similar to that of the Grail test. In *Bricriu's Feast*<sup>7</sup> we have the same fundamental conception of the testing of three heroes in succession in a revolving castle, and one of the tests, enduring a shower of missiles by night followed by an attack by a monster, is identical for the Irish heroes and for Gawain and Bors. We know that this revolving castle belonged to Curoi, possessor of a magic sword, of the beautiful maiden Blathnat, and of a caldron of plenty. I challenge the upholders of the Christian theory to produce any situation similar to the tests in the Grail castle in connection with the Byzantine mass.

Other primitive tests which I am certain belong to the original Grail tradition are the welding of the sword, the healing of the Maimed King, and the restoration of the Wasted Land. They were all variant forms of a fundamental seasonal myth which can still be clearly detected both in the Irish and French romances. The question test, however, seems to fall in with Miss Weston's ritual theory. At the time when the Grail story was forming in Ireland and Wales, before 1000, pagan cults still lived on, and the blending of myth with ritual was natural enough.

The third element, the Christian interpretation, obviously did not begin with Chrétien. It probably began before and must have been a spontaneous development at various times and places. Pauphilet has shown with exquisite precision how a Cistercian monk developed a particular Breton *conte* into a scheme of salvation.<sup>8</sup> Nitze, too, has shown that another Breton *conte* which formed the basis for the *Perlesvaus* was developed under the influence of Glastonbury.<sup>9</sup> The fact that demonstrably primitive features can be found independently in these and other Grail stories reduces the theory that they all derived from Chrétien and his continuators to the status of a Teutonic myth.

In dealing with the Tristan story, (pp. 152-91) Bruce might well have repeated his anti-Celtic formulae: the Welsh stories of Drystan are totally different from the French; the black and

<sup>7</sup> Ed. G. Henderson, 101-13.

<sup>8</sup> A. Pauphilet, *Études sur la Queste del Saint Graal*.

<sup>9</sup> *M. Ph.* I, 247, XVII, 151, 605; (University of North Carolina) *Studies in Philology*, XV, 7.

white sails show classic influence; many folklore themes common to all races abound; the Celtic parallels are not found all in one place; the geography is far from precise; Gurmun is stolen from Geoffrey of Monmouth; the name Mark is that of a prominent figure in the Bible. Obviously, he might have concluded, there is nothing essentially Celtic here; it is all a concoction of some French author of the second half of the twelfth century. Unfortunately for these favorite arguments of the anti-Celtists, Miss Schoepperle had collected from the Irish such a striking array of parallels both for fundamental conception and detail that Bruce perceived the inadequacy of his armory and gracefully yielded the position.

In connection with Tristan one naturally is concerned with the problem of Breri or Bleheris. Bruce, of course, rejects him at once, presumably because his name is Welsh, and on page 285 makes the grossly inaccurate statement that Brugger "is the only scholar besides Miss Weston who has accepted this Bleheris as a real person." Besides several Welsh scholars, beginning with Rhys, who have accepted him, one may mention Loth, Levi, Singer, and Nitze.<sup>10</sup> In M.L.N., August 1924, I have tried to prove that not only did he exist but also he must be reckoned a figure of primary importance in the history of Arthurian romance. For it is at least plausible that he more than anyone else aroused in Eleanor of Poitou a taste for the *Matière de Bretagne*, in particular for the Tristan story. I do not mean, of course, that Bleheris' version was ever written down, and was versified by Thomas. Thomas simply drew upon oral traditions which, rightly or not, claimed to derive from Bleheris. The scornfully rejected ascription of the *Prose Lancelot* to Map, (p. 368-71) if true, means only that he made a compilation of the best Lancelot traditions. The writers of the colophons never dreamed that scholars would ever take their words in any other sense. And perhaps in that sense they may be true for a considerable part of the *Lancelot* proper.

The prose romances form too complex a subject for detailed discussion, and I am not competent to undertake it. But I must challenge the assumption which Bruce shares with not a few influential scholars that the prose romances are nothing more than a vast rehash, more or less artistic, of materials taken from a very limited number of poems most of which have come down to us. The further assumption that any poem composed after 1200 contains no traditional elements not derived through some other poem written down before that date seems to me equally preposterous. Too many scholars today, if a work is "late," damn it at once as a pastiche. Bruce and Lot bewail in

<sup>10</sup> J. Loth, *Mabinogion*, ed. 2, I, 74 f; E. Levi, *I lais bretonni e la leggenda di Tristano* (extract from *Studi Romanzi*, XIV), 69 f; *Abhandlungen d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, ph. hist. kl., No. 13, p. 10.

the author of the *Prose Lancelot*, a man of genius, a tendency to repeat the same situations over and over again. Is not the explanation perfectly simple? The author is weaving together, with more or less harmonizing and heightening, tale after tale from the inexhaustible store of *contes bretons*. Repetitions were inevitable. Cross and Miss Schoepperle have shown that features in Malory's account of the death of Arthur repose on Celtic motifs found in the story of Fraich.<sup>11</sup> The Modena portal shows that both the *Prose Lancelot* and *Durmart* contain traditional tales over a hundred years old. I am convinced that a study of the names will confirm up to the hilt the supposition that multitudes of episodes supposed to be due to the personal caprice of the author are traditionally justified; for instance, the fact that Bors is simply a double of Lancelot.

It is a cause for profound regret that Bruce had nothing of the understanding of things Celtic which Rhys possessed, and little of the sound intuitions of Miss Weston. Of course, Miss Weston is not infallible, but when it comes to understanding the mind of a story teller or of imagining what would happen to a tale passed for a hundred years from mouth to mouth, she has an infinitely surer feeling than Bruce. As for Rhys, who unfortunately accepted too blindly the mythological system of Max Müller and who printed even the most hazardous of guesses along with sober judgments, Bruce can see only the weaknesses. But I venture the prediction that twenty five years hence, in spite of Rhys's many errors, his view of the meaning and origin of the French Arthurian romances will have definitely prevailed over the opinion of Bruce that they are late in origin and never had any meaning. But Bruce's work will have contributed after all to the purposes of truth, for it has gathered the materials which some day will serve as the foundations of a far more comprehending and significant book.

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I herewith append a few corrections of detail. On pp. 152-5 and II, 56, Bruce gives the impression that Miss Schoepperle's *estoire* is to be identified with "a single primitive Tristan romance from which all extant versions are ultimately derived." On pp. 9 and 115 of her book she expressly disavows so broad a claim. My assertion that the Chertsey tiles were the earliest extant illustration of the Tristan story, repeated by Bruce on p. 164, was made before I learned of Forrer's casket. The Icelandic saga edited by Brynjulfsson is wrongly identified by Bruce on p. 162 with Brother Robert's saga edited by Kölbing. See H. G. Leach, *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia*, 184, 398. Bruce's remarks on the Welsh *Ystoria Tristan* on p. 181 reveal his characteristic aversion to mythological traits and to early

<sup>11</sup> *Mainly Anniversary Studies*, 284. *Vassar Medieval Studies*, 19.

dating of anything. On p. 191 he makes "Tristan qui onques ne rist" a separate character from the lover of Isolt. I see no reason why this distinction, made in the later romances, should be regarded as anything else than a misunderstanding of a phrase in *Erec*, so aptly descriptive of that supreme tragic figure. Bruce's flat statement on p. 77 that the exhumation of Arthur took place at Glastonbury in 1191 rests so far as I know on Newell's argument in P.M.L.A., XVIII, 506 note 2: Giraldus could have been shown over Glastonbury by Abbot Henry only in the year 1191. "Abbot Henry (appointed in 1189) died in 1193. During the same year Giraldus who had previously been resident in Wales, went to Paris, and remained abroad for six years; so that he could have been shown the grave by Henry only in the year 1191." This seems to me a palpable *non sequitur*. On p. 35, vol. II, Bruce excludes *Arthur and Gorlagon* from consideration because it is a Welsh folktale: I venture the assertion that it is as romantic and as Breton as the *lais* and the other Latin romances.

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**VERSCHMELZUNG LEGENDARISCHER UND WELTLICHER MOTIVE IN DER POESIE DES MITTELALTERS.** B. Dr. H. Sparnaay. Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1922.

The author wants to point out the frequent combination of purely legendary and novelistic motifs in works of mediaeval fiction and to examine these mixed products (p. 3). He assumes the existence of a fairly extensive fund of international legendary and fairy tale motifs which was freely drawn upon by writers of romance (p. 155). Mixed products of the type indicated are the Gregory Legend (p. 11), the Grail Legend (p. 57), the stories of the *Arme Heinrich* (p. 118), of William of England (p. 125), and of the Knight of the Swan (p. 135).

The existence of such a fund of motifs is doubtless to be granted; in 1903 F. Panzer came to the same conclusion (*Hildegudrun*, p. 266). In some details one may not accept the author's views without reservation, and a brief discussion will therefore not be out of place.

Rejecting the supposition of Littré, Gröber, Voretzsch, and others that the Gregory Legend existed as early as the middle of the twelfth or even the eleventh century, Dr. Sparnaay shows (I think successfully) that the version of the *Gesta Romanorum* does not represent an earlier stage (pp. 14 ff.). He points out that the non-legendary elements are also found, in the same combination, in the *poesie courtoise*. Since the Arthurian and adventure romances which contain these motifs (the exposing of the child and the liberation of the mother by her son) are

known to have existed at an earlier date than the extant versions of the Gregory Legend the author contends that the latter was originally an Arthurian romance out of which a rather ignorant but gifted cleric created the legend in its present form toward the end of the twelfth century.

Admitting (as the author does) that the Oedipus Legend was fairly well known in twelfth century France, it may be questioned whether it is not more logical to use as a starting point the classical myth as found in Latin compilations rather than Arthurian material. The principal differences between the Oedipus story and the Gregory Legend are (1) the omission of the oracle (2) the addition of the incest of brother and sister, and (3) the substitution of an enemy host for the Sphinx. The exposing of the child on the water is found in Hyginus. In a Christian country the oracle is apt to take the form of the prophecy of a seer, a norn, or a wizard. The ancient fatalism of the Oedipus story was too crude; a reason had to be found for the hero's suffering; hence the invention of the additional incest which would explain the riddle by the dogma of hereditary sin. Finally, the substitution of an armed host for the Sphinx was but natural in a non-classical country. The motif of the liberation of a princess is a commonplace not peculiar to Arthurian romance but found in many märchen types. Nor is the combination of the themes of the exposed child and the son liberating his mother peculiar to Arthurian material. It probably originated with twin legends (cf. the story of Antiope) and occurs in a number of tales not belonging to Arthurian literature. It is probably not so much the motifs as the literary method, the arrangement of the material, and the style which show most the influence of courtly literature.

In the Grail Legend the author considers the Christian and theological elements as an integral part of the original legend. I cannot share this view. The Christian material as it appears in Robert de Boron and the later romances is but an *Interpretatio christiana* of pagan Celtic material, though it may be of a fairly early date. For the author's thesis this point is then of minor importance, as the combination of ecclesiastical and fairy tale elements is undeniable.

On pp. 119 f. Dr. Sparnaay shows that the story of Albertus as preserved in the Breslau MS. represents a later form than Hartmann's *Armer Heinrich*. The combination of the legend (related to the story of Amicus and Amelius and the Two Pilgrims of Compostella) with more secular motifs is evident. In the *Chevalier du Cygne* the introduction of religious motifs dates from its (late) connection with the Grail.

The print is carefully done and practically free from errors. On p. 23 the reading should be *Volksbuches*, on p. 41 *doute*.

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**A STUDY OF THE THAIS LEGEND, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HROTHSVITHA'S "PAPHNUTIUS".**

By Oswald Robert Kuehne: University of Pennsylvania Dissertation. Philadelphia, 1922. 117 p.

This is a carefully done piece of work which aims at securing a more general recognition for Hrothsvitha's part in perpetuating the Thais legend than has hitherto been accorded her, even in the elaborate work upon the legend by Nau in the *Annales du Musée Guimet* for 1903, a study to which the author is otherwise much indebted, especially in the earlier part of his dissertation. This consists essentially of a brief archaeological introduction upon the discovery of what purport to have been the actual mummies of Thais and Serapion (the original name unquestionably of the monk who wrought the work of conversion), followed by translations of the early Greek, Syriac (this latter from Budge in *The Paradise of the Fathers*, I, 140 ff.), and Latin sources. Then comes a translation of the *Paphnutius*, followed by specimens of the legend as it took form in mediaeval France. The last chapter treats in ever descending scale of the novel by Anatole France, the opera by Massenet (the wretched libretto was due to Louis Gallet), the drama by Wilstach, and finally the Motion Picture;—the lowest style of modern vulgarization, the syndicated Sunday "Comics," seems to have been spared us as yet. After these last few paragraphs one experiences the unusual sensation of finding the perusal of a couple of pages of well-made bibliography even aesthetically satisfying.

The principal intention, to emphasize Hrothsvitha's part in the transmission of the legend, is achieved, but despite the well known fact that Anatole France was acquainted with her work and admired it also in a way, I cannot but feel that her direct influence, despite her extraordinary boldness and talent, has been very slight. Certainly the claim that France "got his suggestion for the philosophic and religious symposium from the scholastic discussion of music at the beginning of Hrothsvitha's comedy" (p. 99) is forced and improbable; while the only other specific point in which imitation is suggested (p. 100), that namely of the introduction of an abbe for the convent in which Thais was interned, is so necessary and obvious a device for anyone who is going to expand the tale beyond the one or two pages which it had hitherto occupied, as to be of practically no consequence.

Students of the history of literary themes should be grateful for this systematic presentation of well translated documents, and it is a pleasure in these days when it seems to be increasingly difficult to maintain standards for our higher degress, to see a young scholar appear with an adequate philological and linguistic equipment for research.

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**A LIFE OF SHAKESPEARE.** By J. Q. Adams. Houghton, Mifflin, and Co. Boston: 1923.

A life of Shakespeare, says Professor Adams in his Preface, "should be attempted only by one who has made a detailed study of the social, the literary, and, above all, the theatrical history of the Elizabethan age. For many of the incidental and miscellaneous data we possess regarding Shakespeare in themselves carry little significance, yet may at any time become pregnant with meaning when correlated with facts derived from other sources. . . . When, however, the scattered parts have been truly illuminated, and rightly pieced out, and then assembled—like the members of a jig-saw puzzle—in their proper order, the resultant picture should be clear and, at least in the main, self-evidently correct." In thus stating the principles according to which he has worked, Professor Adams is carrying on the tradition of Shakespearean scholarship, which has established almost as law that not only must the main thread of personal narrative be followed in the fullest possible detail, but also the poet's environment must be built up out of the countless memorials of the times. The first of these duties is fairly easy to fulfill; but the second demands wide scholarship and a clear head, possessions with which scholars are not always blessed, and it is here that weaker spirits have not infrequently run wild. Now one of the most satisfying things about Professor Adams' book is the wise use he has made of collateral illustration, a use that is liberal but discriminating, so that he has for the most part avoided repetition and attained that illumination which is his object. If occasionally he has yielded to a temptation that should be regarded as well nigh irresistible under the circumstances, it is to so slight a degree that in pointing out a few cases, as I shall do later, I feel that I am cavilling. Therefore I have no hesitation in assuring Professor Adams that his picture is "clear and, at least in the main, self-evidently correct," and I take pleasure in adding to his own modest description that it is a picture of rare interest.

Throughout that part of his book which deals with the legend-haunted youth of Shakespeare, Professor Adams is admirably prudent where prudence is so much needed. Thus he makes short work of such stories as the deer stealing adventure and the flight to London with a strolling band of players. But his most notable work in this part of the life is expended on the poet's marriage, the good name of which he defends chivalrously and, so far as the state of ignorance will permit him, effectively. Considering that whatever we know about Shakespeare is to his credit and that whatever is not to his credit is not known but only surmised, this charitable bias seems to me eminently right. Therefore I am in cordial agreement with the pains that Professor Adams has taken to prove that there is no evidence of

unhappiness in Shakespeare's marriage, but that on the contrary such evidence as we have points in the opposite direction.

The period between the marriage and the departure for London, Professor Adams believes, was filled by a few years of school-teaching near Stratford, not quite a new theory, but one certainly dressed with more persuasion than it ever had before. The passage to London is placed at a little before 1592. Professor Adams is particularly happy in the circumstantial and plausible way in which he builds up the poet's early years there. On grounds of insufficient evidence one may reject his conviction that Shakespeare moved his family to London and kept them there at his residence in St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, until 1596, but otherwise his treatment of this part of the poet's life seems to me the best that has yet appeared.

From now on Professor Adams is in the midst of material with which he is more at home than almost anyone now living—the records and literature of the Elizabethan theatre—and which he handles with the discretion of mastery. To make a selection for special comment among the innumerable niceties of argument with which he deals would be unwise in a review of this length; suffice it to say that throughout, with almost no exception, his method is sound. After following the history of Shakespeare to the ultimate descendants, he closes his account with four bibliographical chapters digesting the latest and most interesting contributions of scholarship. Here it should be noted that he virtually accepts—I say virtually because he does not seem actually to commit himself—the identification of the famous three pages of the *Sir Thomas More* manuscript with the handwriting of Shakespeare. The book closes with a discussion of the First Folio, but without any review or critical summary.

Thus he has carried through with admirable judgment a task beset with difficulties. Inasmuch as I have praised his book highly as an example of prudent scholarship, I may be permitted now to point out a few places where, it seems to me, he relaxes his vigilance and slips a little toward the pitfalls of overdocumentation which yawn on all sides about the Shakespearean biographer. When Professor Adams has brought Shakespeare to the point of breaking into the London world, he pauses in his narrative to give us a chapter on the English theatre which he calls "The Rise of Professionalism in Drama." This is well and good. But at the time I read it I was puzzled to see, and have not yet come to see, why it is necessary to begin this expository sketch with the Easter tropes of the 11th century. In a few pages Professor Adams rapidly and perforce superficially sketches the development of dramatic production through the middle ages and into the 16th century, in a manner resembling the introductory chapter of a school text on Elizabethan drama, although most of what he says has no real

bearing on the purpose at hand. What is needed is a circumstantial account of the state of drama and stage in 1590, and in fact we do eventually get that, but the state of drama and stage in the early 16th century, or in the 14th, is hardly germane. In one place (p. 102) Professor Adams goes so far astray that, having taken occasion to speak of letters of recommendation that licensed companies often carried about the country with them, he quotes one in full, although the date is 1559, the circumstances of no importance whatever, and the letter empty of interest.

A similar case of overdocumentation occurs in Chapter XIX, which deals with Shakespeare as Groom of the Royal Chamber under James I. Here Professor Adams takes occasion to spend eight pages, with lengthy quotations from contemporary records, on the festivities with which James welcomed the Spanish ambassador in 1604. Shakespeare is not mentioned in any connection, except that he and his fellow-players, all Grooms of the Chamber, were paid for their services, whatever those may have been. What has happened is clearly this: There being no information as to Shakespeare's activities as Groom of the Chamber outside a few household accounts dealing with red cloth for liveries, Professor Adams, in order to find anything to say at all on the subject, has offered us a picture of court festivities at which Shakespeare was present. The connection with the life of Shakespeare is there, but it is extremely tenuous, more tenuous than the connection with the far more glorious festivities at Kenilworth in 1575, to which Professor Adams alludes but which he does not describe. This reception of the Spanish ambassador is felt to be a tedious digression for which sufficient reason is not given.

These instances are the only ones in which, it seems to me, the charge of overdocumentation can justly be urged, and I think that even the critic most hostile to redundancy in scholarship would allow that they are not serious blots, and do not at all invalidate the claim I have made that on the documentary side Professor Adams has shown himself to be an admirably competent biographer. But there is another side, the side of the critical or spiritual biographer, and there even the most ardent friends of Professor Adams must confess that he falls short. It is true that he does not call his book a critical biography, and that he evidently regards his task as primarily concerned with determining the facts of the poet's existence, but one cannot write a life of a great literary personage without some commentary on his art in general or upon the qualities of the various compositions, and of this sort of commentary there is plenty scattered through the chapters of the book we are considering. And the reader is struck by two facts: first that Professor Adams, partly pursuant to his policy of showing the

reflection of Shakespeare in the age but partly, one suspects, because of his own distrust in his critical powers, has relied for the bulk of his commentary on citations from contemporaries and followers of Shakespeare, and secondly that where he expresses his own judgment he has nothing to say. The reader who expects to gain from him an insight into the mind of Shakespeare in the deeper sense, or to be stimulated by new attacks on old problems of interpretation, will be disappointed. A few quotations will show clearly enough what I mean. What has Professor Adams to say about such a troublesome play as *All's Well* (p. 302)?:

"Something in the moral quality of the story repels the reader. Yet Helena, the maiden who loves not wisely but too well, is rendered so pure and true that Coleridge declared her to be 'the loveliest of Shakespeare's characters.'"

That is all. To take another instance, the chapter on *Hamlet*, which deals excellently with the circumstances of production and with some old traditions in the acting of certain parts, closes lamely with the following paragraph:

"Successful as *Hamlet* is on the stage, it is no less popular as closet drama. The subtle, elusive personality of the young Prince of Denmark, and the eternal mystery of life which seems to brood over the plot, exercise upon readers a spell that makes the tragedy one of the most fascinating in the English language. Tennyson's dictum, '*Hamlet* is the greatest creation in literature that I know of,' merely reflects the universal esteem in which the play is held by lovers of poetry."

And this is all we hear about *Hamlet* as a work of art.

These passages are hardly fair tests, however, inasmuch as no one could be expected to show much critical power in a brief paragraph, and we ought therefore to look at longer discussions which involve the historian's critical appreciation of literature. The most important of these is, of course, that concerning the sonnets, whose problems turn for the most part on matters purely literary. Here we observe that Professor Adams follows conservatively in old paths, or to speak more exactly, in the path beaten by Sir Sidney Lee. Out of his own extensive knowledge of Elizabethan literature he adds a few corroboratory passages and parallels, but he has nothing new to say. Bearing heavily, like Lee, on the imitative character of the sonnets, he grants reality only to the poet's friend and to the rival poet. The dark lady he rejects as an invention. No fault can be found with this thorough and conservative digest of sonnet-scholarship, except that one misses any note of critical authority in what Professor Adams himself has to say.

One more illustration in this line. When Professor Adams comes to *Troilus and Cressida* he speaks with unwonted positiveness about this puzzling play. His thesis, not indeed his own, but one which he has vigorously adopted, is that there is really nothing puzzling about the play at all. Following the path this

time of H. E. Rollins he declares (p. 350): "But all difficulty vanishes when we realize that Shakespeare is handling the Troy story, not as told by Homer, but as told by medieval writers, who had transformed it both in substance and kind;" and he goes on to a rapid review of these medieval writers, confident that he has thereby explained away the extraordinary moods of this extraordinary play. Surely, while one should be ready to admit that Shakespeare's view of Troy had a medieval coloring, he must also admit that the peculiar tone of the play is not traceable wholly to that source, and that in great part it derives from the tone of Shakespeare's mind while he wrote the play. Only a critic who, like Professor Adams, is committed to the fallacy that dramatic art is purely objective, would deny the likelihood that *Troilus and Cressida* is tied very closely to the spiritual adventures of Shakespeare at the time he wrote the play. To clinch his argument that no connection exists between the play and the outer life of the poet, Professor Adams points out that in May of 1602 Shakespeare expended £320 in buying land in Stratford, and that a few months later he bought a house with land adjoining his estate of New Place. "The inference from all this is plain," he says. I venture to urge that an argument which proceeds from the premise that all men who buy land are happy to the conclusion that Shakespeare, buying land, was happy, is very far from plain.

So much for the historical criticism of *Troilus and Cressida*. As to aesthetic criticism, Professor Adams is little less than bewildering. He says in one place (p. 347): "It is in some respects one of the most remarkable works we have from Shakespeare's versatile pen." Then he plunges into his argument about the interpretation of the play, and concludes the discussion with this contradictory statement: "This common error alone justifies so long a discussion of a relatively inconspicuous play." What it is that constitutes the "remarkable" quality of *Troilus and Cressida* we never learn.

I have given so much space to Professor Adams' critical shortcomings because they constitute, in my opinion, a regrettable weakness in the book. They tarnish a little the gold of his fine achievement. One cannot help wondering that a man who so loves and reverences Shakespeare, can respond so dully to his writings, and one comes to see clearly that however admirable Professor Adams may be as a guide through Shakespeare's life, he is no guide at all through his mind. Probably this was not to be expected, because the faculties which make a great interpreter and an eminent research scholar seem never to have lived in the same head. At some future time, perhaps, may be written the book which shall rank as the standard biography of Shakespeare in the broad sense of the word; at present there is no book that fulfills all the requirements. In the narrower sense of the

word, however, Professor Adams' *Life of Shakespeare* takes precedence over all lives that have appeared, and may justly lay claim to the title of standard biography.

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*MEDELPADS FOLKMÅL.* Av Alfr. Vestlund. Stockholm, 1923. Pp. 130. Svenska Landsmål ock svenskt Folkliv. H. 160.

The present treatise of the dialect of the province of Medelpad in (the southern part of) Northern Sweden appears as a doctorate thesis from Upsala University. The original intention of presenting a survey of both the sounds and the forms of Medelpad Swedish was given up as the amount of material accumulated during the investigation; and what is now offered not only omits the forms, but gives, of the sounds also, only portion of the material under the sound *å*. What we have then is the first part of an exhaustive treatise of the sounds, with extensive word-lists and comparative discussions; presumably the presentation of the inflexions will follow later. The author is a native of Selanger Parish, and the starting point for the study was his own knowledge of Selanger dialectal speech, and his own collections about it. In the introduction he informs us that he spoke nothing but Selanger dialect until he was ten years old; long after entering school he found the acquiring of High Swedish a difficult task, and that whenever he spends some time in the home settlement, as summers regularly, he speaks dialect. The presentation is the work then of one who has the most intimate acquaintance with the dialect he is treating; and the best guarantee of accuracy as to facts is surely where the investigator himself is a native of the region investigated.

By far the larger amount of the material presented represents, too, Medelpad folk-speech as spoken in Selanger. Upon the basis of a considerable body of Selanger forms he then proceeded to formulate the rules governing the speech of this particular region, after which larger areas of the surrounding region were gathered in and these rules applied. It has already before, from several local word-lists and smaller treatises, become apparent that the dialect of Medelpad as a whole is unusually uniform. The present investigation shows this much more fully. It is seen, however, also that Haverö Parish, in the westernmost part of the province, is in significant ways definitely differentiated from the rest of Medelpad. It is also seen that there is a clear dialectal dividing line both north and south; in the north this practically coincides with the Ångermanland county line; in the south with that of Hälsingland. In the northwest, along the Jämtland border the line of division is not

so distinct between what may be regarded as Medelpad speech on the one hand and that of Jämtland speech on the other. It would seem that there is rather a broad dividing zone here, in which the characteristic features of the east and the west overlap.

The author, therefore, holds it absolutely justified to speak of a Medelpad dialect, for there is here a form of speech well differentiated from contiguous dialects and exhibiting within itself remarkable uniformity. The author employs the landsmål script as is done in all Swedish investigations of the kind. Selanger is cited first in the listing of the forms, and local variations are then usually added. I wish to call attention here, however, to a method of listing forms that will sometimes be misleading. As indicated on p. 7, the form given applies only to the first region cited; for the others, the form is applicable only for the root syllable. For the unstressed syllables the pronunciation may be different; though if greatly different such a form will be given. I think this will sometimes be misunderstood; the user must be on guard, e.g., against taking *agi* (with the type for open *a*), adjt., SeTyLjLi, as the pronunciation for other than Selanger (Se); for the others it is only the *a* that the statement applies to, and as a matter of fact in Liden (Li) the pronunciation is *agi*.

In an introductory chapter Dr. Vestlund gives an exceedingly interesting account of the relation of Medelpad to surrounding dialect regions (pp. 9-67). I shall note briefly some things from this part of the treatise. It has to me the special interest for the information it affords as to the relation of Medelpad to the western and the southeastern zones of dialectal influence. As differentiating Medelpad from Ångermanland the following may be noted: P. 11: in originally short open syllable followed by *u* Ångermanland (Åm), shows an *ä*-vowel, or a 'dark' *a*, whereas in Medelpad (Mp) the vowel is an open *a*; similarly in the former older *ä* before *ll*, *ll*, becomes an *ä*-vowel, in Mp. open *a*. On the other hand, older *ä* remains in Åm before *ng* and *nk*, whereas in Mp. it appears as *ä* (as in High Swedish, and commonly south of Mp). Again, before the consonant combination *ml* older *u* becomes *o* in Åm; in Mp. the vowel has an *ö*-quality (p. 15). The tendency to change *ÿ* to *ö* in originally long syllables is much more pronounced in Åm than in Mp, hence, *döngn* (or near that), *söskan*, etc., as compared with Mp. *dyngn*, and *syskan* (p. 16). It is to be noted, too, that the strange double plural of weak masculines with short radical syllable is not found in Åm, except sporadically (influence from Mp?). Thus Mp: *dropparar*, indef, 'drops,' but *dropparan*,

<sup>1</sup> I am using the ordinary type in the absence of the Swedish types, hence we can indicate only approximations to the sound.

'the drops'; in Åm the indef. and def. of the word are respectively *droppar*, or *druppar*, and *droppara*, *druppara* (p. 18). These forms appear now and then in parts of Åm contiguous to Mp., and the author seems also to assume Mp. encroachment of forms here, (p. 22). It will be clear to the observer of all these and other facts given, that Mp. stands much nearer to Central Swedish, or the so-called Sveamal, than does Åm; and also that Åm. is much more distinctly *Norrländsk*, and with well-defined points of contact with the western zone of influence (by way of Jämtland).

Of special interest becomes then the comparison between MP. and Jämtland dialectal speech (Jt). The reader will hardly have to be reminded that Jt. is an originally Norwegian province. However, as Herman Gejer has shown (see also, e.g., *Sverige*, 6, p. 198), its dialect speech is today extensively Swedecised.<sup>2</sup> Gejer holds that this change began early, before 1600 evidently; it would seem likely that most of it belongs especially to the 19th century. An investigation of the dialect of interior or western Jt would be of very great interest at this time. As far as the author's comparisons between Jt. and Mp. are concerned he has been obliged to rely mainly on information from eastern Jt dialectal speech. I shall note a few of the facts brought out. As we saw in Åm, citation from p. 11, above, so in Jt. the vowel is a rounded one, *ö* (Åm. *å*); in Mp. it is *a* (see above); and in position before *ll*, *ll*, *ä* has become *o* in Jt (as compared with *å* in Åm).

A distinct differentiation is that of the retention of the *i*-vowel in the final syllables of strong supines, as *beti*, and *bele*, *bröte*, and *bröti*; in Mp. the vowel is *æ*: *brönnæ*, 'burned,' *dreæ*, 'drawn,' etc. I note especially that in Jt. the West Scandinavian *u* remains in such words as *ku*, *bu*, *bru*, etc; in Mp. it is *o*, as in High Swedish, and Sveamal: *ko*, *bo*, *bro* (close *o*, of course). Again, in those cases where a *u* remains (not changed to *ö*), it is relatively open in Jt (as in Norwegian); in Mp it is a closed *y*-like vowel (the words are such as *hun*, 'dog,' *mun*, 'mouth,' and *stutt*, 'short.' The old diphthongs are preserved in interior Jt, but lost in eastern Jt, as Ijt, *blöut*, *fröus*, *löuv*, etc., but in Ejt. *frös*, *gök*, *hök*, etc. Similarly *ai*: *lai*, *bait*, etc. The Jt. treatment of general Scandinavian *eu* is that of West Scandinavian; that is, it is based on *io*; in Mp. it is based on *iu*. Hence, Jt. *jöster*, 'leister,' or 'fish-gig,' but *justr* in Mp. As regards the double plural of weak masculines noted above, they are evidenced in Jt. only sporadically; here we again clearly have a slow westward march of a Mp. characteristic.

<sup>2</sup> Gejer holds that it mainly Swedish now; Sundell holds differently. Jörgen Reitan points out parallels between Jämtland dialect and those of Trondhjem, Norway. Christiania Scientific Society, II, 1922, 9. Pp. 16-17.

Other features might be noted, but the above will be enough to indicate the very mixed nature of the Jt dialect, and that whereas much of it has been extensively Swedised, in its interior regions it remains prevailingly Norwegian in its phonology. The ancient lanes of travel from the coast through the chief district of Medelpad, in Ljungdalen, and to Norway, was, as Vestlund indicates (p. 34), northward from Ljungdalen through Jämtland (and into North Trondhjem Province in Norway). And he instances influences of Mp and Jt. dialect upon one another; but the influence has apparently been greatest from the east. Regarding the external relations of Haverö, that part of Medelpad, whose folk speech differentiates itself so much from the rest of Mp. that the author holds it to be not properly a Mp. dialect, the investigation, pp. 36-55, leads him to the conclusion that the nearest kin of Haverö speech is the border region between Härjedalen and Hälsingland. I cannot here take the space to quote from the authors illustrative material.

Haverö seems in a rather striking way to connect dialectically this part of Sweden through Härjedalen, (whose dialect is in the main Norwegian) with the northeast Norwegian dialects of northern Østerdalen and the eastern part of South Trondhjem Province, but especially northern Østerdalen. Just as Sveamal influence extended along the coast settlements and in Medelpad has in the north of Sweden had a sort of a center, and thence penetrated inland clear into Jämtland;—just so, from the other direction northeast Norwegian influence (North Østerdalen—South Trondhjem), has had an eastern center in Härjedalen, and thence penetrated into Haverö Parish in Medelpad, and of course into much of Hälsingland. The author does not suggest this special connection and community of characteristics with Østerdalen Norwegian, but the facts brought out in connection with the analysis of the dialect of Haverö suggest them to me definitely. Between Medelpad proper and Hälsingland Dr. Vestlund finds a sharp dialectal dividing line precisely along the Hälsingland border (p. 66).

The second part of the present investigation is devoted to an account of the vowel *ä* in stressed position, as the first installment of such an investigation for the vowels as a whole. I shall not be able to review this material here; but, perhaps, may be able to do so when the continuation appears. It is hoped that this may appear in the near future, and that the continuation may contain as much good illustrative material as the part here submitted. The author shows a wide acquaintance with the technical literature, and presents his material in interesting and convincing fashion.

GEORGE T. FLOM

May 27, 1924

**SCHELLING ANNIVERSARY PAPERS.** By his former Students. The Century Company. New York: 1923.

Arthur Hobson Quinn leads the way with a sympathetic account of Professor Schelling's life and work. Then follows a complete bibliography of the veteran scholar's writings, impressive for the range of his interests. One appreciates, merely in looking it over, the force of Professor Quinn's presentation of Schelling as not only a scholar in English literature but an educator and administrator. An address on humanities before Phi Beta Kappa, a contribution to a symposium on Engineering English, an essay on the honor system, an address at the opening of the graduate school, an address on "Academic Rights and Privileges," various other addresses on problems of scholarship and education,—these are a few of the efforts by which Professor Schelling fulfilled those duties which devolved upon him as the head of an important department in a great university. Professor Quinn has praised the soundness of the principles on which, in 1888, he reorganized the department of English and the liberal spirit with which he has ever since administered that department.

Then follow the nineteen papers, long and short and various in subject, which the band of disciples lay at the feet of their master. To review adequately so miscellaneous a collection is impossible. Let me content myself therefore with indicating their scope by sketching briefly their contents. The more important papers are: Morris W. Croll's "Attic Prose: Lipsius, Montaigne, Bacon"; Ronald S. Crane's "The Relation of Bacon's *Essays* to his Program for the Advancement of Learning"; Albert C. Baugh's "The Chester Plays and French Influence"; Daniel B. Shumway's "Thomas Campbell and Germany"; Arthur B. Stonex's "Money Lending and Money Lenders in England during the 16th and 17th Centuries"; Raymond M. Alden's "The Romantic Defence of Poetry"; and Cornelius Weygandt's "The Art of Joseph Conrad." Professor Croll continues in the present article the admirable study of the development of Attic prose which has heretofore produced essays on "Marc-Antoine Muret and Attic Prose" (*P.M.L.A.* 1923) and "Attic Prose in the Seventeenth Century" (*Stud. in Philol.* 1921). Professor Crane undertakes to prove that Bacon conceived his English essays as part of the scheme of investigation and explication set down in the *Advancement of Learning*, and that the change of style from the earlier to the later essays was due "not to any external influence or to any fundamental change in their author's mental constitution, but rather to the renewed momentum given to writing in 'methods' by his labors on the *Advancement*." Professor Baugh reviews again the moot question of the indebtedness of the

Chester plays to French sources, and decides that although most of the arguments heretofore used are doubtful, there is yet sufficient grounds for thinking the debt to be "probable." Professor Shumway has no thesis to prove in regard to Campbell's relations with Germany; his paper is a thorough survey of the poet's German visits and of the men and poems which inspired him to imitation. It should be invaluable to every student of Campbell. Mr. Stonex has gathered in compact form the laws governing money lending in the 16th and 17th centuries and a rich collection of illustrations from contemporary literature of the ways in which these laws were evaded. Professor Alden's article, which he modestly calls an "imperfect survey," is a usefully concise study of the sources from which Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Shelley drew their doctrine of morality in poetry, and of the tenets of that doctrine. Professor Weygandt writes about Conrad both enthusiastically and discriminately, in a survey of the great novelist's powers, limitations, and artistic development.

The papers thus scantily summarized I have called the more important members of the collection partly because of the importance of their subjects, partly because of the thoroughness of their treatment. Excellent in method but narrower in interest is Prof. J. P. Wickersham Crawford's "The Picaro in the Spanish Drama of the Sixteenth Century," which searches for antecedents of *Lazarillo de Tormes* in Spanish comedy of the first half of the 16th century, a field not hitherto explored. Students of the history of education will welcome Prof. George W. McClelland's study of "John Brinsley and his Educational Treatises." Mr. C. W. Stork invites the attention of all who love poetry and philosophy to the Swedish poet Victor Rydberg, translating liberally and well. Prof. Churchill, on "The Originality of William Wycherley," contends valiantly against the sneer that Wycherley was a copyist of Molière who was original only in being profligate, maintaining that Wycherley had a "vision of a saner and higher social life" to which, however, he "gave expression as imperfect, confused and inconsistent as the visions themselves." Admirers of the great satirist, whose originality is patent in the way in which he stands out alike from Molière and from his fellow comedians of Restoration England, will probably feel that Prof. Churchill has done insufficient justice to Wycherley's brilliant, caustic mind. Prof. Allison Gaw ("Centers of Interest in Drama, Dramatic Tension, and Types of Dramatic Conflict") has made an earnest effort to pluck out the heart of the mystery which lurks in the term "dramatic." He confines his attention to plot-drama, which he admits is only a part of the great dramatic field, and decides that the essence consists not in conflict, crisis, or character, but in tension. Collectors of definitions may add

this to their bag, and scholars given to academic analysis will rejoice in his six types of plot-drama.

The rest of the articles are in the nature of notes, several of them very interesting, others not. Mr. J. L. Haney inquires into the whereabouts of the large collection of books which Coleridge is known to have annotated, and is able to trace a number of them. Prof. Paul C. Kitchen calls attention to a few parallels between *David Copperfield* and the *Memoirs of Thomas Holcroft*. Prof. J. C. Mendenhall gives versions of a few unimportant ballads taken down in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Prof. D. E. Owen writes most interestingly about Dr. Furness's procedure in editing the Variorum Shakespeare. Mr. Clarence Stratton describes the various methods of staging the fourth act of the *Merchant of Venice* during the 19th century. Prof. W. O. Sypherd takes issue with Middleton Murry's dictum that the *Book of Luke* is inferior in point of style to Renan's *Life of Jesus*. And Prof. T. D. O'Bolger, in "The Artist and his Technique," writes very briefly, and to my mind very vaguely, on Shakespeare as a conscious artist.

That completes the list, a list which in variety fairly represents the liberal range of the master for whom these articles were brought together. The quality seems to me very good; there are only three or four which I think would better have been left out. There is necessarily, in so miscellaneous a gathering, no sense of unity, not even the continuity of personality which unites the occasional essays of a single mind. But as a testimonial of filial respect, and as a contribution to scholarship, it is a book in which Professor Schelling, and the University of Pennsylvania, may justly take pride.

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**TWO ELIZABETHAN STAGE ABRIDGEMENTS; THE BATTLE OF ALCAZAR & ORLANDO FURIOSO. AN ESSAY IN CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.** By W. W. Greg, Litt. D. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1923. Pp. ix+366. \$7.00.

As every student of Elizabethan dramatic literature knows, Professor A. W. Pollard and Mr. J. Dover Wilson—to whom the present volume is dedicated—ably assisted by Dr. Greg himself, have established a new method of attacking textual problems connected with the so-called "bad quartos." This method, described by our author as "critical bibliography," ignoring artistic and literary values, and considering the play as mere "printer's copy," seeks to explain how such a text came to have its particular form—usually a debasement from what we might naturally expect of a competent dramatic artist. Interesting

and highly valuable results have been attained by this new form of research, and henceforth it must be reckoned as one of our chief means to information regarding the origin of early theatrical manuscripts. On the other hand, there is a danger into which, I fear, some of its exponents have fallen as a result of overconfidence in the method. The "bibliographer," it seems, is prone to take the attitude that he is working, not with subjective literary judgments, but with objective facts, and that accordingly his results have the sureness of an exact science. The truth is, the "scientific bibliographer" can work with "cold facts" only so far, and then he necessarily begins to draw conclusions, each of which, however plausible in view of the assembled evidence, is nevertheless a leap into the dark. The peril lies in too much ingenuity. Mr. J. Dover Wilson's recent deductions regarding the plays of Shakespeare, based upon his purely "bibliographical" studies of the quarto and folio texts, may, perhaps, be cited by way of illustration.

But Dr. Greg does not fall into this error; on the contrary, he has supplied us with a model of how such investigations should be pursued. He sets upon the leaf following the title-page an apophthegm from Chu Chin Chow: "Work can only be done one way"; and he makes his volume a monument of industry—of sheer labor, and exacting care for the smallest detail that must often have taxed the soul. But this is not all. A second apophthegm, this time from A. N. Whitehead, he sets below the one just quoted: "Seek simplicity and distrust it." And to his industry he adds a caution in drawing conclusions, and a constant effort not to go beyond what the evidence would safely warrant, that are as commendable as they are grateful to the reader. The result is thus guaranteed in advance. So thoroughly has Dr. Greg collected his evidence, and so fairly has he presented his inferences, that his conclusions will be accepted as final.

But the specific conclusions that he has established, I venture to say, do not constitute the chief value of his arduous and painstaking labor. The volume, I believe, will help to raise the standard of Elizabethan scholarship in general—a standard already high; yet as the simpler problems are solved, and deeper and subtler ones arise, a more exacting type of research is needed. In the present work we have, as it were, an example of the thoroughness that should in the future be demanded of laborers in the field. And on this account it was a fortunate—as well as a generous—thing that Dr. Greg should present his book to every member of the Malone Society, an organization including virtually all scholars seriously engaged in the study of the early drama.

As the author points out, much attention has of late been directed to a class of shortened texts of Elizabethan plays, sup-

posedly prepared by the actors for special purposes—as, for instance, traveling in the provinces; yet no systematic investigation of these abbreviated texts has ever been made. “My object in the present study,” he writes, “is to attempt the analysis of two suspected examples, in the hope that this may throw light at least on the manner, and possibly on the occasion, of their production. The result should at least establish the existence of the class.” The two examples chosen for this close examination are *The Battle of Alcazar* and *Orlando Furioso*, both issued in 1594 from exceedingly corrupt copy. There are, of course, numerous other plays equally corrupt, but these two were selected for a very definite reason: in each case there is extant a theatrical document that enables the investigator to bring to the study of the abridged text some knowledge of the unabridged version. In the case of *Alcazar* we have the stage “plot” (the players’ skeleton-outline of the scenes, noting the entrances and exits of the characters with the names of the actors assuming their parts, and listing in due order the properties needed); in the case of *Orlando* we have the original actor-part of the leading character, with the cues of the preceding speakers.

With the aid of these theatrical documents, Dr. Greg has been able to prove beyond any reasonable doubt “the existence of a class of shortened adaptations of Elizabethan plays,” and to explain with a high degree of plausibility the occasion for their production. In addition, it should be observed, he has given us full and exact texts, and has been able to shed a great deal of light upon the plays themselves. For instance, he writes: “The notes in this chapter form an almost complete commentary on the play. The only points not discussed are ordinary Elizabethan vocabulary and grammar, and ordinary classical and geographical allusions when there is no question of textual corruption involved.” Thus we are incidentally supplied with a well-nigh exhaustive critical apparatus for each of the two plays concerned.

The present reviewer can merely summarize the main results arrived at by the author. *Alcazar* offers the simpler problem. In the 1594 quarto we have an abridged text carefully made by the actors from a complete version, probably for the use of that section of the Admiral’s men which, after the temporary dispersal of the company in 1590, supported itself by traveling in the provinces. The version is “drastically cut down by the omission and reduction of speeches, by the elimination and doubling of parts, and by the suppression of spectacular shows, for representation in a limited time, with the minimum of theatrical paraphernalia.” Since upon the later reunion of the company in London we find them performing the full version, we may suppose that the abridged traveling-version

was then discarded as worthless, and by some accident fell into the hands of the printer.

The case of *Orlando* is far more complicated. The 1594 quarto, like that of *Alcazar*, is "severely abridged by the excision of scenes, speeches, and passages of dialogue, as well as by compression and the omission of characters, for performance by a reduced cast, in a strictly limited time." And hence we may infer that this version also was used in traveling. But its origin can not well be explained as an abridgment by actors working directly from the full version. The evidence is perplexing, at times apparently contradictory; and, accordingly, Dr. Greg presents his solution with great caution and modesty, yet, it may be added, with confidence. It would seem, if we accept the theory advanced, that the Queen's men originally purchased *Orlando* from Robert Greene in 1591; soon, however, they were in pecuniary distress, and to relieve their embarrassment sold several of their best plays. *Orlando* thus passed into the hands of Edward Alleyn, the leader of the Admiral's company, though at the time temporarily associated with the Lord Strange's company. The Queen's men, reduced in number, now went on a tour of the provinces; and while in the country, and far away from London, attempted to revive *Orlando*. Under the necessity of reconstructing the play from memory, and at the same time of compressing the plot for a small cast, and of adapting the play to the tastes of rustic audiences, they evolved a sadly debased as well as a severely abridged version—a version that, nevertheless, proved successful, and won a regular place in their repertory. The absence of a prompt-copy soon became inconvenient in view of the fact that the personnel was subject to sudden changes; and hence at last the members of the troupe came together, and to a ready writer dictated in turn their lines. The manuscript thus produced became the prompt-copy, and as such was subject to alterations of a playhouse character. In December, 1593, the Queen's men returned to London, and attempted to re-establish themselves in the city; but they failed, and on May 8, 1594, Henslowe recorded that "they broke, and went into the countrey to playe." It was during their visit to London that their mangled copy of *Orlando* passed into the hands of a printer, and so was preserved for the present study.

Having recently been engaged in editing the corrupt and abridged *George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield*—like *Orlando* in the possession of the Queen's company, and possibly from the pen of Robert Greene—I feel convinced of the soundness of Dr. Greg's conclusions. In the case of *George a Greene*, as of the two plays examined by Dr. Greg, we have a document that supplies some knowledge of the full version, namely *The Famous Hystory off George a Greene*, a prose story that bears a very distinct and important relation to the play. I hope that

Dr. Greg, or some other scholar inspired by his work, will take the opportunity to give this abridgment the same careful study, not only further to establish the existence of a class of shortened theatrical texts, and to throw additional light upon the occasion for their production, but also to prove, if that be possible, Robert Greene's authorship of one of the most delightful comedies that have come down to us from the pre-Shakespearean period.

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*THE ROMANCE OF TRISTRAM AND YSOLT BY THOMAS OF BRITAIN.* Translated from the Old French and Old Norse by Roger Sherman Loomis. E. P. Dutton & Company. New York: 1923. Price \$2.50.

The medieval story of Tristan and Iseult has come down to us in two twelfth century French versions, neither one of which is complete. Both of them probably go back to a common original now lost, and most of the later stories follow more or less closely one or the other of these two versions. The one which goes under the name of Béroul has for some time been accessible in English in H. Belloc's translation of Bédier's reconstruction of the poem. In this the part from the middle of Chapter VI to the end of Chapter XI (I, v to II, iii of the English version) represents what has been preserved of Béroul's work. For the other version, usually credited to Thomas of Britain, which differs from Béroul's in a number of respects, we have been forced to rely upon Miss Weston's translation of the poem of Gottfried von Strassburg and his continuators who, it is believed, based their work largely upon the version of Thomas. The lack of a direct translation has now been made good by Mr. Loomis in the work under review. Where the original has been preserved he has followed that, and where it is deficient he has used the Norse translation made by Friar Robert for King Haakon, which is generally accepted as representing Thomas's original poem more closely than any other translation that has been preserved. Thomas's text is represented, as Mr. Loomis's rather unobtrusive footnotes indicate, by pages 182-184, 186-207, 221-227, 236-237, and 242-290 of his translation; the remainder, except for one episode (pp. 237-238) taken from the English *Sir Tristrem*, is from the Norse saga.

Mr. Loomis's translation from the Old French is, so far as I have checked it, remarkably close, in most parts word for word. With the other texts he has taken a few liberties (noted in the appendix), but for the greater part here too he follows his original closely, so that his translation may be relied upon as giving as close an approximation to Thomas's twelfth century version as we are likely to get in English. The whole is expressed

in good vigorous English with a touch of archaic phraseology. It is quite evidently intended not for scholars, who can use the original texts, but for the general reader. For him too the illustrations reproduced from thirteenth century tiles dug up at Chertsey Abbey add much to the attractiveness of the book, while those who wish to go more deeply into the questions connected with these tiles can find the necessary material in Mr. Loomis's earlier study of them.

To this translation he has prefixed a brief introduction dealing with the rise of the Tristan story and the place of Thomas in its development. Some of the statements in this introduction are not as definitely settled as the author would have us believe, and others for which he has evidence seem to be questionable. For instance his rather startling statement that in the time of King John there was among the regalia a "sword of Tristram" might have been backed up by a reference to his own article in which he gives the evidence upon which he bases this statement. Deficiencies like these however are a natural result of his effort to make the introduction both brief and readable, and hardly mar what is otherwise a very satisfactory piece of work.

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*THE TROUBADOURS AND ENGLAND.* By H. J. Chaytor.  
Cambridge University Press. Cambridge: 1923.

In this book Mr. Chaytor attempts to estimate the influence, direct or indirect, of the lyrics of the Provençal troubadours upon the Middle English lyric poetry. He first carefully prepares the ground for his argument by proving that the minstrel class was recognized in England both before the Conquest and continuously thereafter throughout the Middle Ages. From 1066 to about 1350 the lyric poetry produced in England was written largely in French, but after that time the educated classes began to learn English. It is quite natural under these circumstances that the Provençal influence should come in largely through French literature, which shows traces of it from about 1150 onwards, but Mr. Chaytor points out that the trade between England and Gascony and the visits of a number of troubadours to England furnished opportunities for direct contacts with the thought of Southern France. In the next section of the book he gives us the results of a painstaking search through the poems of the troubadours for all the instances in which they refer to English affairs. Practically all their references however are to events on the continent in which the Angevins were concerned, and not to England at all so that it is a little difficult to see what they have to do with the subject of the book. The author is now ready for the presentation of the

actual examples of troubadour influence that he has discovered in England and he comes to the conclusion that so different is the spirit of the English and Provençal lyric that such influence is to be found, if at all, in the form of the verse. The complicated rhyme schemes, for instance, he considers borrowed or imitated from the poems of the troubadours, and in an appendix he gives a list of twenty-two rhyme schemes which he finds identical in the two literatures. Some of the parallels are indeed striking, but others such as "aabbcc," "aabccb," "abababab," and "ababdcdd," all of which he gives, do not seem beyond the ingenuity of an Englishman to invent for himself. The author next takes up the different types of Provençal lyric, the "canso," the "alba," the "reversaris," the "sirventes," the "tenso," and the "pastorela," all of which he finds represented in England. In them too he finds a number of expressions and figures that are commonplaces with the troubadours, but by no means so common elsewhere. In a second appendix are printed eight poems, seven French and one English, from sources "not readily accessible to many readers" which exhibit these influences.

Mr. Chaytor's work is suggestive, but by no means the last word on the subject. He felt obliged to leave out of consideration Chaucer and Gower because they were subject to so many influences, and yet these are just the men we should like most to hear about. Something could be added too, as he himself suggests, by a study of the melodies of the two countries as they have come down to us in manuscripts. Moreover we need a thorough consideration of the question of the influence of Latin sources—the religious works, and the songs of the wandering students and the Goliards—an influence that he recognizes but does not attempt to appraise. French literature with its influence can hardly be passed over as hastily as it has been in this book, and perhaps even the literature of Wales might throw some light on the question, since at this time the Welsh lyric shows clear signs of Provençal influence, and might have played some part in the shaping of the English lyric. A really satisfactory piece of work cannot be done unless one follows out every possible thread, and if in the end one arrives at conclusions no more definite than those presented by Mr. Chaytor, at least the search will have resulted in bringing together much valuable material.

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## NOTES

Among the tracts issued by the Society for Pure English special recognition should be accorded to No. XVI (Oxford University Press. Price \$1.20) to which Professor Jespersen has contributed an article on *Logic and Grammar* and in which Mr. Mac Ritchie and Mr. W. H. Stevenson disagree about the meaning of *Little Britain*. Professor Jespersen's contribution is a foretaste of his promised *Philosophy of Grammar*. Taking a middle position between those who declare that language is illogical and those who describe it as allogical, he remarks that "language is never illogical where strict logic is required for the sake of comprehension, but neither is it pedantically logical where no ambiguity is to be feared in ordinary conversation: it steers adroitly between these two dangers; and where there is an apparent conflict between logic and language the fault may be not with the language but with the logic of the schools." Considering the main divisions of grammar, he regards syntax and morphology as dealing with exactly the same grammatical facts from different points of view, syntax "looking at them from within, while morphology considers them from without." Beyond syntactical function we are to seek "natural or logical meaning" to which the author proposes to apply the term "notional." Illustrations of the distinction here made may be found in the gender and cases of the noun, the tenses of the verb, and the persons of the pronoun. So far as the other contribution to this tract is concerned there can be little doubt that Mr. Stevenson has disposed of Mr. Mac Ritchie's contention that the accepted meaning of *Little Britain* was not Brittany but Ireland.

Other tracts of the S.P.E. received by the Journal are *English Idioms* by Logan P. Smith (\$1.20); *Melaphor* by E. B., H. W. Fowler, and A. Clutton-Brock (\$0.85); *Briton, British, Britisher* by Henry Bradley and Robert Bridges with a note on *Preposition at End* by H. W. Fowler (\$0.85); *The Split Infinitive* etc. by H. W. Fowler and *Pictorial, Picturesque* etc. by Robert Bridges (\$0.85); and *Four Words—Romantic, Originality, Creative, Genius* by Logan P. Smith (\$1.20).

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To Volume I, Part I of the *Oxford Bibliographical Society, Proceedings and Papers* (Oxford Press. Oxford: 1923), Mr. Percy Simpson has contributed a paper on the *Bibliographical Study of Shakespeare* and Messrs. F. Madan, E. Gordon Duff, and S. Gibson, one on the *Standard Descriptions of Printed Books*. Mr. Simpson's contribution reviews the criticism of the 1619 quartos which was capped in 1910 by Mr. Neidig's article in *Modern Philology*, discusses the relation of the quartos to the First Folio, replies to Sir Sidney Lee's criticism of his theory of Shakespeare's punctuation, touches upon Mr. Dover Wilson's investigation of Shakespeare's orthography, and concludes with commendation of the New Cambridge Shakespeare which is under the editorial supervision of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Quiller-Couch.

Much of this recent Shakespeare scholarship reviewed by Mr. Simpson is digested and criticized in Professor A. W. Pollard's *Foundations of Shakespeare's Text* (Oxford Press. 1923. Price \$0.35), the Shakespeare lecture of last year before the British Academy, in honor of the Tercentenary of the First Folio. A few of Mr. Pollard's opinions may be noted. The defects in the "Good Quartos" (i.e. the first quarto editions with the exception of the 1597 Romeo and Juliet, the 1600 Henry V, the 1602 Merry Wives of Windsor, and the 1603 Hamlet) he thinks "have too hastily been ascribed to the innate weakness or wickedness of all copyists and compositors who have had anything to do with Shakespeare's texts. It is better to confess that some of the flaws in these Good Quartos are the result of imperfections in Shakespeare's own work, and I have ventured to claim that some of these Good Quartos may actually have

been set up from Shakespeare's autograph manuscripts." Speaking of the burning of the Globe in 1613 he declares that "any theory which assumes a large destruction of prompt copies in the fire of 1613 raises more difficulties than it explains." Further: "We have to face the fact that the producers of the Folio preferred the acting-version used in the playhouse, and if lines written by Shakespeare were omitted from that were content that they should perish."

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The *Year's Work in English Studies* for 1922 (Oxford University Press, American Branch. New York: 1923. Price \$2.50) carries on the good work of earlier issues. If one compares its list of titles with that in the *M. H. R. A. Bibliography* for the corresponding year one will realize how far short it falls of a complete survey and how difficult must have been the task of selection. The *Modern Language Review*, the *Times Supplement*, some of the older English Reviews and the special journals in America are largely represented, but with the exception of *Anglia* and *Englische Studien* the German publications receive slight attention. For example, in the Shakespeare section there is no mention of the Shakespeare *Jahrbuch* for the year, and one gets the impression that the publications of German societies and academies have been neglected. There is no mention, for example, of Oncken's essay on More's *Utopia* in the Proceedings of the Heidelberg Academy for 1922; nor of Rudolf Fischer's *Quellen Zu Romeo u. Julia* published by the German Shakespeare Society.

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The careful editorial work which we have learned to expect from Professor Hyder E. Rollins is further exemplified in his edition for the Harvard Press (1924) of a *Handful of Pleasant Delights*. As he himself points out, much of the matter of his introduction and his notes has already appeared in an article contributed to the eighteenth volume of this Journal. Professor Rollins adduces important evidence for the identification of the *Handful* with Clement Robinson's "Very pleasannte Sonettes and storyes in myter" entered in the Stationers' Register in 1566; and is thus able to straighten out the chronology of the *Handful*, *The Paradise of Dainty Devises*, and the *Gorgeous Gallery*. The editor's familiarity with the popular literature of the sixteenth century has enabled him to enrich his notes with instructive citations and parallels; and his very welcome Glossarial Index exhibits the diversified interest and the many literary contacts of Robinson's anthology of broadsides.

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To Mr. G. G. Coulton's *Cambridge Studies in Mediaeval Life and Thought*, Mr. H. S. Bennet has contributed a substantial volume on *The Pastons and Their England* (Cambridge University Press. 1922). In its seventeen chapters the book covers a wide range of topics; e.g., Houses and Furniture; Letters and Letter-Writing; Roads and Bridges; Religion, etc. If Mr. Bennet had merely abstracted from the Paston Letters their wealth of information about fifteenth-century social conditions, his work would have been easily justified; but this information has been supplemented with gleanings from a wide range of documents, as will appear to any one who will glance at his list of authorities. The result is an interesting and thoroughly well-grounded account of social life in fifteenth-century England.

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In his *Index to the Ballad-Entries in the Stationers' Register* (University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill: 1924) Professor Rollins has furnished students of broadside ballads with what a high authority has called "an indispensable work of reference." The book contains an *Index of Titles*, an *Index of First Lines*, an *Index of Names and Subjects*, and a list of books frequently cited in these Indexes. That the volume is not a mere compilation and classification of titles appears especially in the bracketed information and references after a very large proportion of the titles in Index I.

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Professor Emile Legouis who shares with Professor Harper of Princeton the credit for a new chapter in Wordsworth's biography has published through the Harvard Press (1923) his lecture on *Wordsworth in a New Light*. To the now familiar story of the poet's French daughter we have here added a tolerant interpretation of his liaison and its sequel. Furthermore, Mr. Legouis justifies the disclosures by showing their bearing upon our understanding of the poet's work, particularly *Vaudracour and Julia* and the familiar but hitherto misunderstood Calais sonnet.

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Professor Charles Homer Haskins has published under the title *The Rise of Universities* (Henry Holt and Co. 1923) his lectures delivered at Brown University on the Culver Foundation. The three chapters on the Earliest Universities, the Mediaeval Professor, and the Mediaeval Student present judiciously selected details in a style that is frequently humorous and always entertaining; and the Bibliographical Note at the end of the book offers references to generally accessible critical literature and to a few modern editions of original documents.

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Mr. Kenneth Sisam's edition of Chaucer's *Clerkes Tale* (Clarendon Press, 1923. Price \$0.75) combines attractiveness of form with editorial economy. Within his hundred pages or so, the editor includes a critical introduction, a life of the poet, a select bibliography, reasonably full notes, a section on the text, another on Chaucer's English, a note on the metre, an adequate glossary, and (an uncommon feature) twelve illustrations. Mr. Sisam bases his text upon the Ellesmere manuscript and is careful to register all variations from that source.







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